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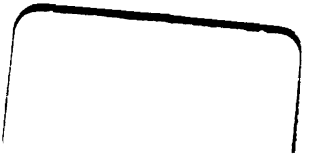

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THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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To determine the causes of the changes which public taste undergoes in all ages, is an interesting but difficult problem. It is one, however, which we do not undertake to solve on the present occasion; it will be sufficient for our purpose to remind the reader that such changes take place, and that they are confined to no period, or epoch. There is always a favoritism which is more or less capricious. Everybody knows from his own experience that the little man of to-day may be the great man of a few years hence, and that the great man of this year may be the little man of next year.

The unthinking multitude are blamed and ridiculed for being thus unstable in their preferences; but it is found on reflection that even the most learned class frequently discard their favorites, and choose others with as little ceremony or

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reason as the multitude. Works of art are subjected to the same caprices as the individuals who produced them; the work which is admired to-day as superior to all others of its kind, may be treated with contempt a few years hence; and the idol set up in its place may be no new production, but the same work which was treated with neglect when that now discarded was idolized.

If these changes were confined to the authors, artists and works of the present day, they could easily be accounted for. It might be alleged, without much injustice, that in the middle of the nineteenth century fame is bought and sold like any other commodity; although a considerable share of it is often obtained by impudence alone, without either talent, or education; so that those who have most money, or most impudence may reasonably calculate on securing most fame in a given time. If the money and impudence are combined, as they very generally are, in such cases, then the aspirant for fame has to wait but a short time for the full gratification of his ambition. True, the fame gained in this manner is not the genuine article; it is quite as spurious as the "reputation" of the quack doctor, who by means of the same pill, bolus, or bottle, undertakes to cure all diseases that flesh is heir to. But there are none of the vicissitudes to which we allude in the fame of this class of authors or artists; when their fame is once obscured it never regains its lustre; once dead it has no resurrection.

But fortunately it is with the genuine article we have to do in the present discussion—with that kind which, though it may be obscured—though it may slumber for a while—cannot be extinguished. That the fame of Euripides is of this undying type we expect to prove in this article; and we trust that the reader who accompanies us in our discussion will be entertained with something more than mere argument or logic. Indeed the most stupid writer who has carefully examined the principal tragedies of Euripides could hardly speak of them in the most cursory manner without being more or less interesting, if not instructive, to the class of readers to whom we have the honor of addressing ourselves.

We take up Euripides, in this instance, in preference to

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either of his illustrious rivals in Greek tragedy, because it is he whose fame is obscured at the present day. We do so in the same spirit in which we would endeavor to vindicate a contemporary to whom we felt that great injustice had been done, and to whom we had been indebted for many a gratification and for many a benefit, the influence of which can terminate only with our existence.

At more than one epoch Euripides has been the favorite of the most competent judges; he was the favorite, as we shall presently show, of the greatest minds of his own time. He has been preferred to Æschylus at one time, and to Sophocles at another. Again, each has been preferred to him; for twenty-three hundred years he was more admired by the most gifted and most cultivated of all enlightened nations than any other dramatist; but for the last fifty years he has been comparatively neglected. Except by the few who prefer to judge for themselves rather than accept the dictum of any master, his tragedies have been regarded by common consent, during this period, as greatly inferior to either those of Æschylus or Sophocles. Those who had admired Euripides most from their youth, until their judgment had attained its full maturity, permitted themselves to be influenced by the new canons of criticism, which degraded him to the comparatively inferior rank which he occupies at the present day. But before we attempt to show what a slight foundation there has been for so great a change, we will briefly remind the reader of the character of Euripides' early education, and of the influences by which he was surrounded, while undergoing preparation for the career which has rendered him so illustrious.

Euripides was a native of Salamis. He was born the first year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, B. C. 480, on the very day upon which the Athenians fought their most glorious battle. His parents were Athenians who had taken refuge in that famous island a short time before the invasion of Attica by Xerxes.*

When Euripides became famous, those whose envy he excited sought to degrade him by representing that his father, Mane-

* Suidas *in Vita.*

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sarchus, was a common tavern-keeper, and that his mother, Clito, was a vender of herbs, or vegetables. Aristophanes frequently reproaches him, in his comedies, for his alleged origin, especially in the "Acharnians," the "Knights," and the "Thesmephoria." According to Aulus Gellius,* the comic dramatist is corroborated by Theophrastus and others; but the statement of Philochorus is much more probable.† The latter undertakes to prove that the mother of Euripides was of noble birth. The testimony of this historian is quoted by Moschopulus, and approved by Suidas; but we need not pause to examine whether it is correct or not.

If it were of much importance, whether the parents of Euripides were mean, or noble, it might easily be inferred from the education they gave their son, that they must at least have been in comfortable circumstances. It is sufficiently clear from the same circumstances that at least one of them must have had a good understanding; no really vulgar, base parent would have selected for the instruction of his son, such teachers as those under whose tuition Euripides was placed as soon as it was found that he possessed talent. The best teachers, even in Athens, in his time, were Anaxagoras, Protagoras and Prodicus, and he had the advantage of the instructions of each of these in turn.‡

Some of his biographers maintain that his teacher in morals was Socrates. This cannot be strictly correct, since the poet was twelve or thirteen years old before the philosopher was born; but it is beyond dispute that they became intimate friends as they became famous. If Socrates gave instructions to Euripides, it is not the less certain that the former had first profited by the conversations of the latter. This is the opinion of Barnes, one of the best of the modern biographers of the poet.§ Nor is it inconsistent with

* Euripidi poetæ matrem Theopompus agrestia olera vendentem victum quæsisse dicit. L. xv., c. xx. See also Val. Maximus, l. iii., c. iv.

† Barnes *in Vita Eurip.*

‡ Mox à corporis cura ad excolendi animi studium transgressus, auditor fuit physici Anaxagoræ et Prodici rhetoris in morali autem philosophia Socratis tragaedium scribere natus annos duodevegenti adortus. *Aul. Gel.* Valekenær *Diatrib*, 4, 5. Bouterweck, *de Philosophia Euripidea*, p. 163, *et seq.*

§ Vide *Vita Euripidis*, p. 120, *ad finem.*

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the record of Diogenes Laertes, who says that Socrates aided Euripides in the composition of his tragedies.* In support of this statement, Laertes reminds his readers that Socrates scarcely ever attended the theatre, except when some piece of Euripides was presented, and that on such occasions he never absented himself when it was possible for him to attend. This is corroborated by nearly all the earlier biographers.† The same fact throws some light on the hostility of Aristophanes to the philosopher as well as to the tragic poet. It would be difficult to decide from his comedies, which he was the most anxious to persecute. If he introduces one upon the stage, under his proper name, to revile him, he takes similar liberty with the other: in the "Clouds," Socrates appears as one of the *dramatis personæ*, while Euripides is made to play a similar rôle in the "Frogs."

It is now universally admitted that Aristophanes has done the grossest injustice to Socrates, but since the fame of Euripides became obscured in our time, as intimated above, it has been the fashion to believe that in his case the satirist was not far wrong, if, indeed he was not wholly right. There is so much true philosophy in the tragedies of Euripides, that it is not at all strange that the author should be said to have been aided by the greatest philosopher of his time; especially as the two great thinkers had such warm friendship and profound esteem for each other. It is nothing more strange, but less so, than that Bacon has received the credit, from many, of having aided Shakespeare in the composition of his tragedies. Had the fact been true in either case, it would have done no discredit to either poet or philosopher; but we do not believe there was any more truth in it than that the philosopher may sometimes have made suggestions to the poet, of which the latter was pleased to avail himself.

Our object at present, however, is only to show that no poet, even of the golden age of Greek literature, could have been more thoroughly educated than Euripides. There would have been sufficient proof of this had he never seen Socrates; let it be remembered that the best teacher of

* Diog. Laert., in *Vit. Socrat.*, lib. ii. † Elian. *Var. Hist.*, lib. ii., c. xiii.

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Socrates himself, was Anaxagoras, who was also the tutor of Pericles. Nothing more need be said, we think, on this branch of our subject. If Euripides was not well prepared to instruct the public, no poet of all antiquity was. And it is easy to see that he was so regarded by the most learned of his contemporaries. Both Plato and Aristotle regarded him as a philosopher and an orator as well as a poet; both also admired his tragedies. The Stagyrite not only quoted them frequently, but based on them some of his most important tragic laws. All this we shall see as we proceed.

Nearly every great critic since his time has evinced similar admiration for Euripides as a tragic poet, although it is true that those who praise him most impute faults to him. Some criticise him more than they do either of his great rivals; but it is chiefly because they have read him more, and expected more from him. Yet we may attribute the comparative neglect with which he is treated to-day to these criticisms.

About half a century ago, A. W. Schlegel, the German Aristarchus, discovered, or thought he discovered, that Aristotle had condemned Euripides, or at least assigned to him an inferior rank in comparison with Æschylus and Sophocles. This led him to examine the tragedies of the three rivals more carefully than he might otherwise have done; and the result was that he condemned Euripides. At this time Schlegel was the great authority in Germany; most readily do we admit that, generally speaking, there were few if any better authorities on literary subjects; but need we add, that it did not follow from this that he was infallible? The great mistake was that, at least in the case of Euripides, he was regarded as such by his countrymen. It so happened that England had no very eminent critic at the time; it also happened that Shakespeare had all of a sudden become very popular in Germany. Both these circumstances may serve to explain the facility with which England accepted the dictum of Schlegel, and degraded Euripides from the position which he had held for so many centuries, almost banishing him from the colleges and high schools.

What the English do in matters of taste, or through lack

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of a sufficiently cultivated, correct taste, Americans think they must imitate, and accordingly the author of Medea was set aside in this country still more summarily than he was in England. As if to make amends to the *manes* of ancient Greece for having thus outraged Euripides, Schlegel praised Æschylus, Sophocles and Aristophanes more highly than they had ever been praised before; and his increased estimate of each was received in England with as implicit faith as his condemnation of Euripides.

But before we proceed any further let us remind the reader of those criticisms of Aristotle which had so much influence on the German critic. "The example, however," says the Stagyrite, "of depraved manners is, indeed, not necessary; such, for instance, as that of Menelaus in the 'Orestes,' but an example of unbecoming and inappropriate manners is the lamentation of Ulysses in the tragedy of 'Scylla,' and the speech of Menalippa; and the example of anomalous manners in the Iphigenia in Aulis. For Iphigenia supplicating does not at all resemble the Iphigenia in the latter part of the tragedy."*

These are the most severe criticisms which the great philosopher-critic has made on Euripides, but they are not more severe than he has elsewhere made even on Homer. Such as they are, however, it is by no means agreed among eminent critics, ancient or modern, that they are deserved. It has been justly urged in defence of the poet that it was perfectly natural that Iphigenia should feel terrified when first informed that she was to be put to death as a sacrifice, and that under the influence of this terror, she should indulge in the most earnest supplications to those whom she thought had the power of saving her. Nor was it unnatural that on being persuaded that her death would serve her country and confer glory on her family she should not only become resigned to her fate, but eager to die?

If Aristotle thought differently, was not he also liable to error? But supposing we acknowledge his infallibility as a critic on the drama, Euripides would rather gain than lose

* Arist. *Poetics*, c. xv.

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by our doing so. If he was infallible in passing censure on Euripides, it must follow that he was equally infallible in bestowing praise on him. Now let us give a specimen of the latter: "For of old," he says, "the poets adopted any casual fables, but now the *most beautiful tragedies* are composed about a few families, as, for instance, about Alcmæon, Œdipus, Orestes, Meleager, Thyestes, Telephus, and such other persons as happen either to have suffered or done things of a dreadful nature. The tragedy, therefore, which is *most beautiful according to art, is of this construction*, hence they *erroneously blame* Euripides who *accuse* him of having done this in his tragedies, and for making many of them terminate in misfortune. For this method, as we have said, *is right*, of which this is great evidence that in the scenes and contests of the players simple fables, which terminate unhappily, appear to be most tragical, if *properly acted*. And Euripides, though he does not manage other things well, *is the most tragic of poets*."*

Qualified as this is, in the concluding sentence there could be no higher praise. To call Euripides the most tragic of poets, is as high a compliment as to call Aristophanes the most comic of poets, since it was as much the object of one to be tragic as it was that of the other to be comic. And this is the sense in which Aristotle has been understood by nine-tenths of the ancient and modern critics; indeed by all critics worthy of the name except such as had an interest in depreciating Euripides. Even the god of poetry himself, speaking through his oracle at Delphi, placed Euripides above his rivals. It would not have become Apollo to have assigned him the preëminence as a poet; in order to avoid this difficulty, he makes wisdom the criterion of superior excellence, and proclaims "Sophocles is wise, Euripides is still wiser, but the wisest of all men is Socrates." Usually the replies of the oracle were given in hexameters; but as this measure would not suit the name of Euripides, the reply in this case is made in iambics, as follows:

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος γ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν δ' ἁπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος

* *Poetics*, c. xiii.

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We are well aware that an announcement of this kind would not have much force at the present day, but it would be very illogical to judge the principal ancient oracles by the oracular proclamations of modern times. It is true that the replies of the oracle of Delphi were delivered by a priestess; but she was a learned priestess; far more learned than most of our modern doctors of divinity. Yet the accomplished and shrewd Pythian rarely depended exclusively on her own knowledge; she never did so in any important case. She had a council to consult which consisted of some of the wisest and most learned men in Greece; so that what she uttered in instances like this, was the deliberate and well-considered opinion of those best competent to form one on the particular question at issue. In short, the oracle at Delphi, in the time of Euripides, was a true index of public opinion; not the opinion of the thoughtless and unstable multitude, but that of the most highly cultivated class that has ever conferred glory on society. When the distich above quoted is regarded in this light, it must be admitted that it possesses some force, as indicating the estimation in which Euripides was held by the most intelligent of his contemporaries, in comparison with those rivals at whose feet it is the fashion to place him at the present day.

That authors of our own time should have any interest in robbing of his glory a poet who wrote more than two thousand years ago may seem absurd at first sight, but we will show, as we proceed, that there is good reason for it, although it is perverse and unjust. If we turn from the Greeks to the Romans, we shall find that the most cautious and judicious of the latter had as high an admiration for Euripides as the most friendly and enthusiastic of the former. This is true, for example, of Quintilian, than whom, it will be admitted, there has been no better authority since the time of the Stagyrite himself. Quintilian frequently alludes to Euripides, and always in the language of esteem and admiration. The Roman critic is as fond of comparisons as Socrates or Plato; but he is much more cautious in giving decided expression to his preferences than either. If the reader will bear this fact in mind he will be the better

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able to appreciate the following estimate. Having first directed his attention to Æschylus, whom he justly designates as "grandiloquent even to a fault," as well as "rough and unpolished," Quintilian proceeds to say:—"But Sophocles and Euripides throw a brighter lustre on that kind of composition; concerning whom, as their styles are different, it is a question among many which is the better poet. This point, since it has no relation to my present subject, I shall, for my own part, leave undecided. But every one must acknowledge that for those who are preparing themselves for pleading, Euripides will be by far the more serviceable; for, in his style, (which those to whom the gravity, and dignified step, and lofty tone of Sophocles appear to have an air of greater sublimity, *think proper to censure*,) he approaches nearer to the language of oratory; *he abounds with fine thoughts;* in precepts of morality, such as have been delivered by the philosophers, *he is almost equal to the philosophers themselves;* in addresses and replies he is comparable to *any of those who have been distinguished as eloquent speakers* in the forum; and in touching *every kind of feeling* he has *remarkable power*, but in exciting that of pity holds *undisputed preëminence*. Menander, as he himself often testifies, admired Euripides greatly, and even imitated him, though in a different department of the drama."*

Now let us inquire for a moment, what has been the influence of Euripides. Has it been as great as that of Æschylus or Sophocles? We think that no one can intelligently and impartially examine the subject without coming to the conclusion that his influence has been greater than that of any other ancient poet whose works have come down to us, with the sole exception of Homer. We have already remarked that his tragedies were frequently quoted by all the master spirits of his time. Even Diogenes, who freely criticised

* Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant, utiliorum longè Euripidem fore. Namque is in sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi: et sententiis densus, and in iis quæ à sapientibus tradita sunt, penè ipsis par, and in dicendo ac respondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro diserti, comparandus. In affectibus verò cùm omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miseratione constant, facilè præcipuus. *Instit. Orator*, l. x., c. 67, *et seq.*

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both Plato and Socrates, was always willing to own that he imparted additional force to his best precepts by appropriate quotations from Euripides. But many Greek dramas now lost owed their chief merit to what their authors borrowed from the author of Medea, Hippolytus and Iphigenia in Tauris. Nor did he prove a less prolific source to the greatest thinkers of ancient Rome. Virgil avails himself of his pathetic and striking thoughts in a hundred instances; and both Horace and Juvenal pay court to him in their most brilliant strains. Ovid admired the Medea so much that he composed a tragedy himself of that name, doing little more than transposing both the characters and incidents of Euripides. Seneca, the philosopher and moralist, has more than imitated several of the tragedies of our poet, including Medea, Hercules Furens, Troades, Hippolytus, and the Phœnicians. Even Cicero found it an instructive and interesting exercise to occupy himself for days and weeks in translating the sonorous, musical and pathetic verses of Euripides.

But even the most cruel and ferocious enemies of the Athenians were melted into tenderness and compassion by the poetry of Euripides. Every intelligent student of history is aware of what the Athenian army under Nicias suffered in Sicily. Perhaps no conquered army, though an invading one, was ever treated more cruelly by the conquerors. They were confined in quarries under ground, where, we are told, they died in scores by disease and bad diet, for all they were allowed by the Sicilians was a pint of barley a day, and half a pint of water. But it seems that even the most ruthless of those who abused the privileges of victory in this way, could not help being moved by the exquisite pathos of Euripides' verses. While the Athenians in general were enslaved, often whipped, and denied the commonest necessaries of life, many of them preferring to seek shelter in the woods and mountains, and live as best they could on fruits and vegetables, rather than to subject themselves to the treatment to which they saw their unfortunate countrymen were exposed, those who could recite some verses from Euripides were not only permitted to pass without molestation, but were often paid for the pleasure they afforded.

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No facts in history are more fully attested than these. We need only adduce the testimony of Plutarch, who, in his Life of Nicias, relates some of the circumstances as follows: "Some there were who owed their preservation to Euripides. Of all the Grecians, his was the muse whom the Sicilians were most in love with. From every stranger that landed in their island they gleaned every small specimen or portion of his works, and communicated it with pleasure to each other. It is said that on this occasion a number of Athenians, upon their return home, went to Euripides and thanked him in the most respectful manner for their obligations to his pen, some having been enfranchised for teaching their masters what they remembered of his poems, and others having got refreshments when they were wandering about after the battle, for singing a few of his verses. Nor is this to be wondered at, since they tell us that when a ship from Cannus, which happened to be pursued by pirates, was going to take shelter in one of their ports, the Sicilians at first refused to admit her. Upon asking the crew whether they knew any of the verses of Euripides, and being answered in the affirmative, they received both them and their vessel."*

Much as we admire Shakespeare, and much as he deserves to be admired, his poetry has never produced such results as these. The great English dramatist is admired in Germany more than in any other country whose language is other than English; but we think that if the British invaded Prussia to-morrow, and that they were defeated in several battles by the Prussians, those captured and held as prisoners of war could not secure their release by reciting even the most eloquent and touching passages, or singing some of the sweetest lyrics, in Hamlet, Othello, Romeo and Juliet, or Cleopatra!

But Euripides accomplished still more for his countrymen than this. There are many instances of conquerors having spared a city or town which they had intended to destroy for the sake of some great thinker whose birthplace it was; but the influence of Euripides was much greater and more glorious than this. It is literally true that he once saved his

* Plut. *in Vita Niciæ, sub. finem.* Vide also Le Fèvre *Vie des Poetes Grecs*, p. 96, *et seq.*

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country by his poetry while his bones mouldered in the grave. When Athens was captured by Lysander, it was proposed in in a council of the allies to reduce the inhabitants to slavery, to raze every house, and to turn the whole Athenian territory into a place of pasturage for cattle. The council was followed by a banquet which was attended by all the generals; but it happened that a musician from Phocœa, who had been invited to it, recited, either by accident or design, a few verses from the piece in which Euripides describes the humiliation of Electra, reduced by Egisthus to the condition of a slave, precipitated from a palace to a hut. The guests were so deeply affected by this touching portraiture of misfortune, by its striking relation to the humiliation of Athens, reminding all, as it did, of the glory of that city, which had produced so many great works and illustrious men, that they unanimously changed their resolution, and scorned to make such cruel use of their victory.*

But it may be said that much glory as all this confers on Euripides, it presents no reason why the moderns should seek to depreciate his genius. This is true, but nevertheless abundant reasons exist. Is it not a good reason that the greatest modern poets have not only imitated several of the tragedies of Euripides, but largely borrowed from them? Although the Italians, Germans and French have each borrowed more from Euripides than the English, it is not the less true that the latter owe him much. All the earlier English dramatists, including Marlowe and Greene, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben. Johnson and Philip Massinger, have drawn inspiration from the Euripidean fountain. It would be easy to point out even in Shakespeare not a few passages which owe much of their beauty and pathos to the author of Alcestis and Medea, although it is more than probable that the Euripidean allusions to be found in Shakespeare have been taken at second hand. Be it remembered that Troylus and Cressida consists of little more, from beginning to end, than incidents and characters drawn from several of the tragedies of Euripides, and rather awkwardly transposed.

* Aulus Gellius, l. 17; Le Fevre, *Vies des Poetes Grecs*, p. 90.

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This is so evident to all acquainted with the Greek drama that the most learned commentators on our great dramatist are inclined to reject this piece altogether as un-Shakesperian.

But, it is the Germans and the French who have made most use of Euripides. All the principal poets of Germany, not excepting Gœthe, Schiller and Klopstock have helped themselves more or less freely to the gems of the Greek poet. Those whom Schlegel most admires have borrowed most from Euripides; and, although in general a very candid and honest critic, he sometimes speaks like those who, having enriched themselves by plunder, pretend that the plunder was of so inferior a quality that it could not have enriched them!

The French critics act on the same principle for the same reason; indeed, it was they who began the work of depreciation in the case of Euripides. In point of fact, Schlegel merely enlarged on the plan of La Harpe and Bayle, both of whom, especially the former, had sought to show, before Schlegel uttered a word, that Corneille and Racine were so much superior to Euripides. The spirit in which La Harpe compared the French tragic dramatists to Euripides, towards the close of the eighteenth century, may be inferred from the following remark: "It would be necessary to have all the partiality which Bromoy shows in favor of the ancients in order to establish a parallel between the *Hippolytus* of Euripides and the *Phædre* of Racine. The French author is indeed indebted to the Greek for the idea of the subject, the first part of that beautiful scene of the love-frenzy of Phædra, that of Theseus with his son, and the recital of the death of Hippolytus; but in all the rest he has *replaced the greatest faults* by the *greatest beauties*."*

He then makes an elaborate comparison between the two authors, and has no difficulty in coming to the conclusion

* Il faudrait avoir toute la partialité que Brumoy ne montre que trop en faveur des anciens, pour établir un parallele entre *l'Hyppolite* d'Euripide et la *Phedre* de Racine. L'auteur Français doit en effet au grec l'idée du sujet, la premiere moitié de cette belle scene de l'égarement de Phedre, celle de Thésée avec son fils, et le récit de la mort d'Hyppolite; mais dans tout le reste il a remplacé les plus grandes fautes par les plus, grandes beautés.—*Cours de Litt.*, t. 1, pp. 461-2.

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that the French drama is vastly better than the Greek drama. By similar reasoning La Harpe proves that the Andromaque, Imphigenie, &c., are superior to the tragedies of Euripides respectively, bearing the same titles. But the borrowing poets themselves pursue the same course—at least those who have borrowed so much that it is impossible for them to conceal all they have appropriated. Even Racine has a good deal of special pleading on the subject: "Quoique ma tragédie," he says, "porte le même titre que la sienne, le sujet en est pourtant tres-different. Andromaque dans Euripide craint pour la ire de Molossus, qui est un fils qu'elle a eu de Pyrrhus, et qu' Hermione veut faire mourir avec sa mere. Mais dans ma piece il ne s'agit point de Molossus. Andromaque ne connait pas d'autre mari qu' Hector, ni d'autre fiils qu Astianax," &c.*

This is something like appropriating one's garment for the purpose of making a fine figure in it, and making such alterations here and there as would preclude the owner from claiming it as his should he happen to see it. The owner might, indeed, say that it would have been more respectable for the party to have procured a garment that required no such alterations—one that was entirely his own. But what would be said of the party who, having helped himself to his neighbor's garment in this manner—taking all the principal materials—would commence to run down the owner, and say that after all it was but a coarse garment—that it was full of flaws; that such and such a garment were much better! Most honest persons would deem this a strange sort of reasoning, and yet it would be nothing more so than that applied to the tragedies of Euripides.

But the most barefaced and ungrateful of all who have availed themselves of the tragedies of Euripides is Voltaire. In commenting on the "Suppliants," La Harpe says: "The only thing remarkable for us is that towards the close there is a scene which has given Voltaire the idea of the butcher of his *Olympie*."†

The critic then proceeds to show what good use Voltaire

* *Cours de Litterature*, tome i., p. 454. † *Ib.*

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has made of that idea. As a matter of course we are required to believe that he has improved upon it. Nor is it alone in his tragedies he has borrowed from Euripides—he has done so to a very considerable extent in his *Henriade*, the most important of his poetical works. Yet no one has taken more pains to depreciate Euripides. He sneers at him in several parts of his writings, but we need only refer the reader to his Philosophical Dictionary, article "Ancients and Moderns." The title of the article sufficiently implies what may be expected. Voltaire pretends to show, without the least trouble, how immensely the French have improved on the Greeks in tragedy. He first ridicules the scene in Alcestis, in which the angry dialogue takes place between Pheres and his son, Admetus. Having thus prepared the way, he passes sentence on the ancients in the following style: "We may venture to say that the fine scenes of Corneille, and the affecting tragedies of Racine are as much superior to the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides as these two Greeks were to Thespis. Racine was quite sensible of his great superiority over Euripides, but he praised the Greek poet for the sake of humbling Perhault." (!)

The reader will be able to appreciate this all the better if he bear in mind that, in addition to the several Euripidean tragedies of Racine, the *Medée* of Corneille is borrowed from the *Medea* of Euripides, and that the *Oreste* of Voltaire himself is borrowed from the *Orestes* of the same poet. When we add that the *Electra* of Crebillon, and the *Iphigenia en Tauride* of Guimond de la Touche are from the same fertile source, then it will be sufficiently easy to understand why it is that the moderns excel the ancients so immensely!

All this mutual admiration had been indulged in before Schlegel made his discovery; it cannot be denied that the German Aristarchus was much influenced by exactly the same style of criticism which denounced the tragedies of Shakespeare as "monstrous farces," and which sneeringly suggested that Othello should be called "the Tragedy of the Handkerchief." Yet no sooner does he condemn Euripides as inferior to his rivals, than the English critics proceed to prove that he is entirely right; that Euripides is no drama-

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tist at all, "*or the shadow of a dramatist*," but a mere "rhetorician," &c. (!) *

Now, before we proceed any further, let us see what Schlegel has said, and judge whether, regarding his sentence as final, we should consider Euripides as degraded. "If we consider Euripides by himself," he says, "without any comparison with his predecessors; if we select many of his best pieces, and some single passages of others, we must bestow extraordinary praise on him."† Who will deny, on reflection, that this is the fairest way to judge every one? Is it not fairer to judge Euripides by himself than to hold him to succeed or fail according as he is similar or dissimilar in his taste, feeling, or train of thought, to Sophocles or Æschylus? Supposing this style of criticism were applied to Homer, what philosophy or justice would there be in condemning him because he is not like Hesiod, or any other poet, ancient or modern? Goëthe is not like Schiller, or Klopstock, or Uhland; but is he anything the worse for this? To whom shall we compare Shakespeare in order to test his genius, according to the canons of Schlegel? Is it not universally acknowledged that he is not like any other dramatist? Nay, is it not admitted that there is not one of his tragedies which is not written in open violation of all the rules of the drama?

But let Schlegel continue: "On the other hand," he says, "if we view him in connection with the history of his art; if in his pieces we always regard the whole, and particularly his object, as generally displayed in those which have come down to us, we cannot forbear blaming him strongly on many accounts."‡ What great thinker has ever written who may not be "blamed strongly and on many accounts?" Even Homer has been blamed strongly and on many accounts. It is only the productions of great minds that admit of such blame. "There are few writers," he adds, "of whom so much good and so much ill may be said with truth. His mind, to whose ingenuity there were no bounds, was exercised in every intellectual art; but his profusion of brilliant and amiable

* See Foreign *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxiv., p. 231. No. for Jan., 1840.
† *Lectures on the Drama*, vol. 1, p. 198, *et seq.* ‡ *Ib.*

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qualities was not governed in him by that elevated seriousness of disposition, and that rigorous and artist-like moderation which we revere in Æschylus and Sophocles."

Now be it observed that this is the sentence which has dethroned Euripides. The greatest critics of all antiquity, and the most illustrious philosophers, have judged the author of Medea by himself, and have "revered" him without reference to any other poet;* but because his dispositio nis not so serious, or his moderation so artist-like, as those of Æschylus or Sophocles, it must follow that, after all, he is not what he was taken to be by every enlightened nation for more than a score of centuries! Now, would it not be just as reasonable to condemn Schlegel because he is unlike some two or three other German critics whom we could mention? Is there not such a thing as too much "seriousness of disposition," and even a too "artist-like moderation?" But Schlegel is not yet done. "He (Euripides) sometimes has passages overpoweringly beautiful, and at other times sinks into real lowness of style. With all his faults, he possesses astonishing ease and a sort of fascinating charm."†

The facility with which political revolutions are sometimes accomplished is proverbial. It is said that revolutions in taste and feeling are, on the contrary, very difficult to be produced. Yet it would be hard to point out any civilized nation of ancient or modern times, that has changed its ruling power on slighter grounds than those upon which Euripides has been dethroned by Schlegel.

Perhaps of all things dependent on public opinion female

* Even Aristotle himself, or Plato, is scarcely a better authority than Longinus, author of the celebrated treatise on the *Sublime*, which has served as a model for all authors who since his time have undertaken to treat the same subject. It is universally admitted that in pointing out the sublimity of particular passages in other writers, especially in the poets, he frequently becomes sublime himself; at the same time no critic is more chary of his praise. If it be borne in mind that he has some severe criticisms even on Homer, whom, like all other competent judges, he regarded as the Prince of Poets, then it will be understood from his remarks on Euripides what his opinion was of the author of *Medea*. In his chapter on images he quotes three lines from the *Orestes* of Euripides, in illustration of the precept that the object to be sought in poetry is to create astonishment and surprise. To these lines he adds one from the *Iphigenia in Taurus*,

† *Ib.*

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reputation is the most easily injured. The most indifferent or absurd remark made by some intermeddler has often caused a woman to lose caste for ever. It is but too true that many women have been undone by just such qualities as Schlegel attributes to Euripides! It is well known how dangerous it is for a lady to be "exercised in every intellectual art;" it is still more dangerous, if possible, for a lady to have a "profusion of brilliant and amiable qualities," especially if those qualities happen not to be governed by "elevated seriousness of disposition;" but when a lady is "overpoweringly beautiful," possesses "astonishing ease," and "a sort of fascinating charm," there is but little hope for her if some ingenious and learned person will only take the trouble to draw up a catalogue of her weak points! But that a tragic dramatist who wrote four centuries and a half before Mary Magdelene was born, should be condemned for nearly the same faults, is one of those problems which we are quite willing to leave to the metaphysicians.

But how is it that "the most tragic of poets," as Aristotle calls him, lacked seriousness? There are very few to whom it would occur that it was because he habitually sneered at the Pagan gods, yet those who carefully examine the whole of Schlegel's critique on Euripides will see that this was the principal reason. Æschylus and Sophocles are everywhere careful to speak of the multitude of Greek deities with due reverence, whereas Euripides, while having before his eyes the example of his friend and instructor, Anaxagoras, does what he can to bring those pretended gods into discredit by exhibiting their debaucheries to public scorn. Instead of

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and makes the following comment: "Here the poet himself sees the Furies; and what he conceives he almost forces his audience to see also." To this Longinus adds that there are two passions in the expression of which Euripides excels, namely, love and terror. For the benefit of the classical student we give a sentence or two from the original, only premising that Longinus fully ratifies the estimate of the Stagyrite:

Ἐνταῦθ' ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτὸς εἶδεν ἐρινύας· ὃ δὲ ἐφαντάσθη, μικρᾶ δεῖν θεάσασθαι καὶ τὰς ἀκούοντας ἠνάτκασεν. Ἔσι μὲν ἂν φιλοπονώτατος ὁ Εὐριπίδης δύο ταυτὶ πάθη, μανίας τε καὶ ἔρωτας, κἂν τούτοις, ὡς ἂν οἶδ' εἴ τισιν ἑτέροις, ἐπιτυχέστατος.—Sect. xv.

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deserving censure for this, does he not deserve the gratitude of every true friend of religion?

It is well known that he was in full accord with Socrates on this subject, but the dramatist had a much better opportunity than the philosopher to exhibit the pagan gods in their true character, without incurring the ill-will of those whom he addressed. All he had to do was to put criticisms into the mouths of some of his characters, as it were accidentally. This he did not omit to do, as we shall presently see; but he did it gradually. That he told his audiences quite as much as they were prepared to receive is sufficiently proved by the fact recorded by all his biographers, that he was called upon at least once to suppress some irreverent remarks he had made. But he acted like a soldier as well as a philosopher. We are informed that he presented himself in person on the stage, and replied to the people: "I do not compose my works in order that I may learn from you, but for the purpose of instructing you."*

Plutarch tells us, however, that on another occasion he was forced to make a change in order to save his life. "You must have heard," says the historian, "how Euripides was hissed and threatened for the commencement of his tragedy of Menalippa, which he had begun thus: 'O, Jupiter, for of thee I know nothing except the name.' He was quite proud of this tragedy as being magnificently and exquisitely written, but on account of the tumult and murmur which it caused among the people, he altered the first verses, so that they now read:

> 'O, Jupiter, how much in verity
> This name comports with thy divinity.' "†

Whether it be true that he yielded in this case or not, we have only to glance at his works, to see that he had little respect for those divinities which were treated with such orthodox reverence by his great rivals. Thus, for example, in his Hercules Furens, he makes a mortal commit the most

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* Val. Maxim., l. iii. c. vii. See also Barnes *in Vita. Eurip.*
† Plutarch *in Amatorio*, p. 756.

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odious actions in order to please the divine Juno. Finally, Hercules gets disgusted, and exclaims: "What mortal would address his vows to such a goddess, who, by jealousy against the mistress of Jupiter, sacrifices the benefactor of Greece (Theseus), whose conduct, in every respect, is irreproachable?"*

Theseus replies to Hercules, and denounces the pretended gods as follows: "Have they (the gods) not joined nuptials with each other, for which there is no law? Have they not placed a stain upon their sires by fetters for the sake of power? Nevertheless they dwell in Olympus, and endure the *disgrace of having sinned.*"†

Hercules replies to this: "No! I do not believe that the gods give themselves up to incestuous loves; or that they bind their parents with chains. I have never believed it—never shall I do so—or that one of the gods makes himself master of the other. A god, if he is really god, needs no one. The poets have invented these miserable stories."‡

Thus it is that Euripides shows his want of "seriousness;" but we will give another instance. In the tragedy of Ion he is still more severe on the scandalous conduct of the Olympian deities. Although we have a poetical translation at hand, we prefer to give a prose version of the language which the poet makes Ion apply to the popular gods. "But Appollo," he says, "deserves censure at my hands. What is he doing? He betrays virgins by forcing them to marry him, and neglects the perishing children whom he has begotten in secret. Do not thou act so, but when thou hast power pursue virtue. For whosoever of mortals is base the gods chastise. How, then, is it right that you, who write the laws for mortals, should yourselves be guilty of lawless deeds? If it should happen—an impossible thing, I am aware—but I suppose it—if it should happen one day that mortals would make you suffer the punishment of your outrages and your criminal amours, immediately you, Appolo, Neptune, and Jupiter, king of heaven—you would be constrained to despoil your temples to pay the penalties of your crimes.

* v. 1280-3. † v. 1287, *et. seq.* ‡ v. 1314, 1319.

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In yielding to your passions in contempt of wisdom, you are culpable. It is no longer just to accuse mortals if they imitate the vices of the gods who give them such examples."*

Although there is nothing impious or atheistical in this, those who read it carefully will not think it strange that Euripides was accused of impiety, and had but a narrow escape from a fate similar to that of Socrates. Some, indeed, think that the philosopher was emboldened by his example, for if Euripides survived Socrates, whose senior he was by thirteen years, it must have been but for a very brief period, although others maintain that the poet alludes to the fate of the philosopher in his *Palamedes* in a manner reproachful to the Athenians. Be this as it may, it is certain that Plato was influenced by this bold and manly conduct of the tragic poet in his trenchant and just critique on the gods of Olympus, which he introduces into his admirable work on Government. In any case Euripides was certainly no atheist. Like his master, Anaxagoras, who had but a narrow escape from death for the same offence, he believed in the unity of God. Accordingly, no other Pagan has so high a conception of the Deity. He puts language into the mouth of Hecuba, in the Troades, which would do no discredit to a Christian minister. "O, thou who givest motion to the earth, and at the same time residest in it, whoever thou art, Jupiter, hard to be known even by conjecture, whether thou art the necessity of nature, or the mind of mortals, *I pray to thee;* for, proceeding by a noiseless track, thou guidest all mortal affairs according to justice."†

In short, there is not one of his tragedies in which he does not show, in one way or the other, that, while he utterly despises the popular mythology, he has implicit faith not only in the existence of a Supreme Being, but also in rewards and punishments. Even in his *Bacchæ*, which, may be regarded as the poetical history of the introduction of a new worship into Greece—that of Bacchus—he does not allow his desire to please the people and save himself to prevent him from directing attention to a power superior to all the gods of Olympus. "The divine power," he makes the chorus say,

* v. 434-451. † v. 884-888.

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"is exercised but slowly, but it is inevitable; it chastises those mortals who honor folly. * * * For it is wrong to determine anything which violates the laws; it is a light expense to believe in the divine power, and that what has been accepted as law for a long time, has its origin in nature."*

It is also charged against Euripides that he was an enemy to the fair sex, and it must be admitted that there is much in his tragedies to justify the charge. No other author has uttered such terrible invectives against woman; but it should be remembered, that in those instances in which he has done so his female characters are the very worst; and he puts the denunciations of them into the mouths of those whose anger they had excited to the highest pitch. This we shall see presently. We shall also see that when he had good women to deal with, he treated them accordingly. It will be admitted that, had he treated Medea and Phædra as he does Hecuba and Andromache, he would have violated history as well as nature. It is true, however, that at all times during his life many regarded him as a woman hater. The explanation of Moschopulus and Suidas is, that he was of an austere disposition; that he was scarcely ever known to smile, and that he was indifferent to the charms of woman.†

This would seem rather inconsistent with his having been married twice, as he was; but the same fact ought to be regarded as evidence that he did not hate the sex. To this it must be added, however, that both of his wives were guilty of such bad conduct that he had to repudiate them. Again, many pretend to find in this a full explanation for his hatred of the sex; but he had nearly all his tragedies written when he had to separate from his second wife. There are others again who allege that Euripides loved the ladies but too well. This is the opinion of Athenæus, and he assures us that it is the correct one. The same historian further informs us that, on its being remarked to Sophocles one day that Euri-

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* v. 873, *et seq.*

† Mulieres fere omnes in majorem modum exosus fuisse dicitur, sive quòd natura abhoruit à mulierûm cœtu, sive quòd duas simul uxores habuerat, quum id decreto ab Atheniensibus facto jus esset; quarum matrimonii pertædebat.—Aulus Gellius, l. xv., c. xx. See, also, Barnes *in Vita Eurip.*, p. 19.

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pides was a decided woman-hater, he said: "I entirely agree with you, but he is so only in his tragedies."*

On another occasion Sophocles was asked, probably by the same party, how did it happen that, while the women he introduced on the stage were good and virtuous, the women of Euripides were generally vicious. "Euripides," he replied, "represents them as they are, but I represent them as they ought to be."† There is little doubt that the remark was made by Sophocles, for Aristotle informs us in his Poetics that, speaking generally and without reference to sex, Sophocles once said: "I represent persons as it is necessary they should be, and Euripides represents them as they are."‡

It must be admitted that this is a more severe condemnation of the sex than anything Euripides has written of them. Aristophanes pursues a still worse course; while pretending to vindicate the sex, in one of his comedies, from the charges made against them by Euripides, he outrages them himself more than the tragic poet has done. As some of our fair readers who are not familiar with Euripides may wish to have some idea of those terrible things which he has said of the sex in general, we will here translate one or two of the remarks he puts into the mouths of some of his characters. After Medea has abused Jason in every mood and tense, commencing one of her speeches to him—"O thou vilest of men," he concludes one of his replies as follows: "But thus far have you come, that your bed being safe, you women think that you have every thing. But if any misfortune befal you, the *most excellent and fairest objects you make most hateful.* It were well, then, that men should generate children from some other source, and that the female race should not exist, and thus there would not have been any evil among men."§

This, it must be admitted, is severe enough on the sex; but the conduct of Phædra provokes Hippolytus to still worse invectives. The lady, it will be remembered, falls in violent

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* Athen, lib. xiii., p. 557. † Barnes *in Vita*, p. 17. ‡ Aristot. *de Poet.*, c. xxv.
§ *Medea*, *v.* 570, *et. seq.*

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love with her step-son. The young man, instead of reciprocating her criminal and incestuous passion, becomes disgusted and horrified. Under the influence of these feelings, Hippolytus (the son), proceeds thus:—"O, Jove, wherefore in the name of heaven didst thou place in the light of the son that specious evil to men, women? for if thou didst well to propagate the race of mortals, there was no necessity for this to be done by women, but men might, having placed an equivalent in thy temples, either in brass or iron, or the weighty gold, by a race of children, each for the consideration of the value paid, and thus might dwell in unmolested houses, without females."*

Becoming more and more startling in his curses, as he proceeds, he concludes his revolting speech as follows: "For in some way or other they surely are always bad. Either then let some one teach them to be modest, or else let him suffer me ever to utter my invectives against them."†

All this is very ungallant; yet our two greatest poets, those whom we all admire and praise most, have said quite as bad against the sex. Nay, both have thought the invectives of Euripides worth adopting as their own with but slight alteration. Milton thought them worthy of a place even in his great epic; the essence of them will be readily recognized in the following lines:

> "Oh, why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven
> With spirits masculine, create at last
> *This novelty on earth*, this *fair defect*
> *Of nature*, and not fill the world at once
> With men, as angels, *without feminine?*"‡

It would be superfluous to give any specimen of what Shakespeare frequently puts into the mouths of some of his characters, against women; there is scarcely one of his tragedies in which he does not denounce the sex more or less. But who thinks of degrading Milton and Shakespeare, or either, because they sometimes seem ungallant? In short, if we should condemn Euripides on this ground, there is not one of the great poets of the world, ancient or modern,

* *Hippolytus*, v. 617, *et. seq.* † *Ib.* ‡ *Paradise Lost*, x. 890.

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whom we should not condemn. Neither Homer, nor Virgil, Dante, nor Goëthe, would escape.

Nor is there any better foundation for the charge of "mental reservation" which Schlegel and others also make against Euripides. It is true, there is one verse of his which, if considered by itself, without reference to the context, would seem to be nothing less reprehensible than an apology on the part of the poet for what jurists call willful and corrupt perjury; we mean the following:

ἡ λγῶσδ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ Φρην ἀνώμοτος.*

Those who turn to the dialogue in which this verse occurs will readily acquit the author of the base design attributed to him. It is only necessary to bear in mind that the remark is put into the mouth of the same personage who makes such a terrible onslaught on the ladies. The nurse of Phædra has just revealed to Hippolytus the guilty passion of his step-mother. Under the most favorable circumstances step-sons are seldom very affectionately disposed towards their stepmothers, even when the latter are young and beautiful; for the rest, let the dialogue speak for itself, and, in order that there be no mistake as to the meaning of the whole passage, we subjoin a prose translation:

"HIPP. O, mother earth, and ye disclosing rays of the sun, of what words have I heard the dreadful sound!

NUR. Be silent, my son, before any one hears thy voice.

HIPP. It is not possible for me to be silent, when I have heard such dreadful things.

NUR. Nay, I implore thee by thy beauteous hand.

HIPP. Wilt not desist from bringing thy hand near me, and from touching my garments?

NUR. O! by thy knees, I implore thee, do not utterly destroy me.

HIPP. But wherefore this? since, thou sayest, thou hast spoken nothing evil.

NUR. This word, my son, is by no means to be divulged.

HIPP. It is more fair to speak fair things to many.

NUR. O my child, by no means dishonor your oath.

HIPP. My tongue hath sworn—my mind is still unsworn.

NUR. O my son, what wilt thou do? Wilt thou destroy thy friends?

HIPP. *Friends!* I reject the word: no unjust person is my friend.

NUR. Pardon, my child: that men should err is but to be expected."

* "My tongue took an oath, but my mind is unsworn." *Hippolytus*, v. 612.

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Thus we see that if one be in favor of mental reservation, the other is opposed to it; if one counsels subterfuge and perjury, the other counsels truth and honor; and be it remembered that the former is in a violent passion, while the latter is trying to disarm his resentment. From which party, then, are we to expect the real sentiments of the poet? Not doubting what will be the reader's answer, we now direct his attention to a particular passage or two before we close, so that the poet may vindicate himself.

For this purpose we might turn almost at random to the Medea, Alcestis, Hippolytus, Iphigenia in Aulis, or Amdromache; but it so happens that the Hecuba is more within our reach at the present moment. Chiefly for this reason we will refer to some passages of it. At the same time we think those passages will be found to acquit Euripides of several of the charges made against him by modern critics, especially of that of hatred and disrespect for women. But we must first ask the reader to bear in mind that the tragedy of the Trojan Dames should be regarded as the counterpart of the Hecuba. The former should be read first; it is generally believed that it was written first. Be this as it may, the grief of Hecuba, as portrayed in the Trojan Dames, would seem to have no parallel in the history of human woe and affliction. New sorrows await her in every succeeding scene; and yet, when we come to learn her suffering, in the drama which bears her own name, her former afflictions seem comparatively trifling.

Usually the prologues of Euripides are made by deities. In the Hecuba the first speaker is the ghost of Polydorus, the son of Priam, who comes to relate his own history, and to predict all the incidents which the audience are about to witness. He was assassinated in Thrace by King Polymnestor, to whose care his father had entrusted him. The Greeks, returning from the destruction of Troy, land at Thrace. Among the Trojan captive women are Hecuba and her daughter, Polyxena. The *manes* of Achilles demands that the young princess be sacrificed on his tomb, as a condition of their being able to pursue their voyage homeward. No unprejudiced person, endowed with feeling

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and taste, can read the three first acts without paying the highest tribute to the genius of Euripides. If the scene in which Ulysses comes for the doomed princess, to lead her to the sacrifice, has been equalled by any tragic writer, ancient or modern, it certainly has never been surpassed. The appeals of mother and daughter in turn, to Ulysses, are not merely affecting; they combine almost every variety of eloquence, and yet there is not a word in either that is unwomanly. Ulysses, though on an odious errand, maintains his dignity throughout. He has all the courtesy of a gentleman, but the sternness of a soldier who feels he has a duty perform. Hecuba requests the privilege of a slave to question her master, and Ulysses grants her full liberty. She then asks him, does he remember when, being once in Troy, in the dangerous character of a disguised spy, who was recognized by Helen, she saved his life for him. She reminds him how he had implored her pity, and had not appealed to her generosity in vain. Ulysses admits all, but still refuses to save her daughter. Passing over some two hundred verses, we direct the reader's attention to that part of the scene in which Hecuba makes her first request.

In this speech is combined the tenderness of a mother, the grief of a captive, and the dignity of a queen. Like a true woman Hecuba bewails the loss of her children, and shudders at the indignities to which she is liable in captivity. Ulysses cannot deny that her afflictions are great, but he reminds her that many Grecian dames have also been made widows and childless by the same war.

Seeing that she has failed herself, she implores her daughter to try to move him to compassion by her entreaties and her tears. Hitherto, the doomed virgin has shuddered with terror at the idea of being put to death in this cruel and barbarous manner, but, like a true heroine, in proportion as her mother falls into despair she gains courage and firmness.

Who will say, on reflection, that this conduct evinces hatred or disrespect to the sex? What quality of any kind does it exhibit that bears out any of the charges made against Euripides? But let us see whether the immolated virgin did anything at the final moment that was

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unworthy of her sex, or that was inconsistent with her parting wishes and promises to her mother. The poet does not directly describe the death scene, but makes Talthybius, who presided at the sacrifice as herald of the Greeks, do so. When the herald comes to Hecuba she thinks that he comes to conduct her to a similar death, but, with genuine maternal feeling, she is much more anxious about the fate of her daughter than her own. Those who carefully read the description given by the herald, and bear in mind the circumstances which led to the sacrifice, as indicated in the passages referred to above, will be able to say whether the poet who did his best to bring contempt on a mythology which could foster such a ferocious and bloody superstition, did not deserve the highest praise rather than blame.

The passages thus indicated in passing would have fully vindicated the genius of Euripides, had no further proofs of it come down to us; they would have proved not only his intimate knowledge of the human heart, but also his masterly skill in portraying its feelings. We have no intention of making any formal comparison between him and either of his great rivals in this article; such a comparison would lead us too far, were it even necessary. We yield to none in our admiration of the grandeur and sublimity of Æschylus, and still less are we insensible to the exquisite beauty and chaste magnificence of Sophocles. We regard each as unapproachable in his own peculiar style; but still more emphatically is this true of Euripides, whose province is the *emotions*. If, as we are told by the best judges, the chief object of tragedy be to soften the heart, to make us sympathise with those that suffer, to make us weep for them when they weep themselves, for their afflictions, and again make us glad when those afflictions are removed or mitigated in their severity, then it must be held that of all the ancient tragic writers Euripides was the greatest, or that, as Aristotle expresses it, he was "the most tragic of poets."

If the intelligent reader will compare the three poets for himself, he will learn this important fact, that Euripides

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discovered a world of his own—the world of the human mind, as distinct from the world of a grovelling polytheism. It is very true that we have gods and goddesses enough in the tragedies of Euripides; but in every instance they are treated as men and women; their pretensions to divinity are recognised only in proportion as their conduct entitles them to that distinction. If their conduct is bad or disreputable, their being regarded as gods or goddesses by the people affords them no immunity from criticism or censure at the hands of Euripides, as we have shown above in more than one instance.

No poet of any age understood the passions better than Euripides; we have evidence everywhere in his tragedies that he not only understands their influence, but their very nature—the manner in which they are engendered in the heart. Hence it is that the characters of Euripides are always so true and natural in the expression of passion, even when their conduct is most outrageous or revolting. The cruel and implacable Medea, sorceress though she be, still affects us like a woman, even while destroying her own innocent children begging for their lives. We almost think we see her commit the horrible crime, and yet we have such a vivid recollection of the provocation she received from Jason—a provocation which above all others is most insufferable to woman—that on reflection we must rather pity than condemn her.

It was not alone in Athens that the pre-eminence of Euripides was acknowledged by the best calculated to form a correct opinion of his merits; his fame extended to every part of the world in which literature was then cultivated. He was equally a favorite with the learned priests of Egypt and the philosophers of Sparta and Macedonia.*

Archelaüs, king of Macedonia, had long been urging him to take up his residence at his court. Finally, when about eighty-two years old—shortly after he produced his Orestes—he accepted the monarch's invitation. As a man of superior culture and distinguished talents, Archelaüs is compared by

* See Diog. Laert, *in Platone*, lib. iii; also, Barnes, *in Vita Euripidis*, p. 27.

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historians to Pericles, and his high appreciation of the genius of Euripides affords agreeable evidence that he was worthy of the distinction. Not only did he place him above all the poets and authors of Macedonia, but so highly did he value his extensive and multifarious knowledge, that he made him his prime minister.*

In short, the king omitted nothing which he thought would be in any manner agreeable to the poet; thus it was that, next to the sovereign himself, he was the highest in authority and power in Macedonia, when he died suddenly. The mode of his death is related differently by different writers. The most general statement is that he was so severely bitten by some of the king's dogs, while out hunting with Archelaüs, that he died from loss of blood.

It is of comparatively little importance how the poet came to his death when over eighty years of age; but it is of much importance how his death was received by the enlightened world. The Athenians decreed that all citizens should wear a badge of mourning for ninety days, and sent ambassadors to Macedonia requesting, as a particular favor, that they might be permitted to take his remains to Athens. The king received the ambassadors politely, but told them that he could not part with so precious a treasure.†

Archilaüs had him interred with the greatest magnificence, causing a splendid monument to be erected to his memory among those of the most famous of the Macedonian kings. Nor was this the wish of the king alone: it was also that of all Macedonians who were capable of appreciating the genius of Euripides, except the poets, who were jealous of his well-earned glory.‡ Among those who give interesting accounts of

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* Solin. c. ix., p. 26. Thom. Magister *in Vita Euripidis.*

† Aulus Gellius, lib. xv., c. xx.

‡ Cicero was quite as much an admirer of Euripides as Quintilian. We have many evidences of this, but the most interesting, as well as the most conclusive, is the following: When Cicero knew that his days were numbered, when aware that the assassins were in pursuit of him, the author who afforded him most consolation in his grief, at the contemplation of such a fate as that which he knew awaited him, was Euripides. When the assassins came to give an account of their work to their employer, they told him that they found their illustrious victim reading the *Medea* of Euripides.—Ptolemæus *Hephæst, lib. v., apud Photium*, p. 485.

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this noble monument are Plutarch, Pausanias, Vitruvius, and Pliny. Although the Athenians failed to obtain the bones of Euripides, they did not take the less pains to do honor to his memory. They dedicated to him a superb cenotaph, which still existed in the time of Pausanias.*

Even Sophocles paid the highest honor to the memory of his rival. On hearing the news of his death, he caused a tragedy to be represented, in which he appeared himself in deep mourning, and made his actors appear without their usual crowns.*

Thus we see, even from so hurried a glance, that if Euripides could speak to-day from the tomb, he might well reproach our modern critics with being a degenerate race; he might justly tell them that they have proved their own want of taste much more than his inferiority, and that the time will come again when he will be restored to his rightful place in the temple of fame, while they shall be forgotten, or remembered only for their laborious but fruitless efforts to deprive him of a renown conferred on him by the greatest minds of all antiquity—a renown fully ratified by the most highly-gifted and cultivated of all nations. And, turning to our modern academical instructors, he might indignantly and scornfully ask them, do they pretend to be classical and learned, and yet allow the new-fangled, prejudiced notions of a Schlegel and a La Harpe to set aside the unanimous verdict of such judges as Aristotle and Plato, Socrates and Diogenes, Menander and Longinus, Seneca and Cicero? Our professors, we fear, could make but a sorry reply to such a question. We would, therefore, advise them to reconsider the case of Euripides. By all means let them continue to teach, as well as they can, the sublime strains of Æschylus, and instruct their pupils to admire the graceful portraitures of Sophocles, but let them not forget that of all the tragic writers of antiquity, Euripides is the poet of the affections —the one who awakens the highest aspirations of the soul—who makes us feel most deeply, and lays the strongest and most durable hold on our sympathies.

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*Pausan., lib. i. p. 2. † See Thom. Magister *in Vita Euripidis.*

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ART. II.—*Œuvres Complètes de* J. J. ROUSSEAU, *mises dans un Nouvel Ordre avec des Notes Historiques et des Eclaircissements; Par* V. D. MUSSET-PATHAY. 25 vols. Paris, 1823.

FEW men have been so well praised or so well abused as J. J. Rousseau. The fearful self-established conservators of law and order—of the English school chiefly—those who tremble in the presence of a new idea as before the destroying angel, look upon our daring philosopher as the apostle of license and the demon of social discord. There are others, belonging to the French school, who regard Jean Jacques with reverence and love; who see in him a revealer of new social truths, and a political reformer deserving of a place among the greatest benefactors of mankind. There are others, principally belonging to the former class, who consider, or affect to consider, Rousseau as a puling, sentimental egotist, a man without character and with but a moderate quantity of brains, who effected great political results by mere accident, as a heedless child playing with fire may be the cause of a disastrous conflagration. These latter are among those who fear his influence and are interested in depreciating him.

We in America ought to understand this man, for we owe him much. We doubt if the time has yet come, even here, when he can be generally appreciated. We have yet, on the one hand, too much of Puritan asceticism and fear of truth, which has been alloyed in a life with error, and on the other too little ability to separate the wheat from the chaff; if a character contains elements of vileness we cannot admire the good in it without danger, or at least without fear, of being contaminated by the error. We have not sufficient confidence in our own purity to admit into our society a Magdalene, even though assured of her entire reformation and restoration to Divine favor.

Because of this cowardice we lose the benefits of most valuable lessons, which such men as Rousseau can teach us. From English and Puritanic sources we are continually warned against the corrupting influence of licentious French

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writers. The warning is well meant, and should be heeded by those who are conscious of so much baseness in their nature that they fear to be contaminated by the evil while unable to appropriate the lessons of good in such a life as that of poor Jean Jacques.

We have said that America owes much to Rousseau; and if America, then the whole world. American independence was but an expression of European advancement; the barriers of custom were slighter and more easily broken through in the New World. The *Contrat Social* was the most open and fearless utterance of the apostles of freedom of the last century. Thomas Jefferson was a reader and admirer of the works of J. J. Rousseau, and it is said that his copy of the *Contrat Social*, with his marginal notes, is still in existence. We do not say that to Rousseau was due the American Declaration of Independence, any more than the French Revolution was due to our own; but the Swiss republican was the first in his century to put into fearless, though somewhat crude and erroneous, expression the highest aspirations of man for freedom and equal privileges. Restrained and directed by the love of law and the religious principles of Americans, these aspirations were in part gloriously fulfilled; having to contend with more opposition from powerful privileged classes and with too much license of opinion and action in France, they failed, at least for a time.

There is much error in the writings of Rousseau. Yet we believe with Jefferson (and Milton said substantially the same thing long before) that "error of opinion may be tolerated when truth is left free to combat it." We believe that there is more truth than error in the *Contrat Social*. We believe that mankind will always be benefitted by free expression of honest opinions by thinking men; and though such, through their blindness, may often mislead, it is better for the masses of humanity to be put in motion, though not altogether or surely in the right direction, as they will find the true path if they strive for it; while the philosophy which condemns them to inaction, because fearful of error, would ever keep them in ignorance and moral debasement. For stirring up the people to think upon their rights, privileges

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and duties, and to act according to the light they had, the world owes much to Rousseau. In the grand upheaval much corruption and cruelty were brought to light and gave themselves expression, but the result was no less surely beneficial. The social atmosphere was purer after these storms had spent their fury. Our author's political writings are little read at the present day, but what is valuable in them has been embodied in national constitutions, and is enshrined in the hearts of men, to work out other and still greater revolutions. He tells us that a clear conception of an ideal state is necessary before we attempt to accomplish any great reform, whether or not that state ever existed. Here is the germ of an important truth, to be considered by individuals in seeking their personal advancement, or by peoples desiring to establish the best government.

He would not unnecessarily make men discontented, but he would at least have them free in thought and aspiration. "Be obedient," says he, "to powers. If that means, yield to force, the precept is good, but superfluous; I answer that it will never be violated. All power comes from God I acknowledge; but all sickness comes from him also; is it to be said that one shall be forbidden to call a physician?"*

His ideal state is indicated in this declaration: "To find a form of association which shall defend and protect with the whole common power the person and goods of each associate, and by which each one, uniting himself to all, shall at the same time be obedient only to himself and remain as free as before. Such is the fundamental problem of which the social contract gives the solution."† In carrying out the details of this system, we do not believe that he could have drafted a form of constitution for a state which would have done for it what he claims should be done. At least his disciples have not been so fortunate in attempting to carry his precepts into practical operation. He expresses the highest admiration for the Christian religion, but does not think that an association of true Christians would constitute a perfect state, because it would not be a society of *men*.‡

* *Contrat Social*, l. I., c. III. † *Ibid*, l. I., c. V.

‡ "Par cette religion sainte, sublime, véritable les homnes, enfants de même Dieu, se reconnoissent tons pour frères et la société qui les unit ne se dissont par même à la mort."—*Ibid*, l. IV., c. VIII.

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The very perfection of this society, he declares, would cause its destruction. Perhaps he is right in this; that an association of individuals who acknowledge the golden rule or the principles of the Sermon on the Mount as their only law, would not and could not constitute a government, humanly speaking; such a society surely could not exist *as a state*,—for its principles would not permit it to do so, unless it comprised all mankind, or were unapproachably separated from the rest of the world. Rousseau did not write for Christian societies; he well knew that they had no need of his instructions. The Christian's state being a kingdom not of this world, he would constitute a government here below whose precepts should be somewhat less divine. Its highest law would be as follows: "There is, then, a profession of faith purely civil, of which it appertains to the sovereign to fix the articles, not precisely as dogmas of religion, but as social sentiments, without which it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a good subject. Without power to compel any one to believe them, it can banish from the state whoever does not believe them; it can banish such, not as impious, but as unsociable, as incapable of sincerely loving law and justice, and, when necessary, of sacrificing life to duty. If any one, after publicly recognizing these dogmas, conducts himself as if he did not believe them, he should be punished by death; he has committed the greatest of crimes, he has lied before the laws."*

Jean Jacques' ideal man, ideal society, and ideal government, may be far from faultless; yet they are noble aspirations, and humanity has been benefitted by contemplating them. In *Émile* he gives us an outline of a system of education which he believes would produce the desired man, and of course the perfect society and state would follow. No one, we presume, has ever attempted to carry out this plan in all its details, nor would such an attempt be likely to result otherwise than in failure. Yet this idealization is nevertheless extremely valuable. Parents and educators can get much good from a study of *Émile*, and there are few

* *Contrat Social*, l. IV., c.

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educational systems which could not be improved by incorporating the truths contained in this work.

He tells us we derive our education from nature, from men, or from things. The interior developement of our faculties and organs is the education of nature; the use which we are taught to make of that development is the education which we receive from men, and what we acquire by our own experience through objects which affect us is the education of things. "Of these three different kinds of education, that of nature does not depend upon ourselves, that of things depends upon us only in certain particulars. That of men is the only one of which we are really the masters."* This is the key-note of his educational philosophy. His own life was an illustration of his precepts, to some extent, yet one would think that the education which he received from his fellows was quite as little under his control as that of nature or things. But he would not have it so with the darling of his imagination, he would teach him to avoid the errors into which himself had fallen.

It is impossible to consider the writings of Rousseau without taking his life and character into account. The man was in all his work, and his history is more valuable than his philosophy. With one class of men the events of his life have had the effect to prevent his writings from being understood. They seemed to think it only necessary to point to certain portions of his career, as revealed by himself, effectually to dispose of any claim that might be set up in his behalf. The thoroughness and entire frankness of his *Confessions* have been regarded with disfavor, as though it indicated shameless abandonment thus to reveal what most men are desirous to conceal. On the score of good taste we could wish that many of his details had been omitted, not because they indicate depravity, for to have concealed mere wickedness would have falsified the design of the work, but because they are too disgusting for revelation. It was only necessary to Jean Jacques' plan to relate enough of the evil deeds of each period of his life to give us an accurate estimate of

* *Emile*, l. I.

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his character, without going into details, some of which scarcely, if at all, affect his moral standing, while they are exceedingly revolting to read.

It was a great soul, and by no means an abandoned one, that could, in old age, indite these *Confessions*. It was a most exquisite and refined soul, though its brightness was greatly dimmed by the corrupting influences by which he had been surrounded. Rousseau, bad as he acknowledges himself to have been, was not only not worse than the majority in his day, but he was probably much better. Indeed we believe that few nobler or greater souls ever existed. His offences were great, but his love was greater, and he nobly sacrificed self to reveal his heart to others for the world's good. There is no idle vaunt in the words wherein he declares that he dares present himself before the throne of the Most High, on the day of judgment, with his book as a true record of his sins, his motives and sufferings, and defy any among the assembled throng of spirits who had dwelt on earth to say, "I was better than that man."*

He was an egotist, though the common use of that term does not quite express the kind of self-interest which he felt. To know one's self has been admitted by both ancient and modern philosophers to be the highest work of man. It is a study well worthy of the loftiest genius, and if one succeeds in acquiring competent self-knowledge, he cannot do a greater work than to reveal himself as he is to his fellows. This *ego* it is in every one's power to know, if he can with sufficient self-abnegation set himself to the task. And a study of the one individual, all of whose motives and secret springs of character cannot be concealed from him, will help him to understand all mankind—for each man is, in the main, a type of all. The revelation of the *ego*, whom alone one can thoroughly impart to others, will help others to know themselves. There are few who ever have, or who could, perhaps, set themselves to this work so thoroughly and persistently, and accomplish it so completely, as did Jean Jacques Rousseau. We accept his own declaration, "Si

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. I.

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jamais enfant recut une éducation raisonable et saine cá étè moi."* His education was *interior;* it was metaphysical and psychological, and his intimate knowledge of the microcosm, himself, enabled him, to a great extent, to know all men, and it has helped others to know themselves.

Considering the great benefit to the world of this revelation of human nature, we would not, on behalf of mankind, that Rousseau had sinned less or suffered less. We surely believe that a divinity shaped the ends of this man's life, however rough-hewn they appear. No one is likely to be corrupted by his example, but every one may learn from its study how error surely leads to sorrow and repentance. The road of licentious pleasure, as he found it and has mapped it out, is not so flowery as to attract any one to wilfully follow it who can appreciate this example, and who is capable of a conception of real happiness. No parent will be induced to abandon his children because poor Jean Jacques did so. How much he suffered on this account we may learn from a perusal of his *Reveries;* what his aspirations were we can infer from *Émile.* "George Sand,"

"The large-brained woman and large hearted man,"

who has, perhaps, best appreciated Rousseau, gives it as her belief that if he had not abandoned his children he could not have written *Émile,* and "that God, if not man's opinion, made peace with him," adding, "Ceci justifie la Providence seulement."† This principle we believe applicable to his entire life and works; if he had not sinned he had not suffered, and if he had not suffered he had not been able to give the world the benefit of his reflections upon his life.

We are apt to envy those who sin in a way that we are tempted to do, but dare not; it is this more than a love of virtue in the abstract that makes men so uncompromisingly severe upon those who err. If we consider the sufferings which error always brings upon its votaries, our sense of justice will be abundantly satisfied. If we have faith in a Power which always rewards the good and punishes the evil,

* *Les Confessions,* Primière Partie, l. II.

† *Quelques Reflexions, sur J. J. Rousseau.*

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we shall not envy those who follow false pleasure, nor desire to imitate them. The majority of us do not thoroughly believe this, though the religious creeds of all civilized peoples embody this fundamental truth. We generally wish to believe it, but our worst nature is continually striving to persuade us that in the fields of forbidden pleasure there are more flowers than thorns. Hence we are enviously active to cast stones at those who break down the wall of partition and revel in what to our corrupt imagination seem fields of delight, which we are simply too cowardly to enter. Perhaps to some such the example of Jean Jacques may be injurious, but we think not. Certainly if we can appreciate his sufferings and their cause, we shall have no desire to imitate him. That, having tried these attractive paths and finding them thorny, he has told us precisely what they are, we owe him thanks. If we have a spark of true wisdom we shall be satisfied with his experience and our own consciousness, without attempting to assure ourselves of the truth by more practical demonstration. We take issue with him when he declares "I am unlike any one I have ever seen; I dare believe, unlike any human being. If no better than, I am at least different from others."* He differed from the masses of his fellows in degree, but not in kind. He felt more, but in the same directions. He differed from others chiefly in daring to be true at last, and to reveal himself as he was. His receptive capacity was extraordinary, but the good and evil with which he was filled come to all human beings, though few ever receive so much.

George Sand, in her admirable essay on Rousseau,† divides men of eminence into two classes, great men and strong men;—the former the thinkers who originate, the latter the actors, who put into practice the theories of the former. We believe that there is still another and a higher class, to which Rousseau belonged—the men who *feel*. Their power is greater than that of intellect, it is the power to perceive truth without the slow process of inductive reasoning. This power is

* *Les Confessions*, Primière Partie, l. I.

† *Quelques Reflexions, sur J. J. Rousseau.*

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often called intuition, but it has not been well defined by metaphysicians, and probably cannot be, for it is above and beyond the scope of reason. The men who possess this power are poets and prophets. Intellect, the organized part of the soul, furnishes the means of expression to this superior faculty. Persons with little intellect may possess souls of the highest order, but without the capacity of revealing themselves to others. It is this faculty, the real essence of greatness, which continually falsifies metaphysical systems, and especially phrenology. Its possession, with sufficient intellect for expression, constitutes genius.

This higher soul-faculty requires peculiar nurture for its development. It is a law unto itself. If bound by the chains of educational systems obnoxious to its nature, it grows best when nourished by the sweet influences of nature, and with its spontaneous feeling gently directed, but never crossed. Any attempt to compass it, to determine beforehand its proper proportions, and to prune and circumscribe it accordingly, is destructive. Left to grow freely, it will develop many traits that seem excrescences and deformities, but in the end its harmony will be apparent to all who can appreciate it. The soul of Jean Jacques Rousseau was certainly greatly marred by circumstances and influences, yet we doubt not he became what he was intended to be. There was enough of spontaneity in his growth to show the tendency of those influences. Had he been more thoroughly and conventionally trained he might have been a much better man, but he would have been also an infinitely smaller one.*

In the case of such a genius as Rousseau too rapid a forcing of the intellect would be at the expense of the higher faculties of the soul. It needs to receive impressions from without, and to compare, digest and arrange them by the internal faculty. A long period of such natural growth will result in a correspondingly high stature of soul. Jean Jacques spent more than half his life in growing, and when he

* "Sitôt donc que l'éducation est un art il est presque impossible qu'elle réussisse, puisque le concours nécessaire à son succès ne dépend de personne." *Emile*, l. I.

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was ready to give expression to what was in him, the world was startled, and thrones and social conventions were shaken by his eloquence. He says, "Rien de grand et de beau ne peut entrer dans un cœur d'homme dont je ne fusse capable entre le ciel et moi. Voilà d'ou naquit ma subite eloquence. Voilà d'ou se répandit dans mes piemieres livres ce feu vraiment celeste qui m'embrassait, et dont pendant quarante ans, il n'était pas échappé la moindre étincelle parce qu'il n'était pas encore allumé."*

This formative period of Rousseau's life, preceding the commencement of his literary career, contains much of interest and much that is sad. The first part of the *Confessions* details the experience by which a most loving and exquisite nature was made what the world knows the man to have been. Goethe says:

> "A talent developes in solitude;
> A character in the stream of the world."

Rousseau's talents were well developed; his character not so well. As the lesson of his *Confessions* these lines might be applied, for Rousseau was not of the common kind which falsifies, but shows us his real nature. "O man, of whatever country thou mayest be, or whatever thy opinions, listen; hear thy history, such as I here read it, not in the books of thy kind, which are liars, but in nature, which never lies."†

We love to linger over the events of his early life, and to feel an echo of the emotions of his rich nature, though sometimes repelled by his unfortunate experiences. Of his parents he speaks most tenderly. His birth cost his mother her life, he tells us, and of both parents he says, "Of all the gifts heaven had allotted them, a feeling heart was the only one I inherited. While, however, this had been the source of their happiness, it became the spring of all my misfortunes."‡ A great and fundamental mistake, poor Jean Jacques; your feeling heart was to you a spring of exquisite happiness, of which you surely had your share, and might have had much more had you always obeyed the best instincts of that heart.

* *Les Confessions*, Seconde Partie, l. IX. † *Contrat Social.*
‡ *Ibid*, Première Partie, l. I.

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It was doubtless true, as you say, that you "felt before you thought," and had you directed your thought by your feeling it had been better for you. This natural feeling was greatly distorted and misdirected by novel-reading, of the effect of which he declares, "I apprehended nothing; I had felt all."* The fault here was not that he apprehended too little, but that his feeling was prematurely awakened and tortured by fiction, instead of being left to develop naturally. Turning from novel reading to Plutarch partially checked his morbid humors, but did not entirely cure them. The training which he received at the hands of his relatives does not appear to have been objectionable; the tenderness and love lavished upon him developed those qualities in himself, and it was this which prevented him from ever becoming utterly abandoned. He was never malicious, he ever loved others better than himself, and had a tender conscience, which often restrained his evil propensities, and made him suffer terribly for his errors.

He speaks often of his defective memory, yet that he could, late in life, remember and record so many and so minute circumstances of his early years, would seem to contradict his assertion regarding the lack of that faculty. His habit of self-study contributed to overcome this want of memory, and to enable him to be thus minute and circumstantial. The recollections of his early years are charming to the reader as they were to himself, as for instance his sweet aunt with her songs, which he remembered in his old age, though not hearing them from boyhood; the punishment he received for breaking a comb, when he was innocent, and the feeling this injustice aroused; the history of the willow tree he and his companion planted, and the aqueduct they constructed for watering it. His passion for the fair sex was early developed, and "love's young dream," which a poet declares is more than twice as sweet as anything else, had power to spread a halo of joy over the latest years of his life.

His apprenticeship to an engraver, and the unkind treatment he here received, seem to have developed his worst

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. I.

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qualities. Accustomed heretofore generally to kindness, he was now treated with demoniacal cruelty. No wonder that he learned to steal, or that he should have justified himself by balancing the account with his master, charging his thefts against the unjust punishments he received. From his own account, he stole rather from a sense of retributive justice than because he particularly wanted what he took. He never appropriated money that did not belong to him, looking upon such theft with horror. He ran away from his master at the age of sixteen, and then commenced his wild and wonderful career. This was the turning point in his life. He pictures in imagination the life he might have led had his master been kind, and seems to regret that he could not have been permitted to follow the career of peaceful and contented labor that would have been his lot. We doubt if he was fitted for such a life, and at any rate if he lost by the change, the world has gained. As to the comparative happiness attending a humble or exalted worldly position, we have nothing to say. We do not doubt that the shoemaker who expects to do nothing all his life but sit at a bench and hammer leather, or the farmer who has no other aspiration above cultivating his fields and raising stock, may be among the best and consequently the happiest of mortals. *Suum cuique.* If the man does the work he was designed and is fitted for to the best of his ability, we doubt not he will receive his due share of happiness now and hereafter. Yet there is a great deal of nonsense in this decrying of ambitious careers. The man fitted for a wider field is a fool to wish his work had been less. Though honor and fame certainly do not arise from conditions, it is equally certain that each must "act well his part" to obtain his share of happiness.

To the desire of a good Catholic curé to convert him from heresy, Jean Jacques owed his introduction to Madame de Warens. It was a strange life that he led with her, and more than one strange conversion that he experienced. The character of this lady, as he reveals it, is an enigma, unless we take a thorough survey of the times in which she lived and the particular circumstances of her life. Rousseau

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himself always regarded her with veneration, and to the latest hour of his life doubtless considered her his benefactress. He says of himself, "Never were passions at once more ardent and more pure than mine; never was love more tender, more pure, more unselfish."* This assertion, we believe, was originally true. We believe also that the character he gives Madame de Warens was not altogether a mistaken one; that she was to him what he represents her, and that she had the capacity for being all that he ever fondly supposed her; that "she was made for a purity of morals she ever loved, but never lived up to; because, instead of listening to her heart, which led her aright, she harkened only to her reason, which led her astray."† Happy had it been for Rousseau had he listened to his own heart, whose impulses were right, and not permitted himself to be led astray by her corrupted reason. That he never loved her he is very certain, yet so perfect was the harmony between them, so fine his reverence and gratitude, that the feeling he had for her, notwithstanding her own course, so well calculated to destroy any refined sentiment, was something, as he believed, even superior to love. "I dare affirm," he declares, "that who feels only love, feels not that which is sweetest in life. I know another sentiment, less rapturous it may be, but a thousand times more delicious, which sometimes does, though frequently it does not, accompany love. Nor yet is this sentiment simply friendship—it is more voluptuous, more tender. I cannot imagine its being felt towards a person of the same sex."‡ We do not care to dispute with him about terms, but believe that Rousseau never conceived a truly exalted love. A sacred passion he was, unfortunately, never permitted to know. His heart was thoroughly awakened by Madame de Warens, and he permitted it to be corrupted by her false philosophy, which destroyed all the sacredness that might at some time have accompanied and purified a satisfying and ennobling passion. But for her influence he might have been permitted to give an affirmative answer to his question, "Is there such a thing as love

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. II. † *Ibid*, l. V. ‡ *Ibid*, l. III.

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(I no not say without desire, I myself have felt that), but without disquiet, without jealousy?"*

We must not uncharitably cast stones at Madame de Warens, who was the victim, before she became the teacher, of a false philosophy. She must have had a charming nature when her suffering protegé could say of her, and under *such* circumstances, "One proof of the excellence of this amiable woman's character is, that all who loved her loved each other. Even jealousy and rivalry yielded to the dominant sentiment she inspired, and I never saw any of those who surrounded her entertain the slightest ill-will towards each other. Let my reader pause a moment at this eulogy, and if he can recall to mind any woman of whom he can say this much, let him, as he values his life's repose, cleave to her, were she, for the rest, the lowest of creatures."† When a malady overtook him, and he was anxious about his soul's salvation, he declares that *Maman* was a great help to him with her religious counsel. It is startling to hear of Madame de Warens' religious teaching of Rousseau, considering their relations, yet we doubt if there was any hypocrisy in it. She believed what she taught, undoubtedly, and, like many a more severe religionist of our day, thought that theology was something having reference merely to the affairs of the next world, never dreaming that its tenets were to be put into practice in this life. Her religion was of a very comfortable, not to say sensible, sort. Rousseau tells us that she thought that God, not having given us the power to act with entire rectitude, could not be very severe with us. She did not believe in hell, but had faith in purgatory. She was not a good Catholic, it would seem, after all. We like her, however, for her charitable creed, and endorse what Rousseau says: "As a general thing they who believe in God make him like themselves; the good make him good, and the bad make him bad; ill-natured, gall-hearted bigots, who would fain damn the whole race of man, see nothing but hell, while kindly and loving souls all but disbelieve it."‡

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* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. II. † *Ibid*, l. V.
‡ *Ibid*, l. IV.

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Jean Jacques had a kindly and loving soul, but we believe he never quite lost his faith in hell. He was at one time greatly tormented with the fear of damnation, and to decide the question threw a stone at a tree, with the mental resolve that if it hit he should believe himself safe; if it missed, he was to consider himself elected to a place in the lake of fire and brimstone. Fortunately the stone hit the tree fairly in the centre, and he was saved.

The climax of his association with Madame de Warens was very sad, and must have cost him fearful suffering, though he represents himself as having borne it with as little bitterness as possible, and with no loss of esteem for her. Yet it must have cost him more than he cared to express to say of her, and his successful rival the hair-dresser, "I desired above all things that she should be happy, and since she had need of him to be so, why, I was content that he should be happy also."* Previously to this, however, he had passed through some delightful adventures, in which we love to follow him. His journey to Turin, whither he went to be finally converted from his Protestant heresy, afforded him some adventures which he naively records. He was always falling in love, as he says, "My heart loved to overflow, provided it felt it was overflowing into another."† We have his frank account of the theft of a ribbon, which he accused a girl, a fellow servant, of stealing and giving to him, and his declaration that he was induced to charge the theft upon her simply because he liked her. Not incredible by any means, though his assertion to her face of her guilt and his own innocence would seem to indicate considerable innate depravity, or else morally-paralyzing fear. Then, when servant to the Count de Gouvon, when waiting upon the table, what pride swelled his heart as he successfully translated an old French phrase which no one else could do! And this triumph he enjoyed because it brought him to the notice of the young lady of the house, for whom, true to his nature, he had conceived a passion, though he seems loth to acknowledge it, as it met with such an indifferent return.

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. V. † *Ibid*, l. II.

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His prospects in this situation were excellent, and he believes he might have succeeded in a brilliant worldly career which was here opened to him; but he decided to run away with a wild companion, and taste the sweets of nature and freedom in a vagabond life. He seems never to have seriously regretted this step, for he says, "He must be a fool that would sacrifice such a chance to projects of ambition, slow, difficult and uncertain in execution, and which, even supposing them realized at some day, would not, in their utmost splendor, be worth a quarter of an hour's true, youthful pleasure and liberty."* With a Hiéro's fountain, the exhibition of which they thought would pay their travelling expenses, the pair set out on their journey, and enjoyed it exquisitely. Jean Jacques had a fine passion for the scenes of nature. We doubt not that this journey did more for his intellectual development than months of study might have done. His erratic fancies accompanied him when enjoying natural scenery. He tells us that he liked precipices because they made his head swim, which he was fond of, provided he was in safety. His passion for nature, we think, proves that he had a good heart, for such a love cannot exist with a person of vicious inclinations.

One of the most charming passages in the *Confessions* is that describing his love for two young ladies, with whom he passed a day of innocent delight, his love seeking no other expression than a pressure of the hand. His musical studies led him into many strange adventures, one of the most unaccountable of which was his setting up for a professor and attempting to have a piece of his own composition performed in public, the horrible discord of which must have astonished the audience who had credited his pretentions. In the course of his wanderings he fell in with a Greek prelate, with whom he proposed to make a journey to Jerusalem, taking up collections on the way for the holy sepulchre. Reaching Berne, he was required to speak before the Senate in furtherance of their object. This was the only time in his life that he ever spoke in public, and the only time that

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. III.

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he spoke boldly and well. He must have been strangely inspired to overcome his natural diffidence, which made it always so difficult for him even to converse when many persons were present. "I cannot understand," he says, "even how it is possible to speak in company, for at each word everybody present has to be taken into account."

We do not altogether coincide in opinion with those who attribute this distaste to general conversation to an excessive desire to shine in company, and a fear or a consciousness that he could not do so. He was exceedingly emulous of the favorable opinion of others, but the reason he gives for his dislike of general conversation is, no doubt, the correct one. From his extreme sensitiveness of spirit Rousseau *felt* every one in whose presence he was. Few were in *rapport* with him, and the inharmony dispirited and silenced him. His heart could overflow into another, and loved to do so, but there must be a heart open to receive the outpourings of his own. He could not close his heart and leave his intellect free to sport with others, which is requisite for companionship in miscellaneous society. His brain could not act without his heart feeling at the same time, and it felt too much to be at peace when those with whom he could not thoroughly sympathize were present. The same sensitiveness and heart-outpouring which unfitted him for general conversation, must have made him most delightful in a *tête-a-tête* where he felt that another soul was in harmony with his own. Then he could fear no want of sympathy, no cold intellectual criticism, and his nature could overflow in all its richness and strength. Happy were those who could appreciate his friendship and his love, if any such there were. We doubt if he ever found a perfectly harmonious soul. There is no record of such good fortune in any story of his life, and his fate was doubtless that of most highly-organized natures to yearn for a companionship which was never vouchsafed in this life. But the aspiration for such a soul-communion, when the true ideal is perceived, is purifying and elevating. We fear Jean Jacques was too ready to put up with an imperfect substitute for his high ideal, and thus to lose

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sight of what, while it remained an aspiration, would have drawn him upward.

The exquisiteness of his nature is revealed in his declaration that he could never love seamstresses, chambermaids, and shop-girls, but paid court to "ladies." "And yet," he declares, "it is not at all the vanity of rank or station that attracts me." He delighted in refined manners, neatness of person and dress, and delicacy of behavior, adding, "I should always prefer the less handsome woman possessing more of the above."* There was surely nothing of the aristocrat about Rousseau, but there was much of the poet, the man of refined feeling and exquisite organization. Rank and riches may not be in themselves elevating, but they furnish advantages for refining culture. We may esteem native goodness and truth developed in poverty and ignorance, but our finer nature loves better to contemplate cultivated manners and minds, if not allied to falsehood and depravity of heart.

Rousseau's literary career commenced with his prize essay upon the effects of scientific study upon mankind. Though a one-sided effort, it contains much truth, and struck the key note of his philosophy, which was developed from his own experiences. From this time the gathered waters of his soul flowed forth in a rich flood, fertilizing the universal world of thought and feeling. The "Nouvelle Héloïse" is a work which has been sternly condemned in some Puritanic quarters, but we believe from a mistaken notion of its tendency. Rousseau says of it, "I have always believed that no one is able to take a lively interest in *Héloïse* without having the sixth sense, the moral sense, with which so few hearts are endowed, and without which no one can understand my own."† Those gifted with this moral sense will, we believe, discover that Rousseau by no means, and in no wise, intends to inculcate a low standard of moral purity, but that he intends simply to teach Christian charity for a class of cases which were too common in his day. He wished to show that a soul may reach what is generally supposed to be an un-

* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. IV. † *Ibid*, Seconde Partie, l. III.

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scalable gulf of degradation, falling from ignorance rather than depravity, and yet have instincts that enable it to soar to an unusual height of purity and rectitude. An over-prudish sentiment may disdain to heed this lesson, but we believe it a good one, nevertheless. Of such as Héloïse, as well as any others, the poet's philosophy is correct:

> "I held it truth, with him who sings
> To one clear harp in divers tones,
> That men may rise on stepping-stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things."

Rousseau produced many works upon a variety of subjects, but he was never a facile writer. He says, "A feeling more rapid than the lightning's flash takes possession of my soul; but instead of illuminating, it burns and dazzles me. I feel everything, see nothing. When warm I am stupid; to think I must be cool. Thence comes the extreme difficulty I find in writing."* In this overpowering feeling lay his strength. His heart was greater than his intellect, and he found it difficult and laborious to express what was in him, but when, after much effort, he succeeded in putting into words the emotions of his soul they assumed the shape of great utterances. He felt rather than thought what he expressed. The impulse for expression must have been very strong within him to have driven him to write so much when it cost him such painful effort. Only the honest conviction that he was called upon to utter what was in him for the benefit of others could have induced him to undergo this painful toil. It must have been bitter experience which induced him to write, "We are so little made to be happy here below that either body or mind must necessarily suffer when they do not both suffer together, and the health of the one is almost always injurious to that of the other."†

Rousseau's life, from the commencement of his literary career, presents much that is interesting, but more that is painful. The errors into which he had fallen tightened their grasp upon him, and drew him lower and lower into the

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* *Les Confessions*, Première Partie, l. III. † *Ibid*, l. VI.

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gulf of suffering and despair. Yet he never ceased to struggle, though with powers to which he had voluntarily surrendered himself, and never became entirely abandoned to evil. His conscience was never extinguished, but frequently burst forth with renewed brilliance, revealing to him the pathway of right which he at times strove wildly to gain, and which he was enabled at least to point out to others. Worldly success with him brought accumulated misfortunes. The latter half of his life appears to us to have been much less happy than the former. Fame he had and friends, but they did not bring him so much enjoyment as the days of his fresh youth before he had become satiated with worldly pleasures and had drunk more deeply of the cup of disappointment. Feeling with him, as we believe all sympathetic souls must do, we cannot but be deeply pained by his errors and his woes, his necessities which induced him to abandon his children, his sensitiveness which led him to take affronts where none were intended, his loss of friends, his exile, his betrayal, and his melancholy death. Yet with all the sadness of this record there was much of compensation even in this part of his life. His heart was ever a rich storehouse of feeling, and gave him much of love and joy with all his bitter experiences.

Rousseau gives utterance to many moral precepts and disquisitions which are worthy to be ranked with the best legacies of philosophers to humanity. His appreciation of the Divine Founder of Christianity would do credit to one of the early fathers of the church, or to Jeremy Taylor. His dissertation on suicide will not appear trifling when read after that which Shakespeare puts into the mouth of the Prince of Denmark. Death, by one's own hand, he declares, is rebellion against Providence. When we leave our bodies we but cast off an inconvenient garb. This life is admitted to be an evil; yet death is not the end of life. Those who compass their own death are cowards. A suicide is like one who burns his house because he cannot arrange it to his satisfaction. The ills of the soul always carry their own remedies. Wait and you will be cured. Before quitting the human race remunerate it for what it has done for you.

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Every man is useful to his fellows by existing only. He who commits suicide is a robber of humanity.*

Had Rousseau lived in our day, with our enlarged experiences and our better institutions, he might have been better appreciated and happier. He was born a century too late for his own happiness, but not for the world's good. With his better nature, and his philosophical speculations, he was greatly in advance of his time, and the forerunner of and helper to our own. What was bad in his character and life is chiefly attributable to the age in which he lived and the circumstances in which he was placed. His was one of those spirits which catch the hue of surrounding influences, and become in character what the age is calculated to make them. In aspiration he was greatly in advance of his time, in conduct about on a par with it. As a man of the present century, we doubt not that he would be in private life among the most unexceptionable of citizens. Let us blame the age in which he lived for his follies, and give him due credit for his virtues.

Considering his time, his nature, and his surroundings, let no one dare to think that he can accept Jean Jacques' challenge to appear with him at the bar of Diety, and, after the secrets and the temptations of both hearts shall be laid bare, presume to say, "I was better than he." We bespeak for Rousseau what we think he deserves from the world, charity for his sins, compassion for his infirmities, sympathy for his sufferings, admiration for his genius, and love for his loving disposition.

ART. III.—1. *The Parsees: their history, manners, customs, and religion.* By DOSABHOY FRAMJEE. London: 1858.

2. *The Parsi Religion: as contained in the Zend-Avestá, and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted and contrasted with Christianity.* By JOHN WILSON, D. D., M. R. A. S. Bombay: 1843.

3. *Chips from a German Workshop.* By MAX MULLER, M. A. London: 1867.

* Nouvelle Héloïse, part iii.

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4. *The Parsi Religion.* By DADABHAI NAVROJI, Esq. Liverpool: 1861.

5. *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litthauischen, Gothischen, und Deutschen.* Von FRANZ BOPP. Berlin: 1833.

6. *The History of Persia, from the most early period to the present time: containing an account of the religion, government, usages, and character of the inhabitants of that kingdom.* By Colonel Sir JOHN MALCOLM., K. C. B., K. L. S. 2 vols. London: 1815.

THE vast peninsula of India, which now forms the brightest jewel in the diadem of Queen Victoria, contains a population of 180,000,000 souls, the large majority of whom are either followers of Mohammed or professors of Hindooism. Intermingled with them is another race, differing from them in language, religion, and customs. This race is known by the name of Parsees, one which they derive from Pars or Fars, a province of the ancient Persian empire. The Parsees of India are, therefore, the descendants of the ancient Persians. They were once very numerous, but a remnant of them only is now to be found, and these inhabit western India, and especially Bombay. Compared with the number of the other natives of India, the Parsees add so insignificant a quota to the population, that their existence is not even known to very many Europeans; while those who are aware that such a race exists very often confound them with the Hindoos and Mohammedans. Their number is not certainly known, for the difficulties of taking a religious census in Eastern nations is very great. Mr. Framjee estimates it at about 150,000, including the Parsees of Persia as well as of India.*

Of these the greater number is found in Bombay, and in some of the cities of Gujerat, a province two hundred miles to the north of that city. Parsees have also settled in Calcutta, and in other cities of British India; also in China and other parts of Asia. The returns from the census of 1851, made by the British government, show that the number of Parsees in the island of Bombay was 110,544, of whom 68,754

* *The Parsees*, chap. III.

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were males and 41,790 females, the proportion of the former to the latter being nearly seven to four—a fact, we believe, without parallel in long-settled countries. Mr. Muller states* that about two hundred years ago travellers estimated the Ghebers or Gabars (as they are called in Persia) at 80,000 families, or about 400,000 souls. He estimates the number of Parsees at present in western India at about 100,000, to which are to be added 5,500 in Yazd and Kirman—making a total of 105,500. If this estimate be correct, the Parsees are diminishing in number at the rate of 30,000 in a century —that is to say, comparing it with the census of 1851. But if we compare it with the loose estimates of travellers made two hundred years ago, they are disappearing at a much greater ratio: 300,000 must have perished, or 150,000 in a century; so that the whole race will become extinct in little more than sixty years, assuming that the basis of this calculation is correct, and that the same causes of decrease will continue in operation.

Yet, notwithstanding these patent facts, Mr. Framjee asserts† that the Parsees are increasing rapidly under British protection! He says: "The Parsees form twenty per cent. of the population of Bombay, while the rate of mortality is but 4.71 per cent.; and it cannot be doubted that under the protection of British rule they have a tendency to multiply faster than any other of the races of India. In Bombay the increase has been very evident indeed. Fifteen or twenty years ago, the Parsee population was confined to only a part of the fort and the native town. At the present time the fort is almost wholly in their occupation, while numbers are spread in all directions through the island. They have no fear of being absorbed by the Hindoos or Mohammedans, intermarriages with others than those of their own communities being not only distasteful to the people themselves, but prohibited by law." The Parsees at Surat at one time greatly exceeded in number those of Bombay; but as the latter city became the great emporium

* *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. I., p. 161. † *The Parsees*, p. 55.

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of trade in Western India, the enterprising spirit of the people soon brought them down from Surat to that place, and the population at the old city, it is supposed, does not now exceed 20,000 souls. Mr. Muller estimates, however, that the entire fire-worshipping race does not exceed more than 0.01 per cent. of the whole population of the earth.

It is curious to speculate on what might have been. If the Persians had triumphed at Marathon and Salamis, and Greece had succumbed to Persia, as she was within an ace of doing, the state religion of Persia, which was that of Ormuzd, might have become the religion of the whole of the then civilized world. At that time Persia had absorbed the Assyrian and the Babylonian empires. The Jews were under Persian captivity, or under Persian sway at home. Egypt was tributary to "the great king," who sent his edicts into India and Scythia, and whose vast empire contained one hundred and twenty provinces. It extended over the greater part of western Asia and northern Africa, and threatened eastern Europe. But for the heroic resistance made by the Greeks, there is little doubt that the religion of Zoroaster would have superseded the paganism of southern Europe. Whether this would have been more beneficial to mankind than the course of events which took place, can be known only to Him who governs the universe. At all events, we are indebted to paganism for a literature and for architecture, sculpture, and mathematics, which never arose under Persian sway.

Whether this was owing to its form of government, or to a lack of genius in its subjects, we do not undertake to decide. But though the ambition of Darius and of Xerxes received a fatal check on the plains of Greece, and their empire was, a century and a half afterwards, shattered to pieces by Alexander the Great, such was the vitality of the great Persian nation that under the Sassanian dynasty of its princes (A. D. 226—651) the religion of Zoroaster assumed renewed vigor, and, in the reign of Sapor or Shahpoor the Second, its votaries aimed at the extermination of the Christian faith. The sufferings which the Christians in Persia underwent were as terrible as any they experienced at the

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hands of the Roman emperors. Practically, the Christian religion was extirpated in Persia, multitudes of Christians escaping into Asia Minor, India, Tartary, and even China, while those who remained within the dominions of "the great king" took refuge among the inaccessible mountains and defiles of Armenia and Georgia.

Christianity was unable to overcome fire-worship. It had smitten down idolatry, but could not prevail against Zoroaster. Here, again, is food for reflection. It was reserved for the disciples of Mohammed to put out the sacred fires on the high places of Persia; and Cadessia's fatal plain, which witnessed the capture of the national standard—the famous blacksmith's apron, the Derufsh-i-Kawanee—enriched with the contributions of jewels which ages of devotion had attached to it, saw also the entire strength of the empire sink under the swords of the victorious Arabs. The Ghebers, in their turn, fled to the mountains and the caves, and their sacred fires thenceforward had to be lighted in remote and secret places. From the era of the battle of Cadessia, or Nahavend (A. D. 636), down to the present day, fire-worship has bowed its head in silence and obscurity. The Persians, in a few years after the conquest of their country by the Arabs, became more zealous Mohammedans than their conquerors were, and they remain so to this day. Thus the religion of Zoroaster, or of the two principles, Ormuzd and Ahrimen, once the terror of the world, is now, and has been for the last thousand years, a mere curiosity in the eyes of the historian and the philosopher. Whereas in the days of Xerxes the votaries of Zoroaster might have been counted by millions in the Persian dominions, not more than six thousand can now be found therein!

The history of those Ghebers who survived the Mohammedan conquest is full of pathos and interest. The vast majority of the population of Persia having been compelled by the sword to embrace Mohammedanism, the faithful few fled into the distant province of Khorassan, in the mountainous regions of which they remained for about a hundred years, in the unmolested enjoyment of their religion. But at last the relentless Moslems carried fire and sword among them,

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and they were once more compelled to flee. A considerable number emigrated to the little island of Ormus, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, but, not feeling safe there, they determined to relinquish forever the land of their forefathers, and, having engaged several vessels for their transport, they placed their wives and children on board and sailed for India.

It is probable that several emigrations took place at successive periods, but there are only meagre and unsatisfactory traditions of them extant. No continuous history of them exists, and whatever information is now in our possession is derived from a work entitled Kissah-i-Sanjons, which was compiled in the year 1599, by a Parsee named Behram, who resided at Nowsaree, a town about twenty miles south of Surat, but he merely collected such traditions as were preserved among his fellow religionists. According to him, the first port in Hindostan, at which the earliest refugees arrived, was Din, a small island in the Gulf of Cambay, lying to the south-west of the peninsula of Kattiwar. Here they remained for nineteen years; then, for some unknown reason, they embarked for Guzerat. But they had hardly lost sight of land before they were overtaken by a terrific storm, from which they escaped through their prayers to God, and made their way to Saujan, about twenty-five miles south of Damann, where they landed about the year A. D. 717. With some little difficulty they obtained permission from the Rajah to settle here.

The conditions he imposed upon them were, that they should adopt the language of the country and cease speaking that of their forefathers; that they should dress their females in the Indian fashion; wear no armor, and perform the marriage ceremonies of their children at night, in conformity with the practice of the Hindoos. Rather than become wanderers again, they submitted to these conditions, and were allowed to select and occupy a large tract of waste land in the neighborhood of Saujan. Here, with the aid of the Rajah, they erected their first fire temple (A. D. 721). They dwelt at Saujan in peace for five hundred years, living amicably with their neighbors, the Hindoos, and sending out

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colonies to Surat, Nowsaree, Broach, Variao, Uhleser, and Cambay. Their happiness then came to an end. In the year 1507 the Mohammedan Sultan of Ahmedabab attacked the Rajah of Saujan with 30,000 men. The Hindoo prince, unable to cope with this force, appealed to the Parsees for aid, reminding them of the kindness shewn them by his ancestors. They promptly responded to his call, bearing in mind the cruelty the Moslems had always practised on them, and being well aware that if the Hindoos should be vanquished, they themselves would be the next victims. They sent 1,400 picked men, under one Ardeshir, to the assistance of the Rajah, who thereupon encountered the invaders a few miles from Saujan. The Hindoos proved unequal to the strife and fled; but the Parsees were not dismayed. Their brave leader attacked the enemy furiously, broke their ranks, and drove them from the field. But the Sultan, exasperated by the defeat of his army by so small a band of heroes, raised another force and renewed the conflict. In the next battle the Moslems were victorious. Ardeshir, after killing in single combat a Mohammedan chief of note, was slain. The Parsees fled, and the Moslems gained possession of Saujan. They inflicted many indignities upon the Parsees, whereupon the greater part of the latter fled to the mountains of Baharout, taking with them the sacred fire which they had consecrated at Saujan.

Not a single Parsee is now to be found there, and the ruins of a *dokhma*, or "tower of silence" for the dead, is the only memento that exists of the Parsees settlement in that place. For twelve years they sojourned among the mountains of Baharent, and then removed to Bandsa, where a small Parsee colony then existed. The sacred fire was also carried thither, and after some years it was removed to Nowsaree, where the Parsees had become an influential and opulent race. In late years, owing to some disputes among the priests, it was secretly removed to Oodwara, thirty-two miles South of Surat, where it still exists, and being the oldest fire temple of the Zoroastrians in India, is held in the highest veneration.*

* Framjee, *The Parsees*, p. 21.

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It appears that the settling of Surat was the means of raising the Parsees to wealth and influence. Their energy and intelligence attracted the notice of the European traders and settlers, and they became brokers to European firms, which position they hold at the present day. It is not known with certainty when they settled in Bombay. Mr. Framjee thinks that their first settlement on the island was a little before or about the time when it was ceded to the British, by the crown of Portugal, as the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, on her marriage with Charles the Second, of England, A. D. 1668.* They also conciliated the favor of their oppressors, the Mohammedans of India, and were frequently employed by them, and even by the Great Mogul himself, on important public business. Under the government of England the Parsees in India thrive and become influential and wealthy. The contrast between their condition and that of their co-religionists in Persia, under the arbitrary and unstable government of that country, is fearful. By persecution and the sword the numbers of the latter have been reduced, as we have already stated, to little more than six thousand. Nearly all of these are in extreme poverty. They are subjected to a poll-tax from which the Moslem population is exempt. They are treated as outcasts. A Mohammedan considers the touch of a Gheber as an impurity; hence the latter cannot follow any occupation which is likely to bring him into contact with the former. They cannot have redress at law because they are unbelievers; and if one of them should die rich, a distant relative, who has embraced Mohammedanism, can claim his property, to the exclusion of the deceased's children, or next of kin. If a Moslem kills a Parsee, he is punished only by a slight fine; but he is more frequently acquitted, and the same thing occurs when any violence or injury is done by a Moslem to a Parsee's family or property. Their fire-temples and silence-towers are often invaded and profaned, and any appeal to the authorities by the injured race is almost invariably treated with contempt, or altogether unheeded.

* Framjee, *The Parsees*, p. 25.

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The Parsees of India are divided into two sects, the Sheusays or Rasamis, and the Kudmis or Gadimis. The former greatly outnumber the latter. But of 110,000 Parsees in Bombay, only 10,000 are Kudmis, but the latter comprise the most distinguished and influential men. Among them is Sir Iamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the well known munificent banker and merchant. The two sects do not differ in any point of faith, their form of worship and their religious ceremonies are the same in every respect. They freely mingle with each other in society, and in every relation of life, and their dispute is solely confined to a quarrel as to the correct chronological date for the computation of the Era of Yezdejird, the last king of the ancient Persian monarchy. The difference has as yet been productive of no further inconvenience than arises from the variation of a month in the celebration of the festivals. It is wonderful what small beginnings lead to such rooted divisions as these.

Dr. Wilson gives the following account of the matter, professing to extract it from the preface to the *Daſú-ul-Hazl* of Stadji Muhammad Hashim of Isfahan: — "The question in dispute is this — whether the intercalation is a religious institution, sanctioned by the practice of the ancient Persians, prior to their last king Yezdejird? or whether another era, without intercalation for religious purposes, was also sanctioned? That is, whether the intercalary era was an observance instituted by their kings only for the affairs of government, the collection of revenue, and the equalization of the seasons, or whether it was also employed for purposes connected with religion? The latter the Churigaryáns wrongfully deny."* "The following," says Mr. Remer, "is an amusing example of their love of effect, where they thought something magnificent and high-sounding was attainable. Since the division among the Parsees of India, which arose nearly a century ago, on the subject of computing their year — the Era of Yezdejird — distinguishing names between the parties have been introduced. This era, known at the time in Persia by the name of Sál-i-qadím, was found to differ from that observed by the

* *Parsi Religion*, p. 35, n.

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Indian Parsees by one month, commencing just thirty days earlier, according to the days of the months, than the Indo-Persian year. Pars had been deputed to Persia to enquire into the matter; he was a Chúrigar, or bracelet-maker, and appears to have seen reason for following the custom of Persia. On a small number of the community adopting his opinion, and resolving to correct their year and bring it to the Persian standard, it received the name of its introducer's business, and was called Chúrigar, as well as Sál-i-qadím, and its observers Chúrigariyáns and Qadímís. The great mass of the Parsee population, however, adhered to the existing era, and thenceforward took the names of Rasimiyán and Shaharsaiyán from their year, which was denominated Basamí (customary) and Shahar-saí (city-like or common): and these names continue to prevail among this people to their separation in many things of social and religious observance and duties. During another dispute which began some years ago among the Parsees of India regarding the observance of the Kabísa, or intercalary month, some one proposed to substitute for the word 'Shahar-saí,' with its Gújarátí affix, as a corrected reading, Shahan-sháhi, and thus convert the vulgar into the imperial year, and simple citizens into kings of kings. The thing was considered a joke, and laughed at by the Qadímís, and their leader, Múlla Firúz, as passing the reception of the most ignorant; neverthelesss the absurd change has been adopted, and, among others, by the editor of the lithographed version of the Vendidád, a copy of which was presented to the Asiatic Society; departing from the hitherto unvaried usage, he dates the dedication of his book on the first day of the fifth month of the Sháhan-shahi year 1200, instead of writing 1st Shaharewar, 1200 Shahar-saí er Rasemí. But this is surpassed by a writer on the Kabísa question, who, professing to follow the authority of the Gissa-i-Saujan (innocent of the egregious anachronism) gravely informs his Parsee readers that it was the persecution of the Portuguese which compelled their ancestors to quit Din —an event which, we have seen, occurred about the year 717."*

* *Illustrations of the Zend and Phlevi Languages*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 8, p. 360.

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The origin of the Parsee religion is unanimously ascribed to Zoroaster (or Zerdosht, as the Persians named him). He lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and was born at the town of Uremeea, in the province of Aderbijan or Azerbijan ("the House of Fire," an appellation given to it, probably, from the worship of fire originating in it). The Parsees say that he was introduced into the world under miraculous circumstances, and that during the course of his life he himself performed a variety of wonderful works. They tell us that an angel was sent to his father, who persuaded him to drink a glass of wine, and that his wife soon afterwards conceived and bore a son; that at the time of his birth, when other children cry, Zartasht (the Parsee mode of spelling his name) smiled; that the hands of the person who sought to kill him, by order of the king, were arrested by a divine impulse; that he was exposed to the fury of wild beasts which did him no harm; that when the king wished to drive herds of cattle upon him, one of them stood over him till they had all passed by; that he was thrown into the flames and came out unhurt; and that he was caught up into heaven, whence he brought down the Zend-Avestá: "Zoroaster," says Sir John Malcolm, "is termed a prophet or an impostor, as the events of his life happen to be drawn from Pehlivi or Mohammedan authors. The former pretend that he was everything that was holy and enlightened; while the latter assert that he was only a good astrologer, who was himself deceived by the devil into becoming the teacher of a new and impious doctrine. Ferdusi, in his Shah-Namah, says that the devil spoke to Zoroaster from the midst of a flame. All seem agreed that he lived in the time of Gushtasp (Hystaspes), and that he led that monarch, either by his arts or his miracles, to become a zealous and powerful propagator of the faith which he had adopted; though it is related that Gushtasp for a period resisted the truth of Zoroaster's mission, and once confined him in prison seven years. After his conversion the royal bigot not only built temples of fire in every part of his kingdom, but compelled his subjects to worship in them. It is stated in one work (the Zeermt-ul-Tuarik) that Isfundcar (Xerxes) the son of Gushtasp, was the first

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convert made by Zoroaster; and that his father was persuaded, by the eloquence of the prince, to follow his example.*

This doctrine, which was first taught in the province of Aderbijan, spread rapidly over the whole empire. The king, we are informed, ordered twelve thousand cow-hides to be tanned fine, that the precepts of his new faith might be written upon them. These parchments were deposited in a vault hewn out of the rock at Persepolis. Holy men were appointed to guard them; and it was commanded that the profane should be kept at a distance from the sacred records." The following extract from the Shah-Nawah will show the feeling excited at the Court of Tartary by this change in the national religion of Persia:—"Know ye, said Arjasp to his assembled chiefs, that glory, wisdom, and the pure religion, have fled from Persia. A certain sorcerer, styling himself a prophet, hath appeared in that region, and introduced a new form of worship among the people; to whom he hath said—'I am come from above; I am come from the God of the world; I have seen the Lord in heaven; and lo! here are the Zend and the Avestá as written by himself. I also saw Ahriman in the midst of hell, but was unable to compass the circle that enclosed him. And behold! I am deputed by the Almighty to preach the true faith to the king of the earth.' And now all the most renowned warriors of Persia, continued the sovereign of China, with the son of Lohrasp at their head, have fallen into his snares; the brother, too, of Gushtasp, that valiant cavalier and champion of Persia, Zurreer; nay, all have embraced his doctrines, all have wantonly sacrificed their eternal happiness to the old magician, whose pernicious precepts threaten to pervade the whole world. He rules already over Persia as a prophet."† The full name of Zoroaster, according to the Parsees, was Hazrat Zartusht Asfantamén. Mr. Müller says the true name of the author of the Avestá is Zarathustra.‡

The body of the Zend writings is comprised in the Zend

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* *History of Persia*, vol. I., p. 58. † *Ibid*, vol. I., p. 59, n.
‡ *Chips from a German Workshop*, p. 92.

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Avestá, or Zend Word. It consists of the Vandidád, which is composed of the Vandidád properly so called, and the two larger liturgical works, the Yaçna and the Vispard, which are interspersed with it, and recited along with it during the celebration of the most extended service of the Zoroastrians; the Khurday-Avestá, or minor liturgy; the Yasts; and other detached pieces. The Vandidád, properly so called, consists of the report of an alleged dialogue between Ormuzd (the Spirit of Light and Good) and Zoroaster. In this oral communication Ormuzd (or Hormazd as the Parsees spell it) imparted to Zoroaster the information and instruction which he published to the world in the Vandidád. It contains twenty-two *faryards* or sections. They present an extraordinary jumble of legislative ordinances. The first gives an account of the creation by Hormazd, of sixteen holy and blessed localities, supposed by the Parsees to be Persia, China, Hindustan, Khorásan, Shurik, Mavva, Nishapoor, Aleppo, Cabul, Arwe, Gurgán, Hermaud, Sistan, Rei, Kirmán, Bokhárá.

But Ahriman destroyed their bliss by creating various evils within their borders: some of these evils were moral, some natural; among the latter was the creation of winter, and of ants, flies, and lice. The second gives an account of the miracles of Iamshid in Irán (Persia) in promoting agriculture, controlling the atmosphere, and banishing disease, death, and other evils. The third shows how the earth may be made happy or miserable: the former, by having pure men to dwell on it, who will build lofty houses and produce children and cattle in abundance, and by various kinds of cultivation; also by the filling up of graves and destroying the depositories of the dead: the latter, by digging deep holes in it which allow the devils to come and go from hell, and by burying men and dogs in it; the constructing of depositories for the dead, the existence of vermin, and the throwing of dust upon themselves by those who mourn for the departed. This section also gives direction for the burial of the dead and purification after having touched or been near a dead body. It also mentions the gift of land to holy men or priests as being very pleasing to the earth, and

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it inflicts a punishment of 500 stripes for allowing the body of a man or dog to remain six months in the earth; 1,000 stripes for allowing it to remain a whole year, and everlasting defilement for allowing it to remain two years.

The fourth section treats principally of offences between men and men. Six species of crime are specified, with the punishment due to each. Breaking a verbal promise is to be punished by 300 years' torment in hell and as many stripes; breaking an engagement confirmed by the shaking of hands, by 600 years' torment and as many stripes; breaking an engagement to sell small cattle, by 700 years' torment and stripes; breaking an engagement to sell large cattle by 800 years and stripes; ditto, to give a son or daughter, 900 years and stripes; ditto, to sell house or lands, 1,000 years and stripes. Besides these, the breaking of a promise to provide water is to be punished with 700 stripes. The fifth section treats of various kinds of impurities, particularly those resulting from dead bodies, and from untimely birth, in which latter case the unfortunate mother is made to eat ashes and drink cow's urine.

Space does not allow of our giving the details of this most absurd section; but as a specimen of it we quote the following respecting the *crime* of allowing grease or marrow to escape from the bones of a dead man or dog! If the bone be the size of the little finger to the first joint, 30 stripes are to be inflicted; if of the size of the part extending to the first joint of the finger between the little and the middle finger, 50 stripes; if of the size of the part of the large finger extending to the first joint, 70; if as long as a finger and broad as a rib, 90; if of the length and breadth of two fingers or ribs, 200; if of the length and breadth of the side or breast, 400; if as large as the part of the head covered with hair, 600; if of the size of the whole body, 1,000 stripes!! The other minutiæ are equally absurd. Regulations are given for the education and remuneration of physicians; the purification of defiled ground; the disinterment of dead bodies, &c. The eighth section continues the list of rules as to purification from contact with dead animals. Adultery is to be punished with 800 stripes; rape is unpardonable until the resurrection.

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The ninth section prescribes the ceremony of purification styled the *Barashnom*, which is to be performed upon the stones, arranged in a peculiar manner, and by washing the body with water and cow's urine, and by other proceedings. The tenth section informs us what words are to be used, and how, in order to exorcise evil spirits. The eleventh informs us how all things may be hallowed by pronouncing certain words. The twelfth regulates the services and prayers for the dead. The angel Dáhman receives departed spirits from the hands of Sarosh, the guardian of the just, and conducts them to the realms of bliss. This section concludes with cautions against the two-footed devil Ashmog. The thirteenth section is a rhapsody on the dog, describes his virtues and his vices, and prescribes penalties for ill-using him.

The fourteenth continues the praises of the canine race, and inflicts the following punishment on the person who strikes a water-dog: he is to receive 10,000 stripes, carry 10,000 bundles of dry wood, and the same quantity of soft wood, to the sacred fire; furnish 10,000 barsams (splittings of a tree); 10,000 pure zors of pure hom (juice of a tree); kill 10,000 crawling reptiles; and 10,000 of the form of a dog, 10,000 turtles, 10,000 land frogs, 10,000 water frogs, 10,000 ants which drag the grain, and 10,000 stinging ants, 10,000 blood-suckers, and 10,000 stinging flies; take out 10,000 impure stones from the ground; honor the fire of the twice seven kinds; present to the priest the instruments of his craft; and to the soldier the instruments of his craft; present gifts to the agriculturist; and a field, a virgin of fifteen years of age with golden ornaments, fourteen goats, and fourteen whelps to pure men or priests! and all this for striking a water-dog!! And if he fail in any particular he must go to the abode of the devils! The fifteenth section also protects dogs by ordaining the penalty of death for feeding them with hard bones, or too hot food, or killing them under certain conditions. The same penalty is inflicted for praising a foreign religion, and committing certain offences with women.

The sixteenth treats of the purification of women. The seventeenth relates to the two *crimes* of pulling hairs out of

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the head or cutting them off, and cutting the nails without observing the prescribed ceremonies. The eighteenth prescribes the dress of a priest; describes the destruction and mortality occasioned by the devil; the morning occupation of the bird Paródars; the cravings of Fire; the feeding of the bird of Paródars, and the conversation between Sarosh and the devil Hashem. It also prescribes atonements for certain intimacies with women. The nineteenth tells us how Zoroaster encountered the devil, and how he was informed as to the method of destroying his works; how the Izashné is to be performed; how a defiled person may be purified; who shall have part of the resurrection, which takes place on the third day after death, when men will receive their judgment; the pure going into lofty regions, prepared by Ormuzd; the impure into darkness and hell. The twentieth section is devoted to the praise of Iamshid. The twenty-first recommends the worship of the exalted bull, and describes its influence on rain. In the twenty-second, and last, Ormuzd contrasts himself with Ahriman; describes the creation of Ahriman, the mission of Zoroaster, and how he was instructed to perform the great service of the Nirang-Din, or purification with cow's urine, by which all evil, natural and moral, evil passions, disease and death, will be removed.

Such are the contents of the principal sacred book of the disciples of Zoroaster, amounting to such a farrago of absurdities and puerilities as is without an equal. No wonder that Prideaux, Rollin, and others, thought that "Zoroaster, with the exception of Mohammed, was the greatest impostor that ever lived;" and that Sir William Jones, in his satirical letter to Anquetil Duperrah, says: "Either Zoroaster had not common sense, or he did not write the book which you attribute to him."* Nevertheless, Zoroaster taught that the first principle of all things was "time without bounds," or eternity; and that God is infinity of time and space. Also that Armuzd, the principle of good, and Ahriman, the principle of evil, were produced from all eternity, each of them possessed of the power of creation, and exercising it with

* Wilson's *Parsee Religion*, p. 64.

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different designs: the one eternally absorbed in light, the other in darkness.* He also taught the resurrection and the immortality of the spirit, and recommended the worship of fire as typical of the brightness and power of God. His disciples sacrificed on the highest mountains of the sun, the moon, the earth, fire, water, and the wind; and, in later ages, to Venus.† A very curious account of the fire worship of the Ghebers of Persia will be found in the celebrated English traveler Jonas Hanway's *Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian* (vol. 1, p. 263, 264).

The success of modern comparative philology has no where been more fully illustrated than in the researches of Spiegel, Rask, Burnouf, Bopp, Grimm, Müller, Rawlinson, Hinckes, and others, within the last fifty years, into the construction of the Sanskrit, Zend, Persian, and their cognate languages. To the inductive method employed by these illustrious and laborious scholars we owe a vast accumulation of knowledge not dreamed of a hundred years ago. By the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions on the monumental remains of ancient Assyria and Persia, the world has become possessed of a key to the history of those nations. The result of these brilliant investigations has been to place before the world contemporaneous documents of three periods of Persian language, deciphered, translated, and explained. We have the language of the Zoroastrians, or the Persians who lived in the times preceding the reign of Cyrus; the language of the Achœmenians, or that of the successors of Cyrus; and the language of the Sassanians, the last native dynasty prior to the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. Mr. Max Müller‡ has given a very interesting summary of the labors of the great scholars above mentioned, and of the present state of our knowledge of Oriental languages, and the authorship of the Vedas, the Zend-Avestá, and other books. He does not set much value on the labors of Auquetil Duperron, who was the first to translate the Zend-Avestá. Rask was the first to

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* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. I., chap. 8.

† Taylor's Translation of *Herodotus*, pp. 65, 67, 68.

‡ *Chips.* Art. Zend Avestá.

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analyze that work scientifically. He proved that the Zend language was not corrupted Sanskrit, as had been supposed, but that it differed from it as Greek, Latin, or Lithuanian differed from one another, and from the Sanskrit; that the modern Persian was really derived from Zend, as Italian was from Latin; and that the Avestá, or the works of Zoroaster, must have been reduced to writing at least previously to the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. Burnouf and Bopp have shown that Zend is nearer to Sanskrit than any other Indo-European language is. Many Zend words can be re-translated into Sanskrit simply by changing the Zend letters into their corresponding Sanskrit forms. The Sanskrit S, for instance, is represented by the Zend N, a change analagous to that of an original S into the Greek aspirate, only that in Greek this change is not general. Thus the name *hapta hendu*, which occurs in the Avestá, becomes intelligible if we re-translate the Zend N into the Sanskrit S; when it becomes *sapta sindhu* (the seven rivers), which is the ancient name given to India in the Vedas, which name is derived from the five rivers of the Punjâb, together with the Indus and the Sarasvatî. The numerals are the same in both languages up to 100. Gods, unknown to any Indo-European nation, are worshipped under the same in Sanskrit and Zend. The latter language exhibits grammatical features of a more primitive character than the former does; and where this is the case, the language of the Vedas shows the same difference from the later Sanskrit, and has preserved the same primitive and irregular form as the Zend.

From these and other facts Mr. Müller concludes that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India *before* they immigrated into Persia; but his evidence does not apply to the nations of Persia and Media in general. He asserts that the fact that the Zoroastrians started from India during the Vaidik (or Veda) period can be proved as distinctly as that the inhabitants of Maesilia (Marseilles) started from Greece. This carries the origin of the religionists back to at least 1200 years before the Christian era. This discovery throws considerable doubt over the authorship of the Zend Avestá. It

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has been already stated that the era commonly assigned to Zoroaster is that of Darius Hystaspes (B. C. 521–485); but it is evident from the different styles of language in the Zend-Avestá that the work must have been composed at various epochs. Spiegel states, as the results of his last researches, that the second part of the Yesna must be considered the most ancient, but that this could not have been composed by Zoroaster himself, since he is mentioned in it as the third person, and everything connected with it intimates that neither he nor his disciple Gushtasp (Hystaspes) was alive.*

What then becomes of the so-called writings of Zoroaster? Mr. Müller thinks that the tenets of that great teacher were delivered orally, and handed down by oral tradition through the medium of a learned priesthood. He states that there are no facts to prove that the text of the Avestá, in the shape in which the Parsees of Bombay and Yezd now possess it, was committed to writing previous to the accession of the Sassanian dynasty (A. D. 226). After that period it was subjected to several translations into Vehlevi or Huzvaresh, the language of Zarathustra or Zoroaster having already suffered changes, so that the ideas of the Avestá were no longer fully understood even by the learned. We may, perhaps, infer that the doctrines of Zoroaster had been committed to writing before the time of Alexander the Great, for that conqueror is said to have destroyed the books of the Zoroastrians, and Hernippus of Alexandria is said to have read them. But whether on the revival of the Persian religion and literature, that is to say, 500 years after Alexander, the works of Zoroaster were collected and restored from extant manuscripts, or from oral tradition, must remain uncertain. It is a singular fact that at the present day many Parsees, who can neither read nor write, use hymns and prayers which they do not understand, but the language of which an experienced scholar readily detects as ancient Zend.

Spiegel assigns the second place, in point of antiquity, to the Vandidád. He does not believe that the book was originally composed as it now stands: it has suffered both earlier and

* *Chips*, p. 88, n.

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later interpolations: still its present form may be traced to a very considerable antiquity. This is proved by its contents, which distinctly show that the sacred literature was not yet completed.* He considers the first part of the Yasna and the whole of the Yashts to be the most recent compositions; in them the separate divinities have their attributes and titles dogmatically fixed. In the oldest portion of the Zend-Avestá, that is, the Yesza, nothing is fixed in the doctrines regarding God. In the second, that is, the Vandidád, the doctrines have advanced to a mild and scientific system of theology. But out of this in the last place there springs the stern and intolerant religion of the Sassanian epoch.

From the religion of the Parsees we turn to their religious ceremonies and customs. They have several annual festivals. The first is the "Pappati," or New-year's day. This day is celebrated in honor of Yezdejird, the last king of the Sassanide dynasty, who was dethroned by the Arabs under Omar, about the year A. D. 640. He fled from Persia; and, after wandering in solitude and disguise for ten years, was at last treacherously slain by a miller, to whom the secret of his identity had been confided. Hence the Persian proverb "a miller's trust." The ancient Persians reckoned a new era from the accession of each successive monarch; but as Yezdejird had no successor, the date of his accession to the throne has been brought down to the present time, thus making their current year 1238. In their computation the year has 365 days; the leap year is unknown to them, though there are records which prove that in every 120 years one month was added to the period to correspond with the solar year. The year is divided into twelve months of thirty days each, and five days, or "gatkas" are added at the end to make up the deficiency.

On new year's day the Parsees rise early, and dress themselves in new suits of clothes, and those piously disposed say their prayers in their private residences, or attend the fire-temples, where a large congregation is gathered. After prayers the Parsees visit their friends and

* *Ibid*, p. 89, n.

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relations, when the *Hamma-i-jour*, joining of hands is performed. This ceremony is a sort of greeting, corresponding to the European fashion of wishing each other a happy new year. Their friends and relations are invited to breakfast. After breakfast they spend the day in their country houses and clubs, where feasting, rejoicing, and watch-parties are kept up till a late hour. Alms are also given to the poor in the course of the day, and new suits of clothes are presented to servants and dependents.

The second festival is the "Khordad-Sal," or anniversary of the birth of Zoroaster, who, they suppose, was born about the year B. C. 520. This is followed the next day by the "Amardad-Sal," which is merely a continuation of the Khordad. There are no religious ceremonies, and the day is spent in enjoyment.

The fourth festival is the "Furrohurdin Iasan," or performance of ceremonies for the dead. The Parsees are enjoined by their religion to preserve the memory of their dead by annual religious ceremonies performed in the house; and such of their friends as die on a voyage, or in unknown places, the date of whose death can not be positively ascertained, are honored by sacred rites on this day.

The fifth festival is that of "Ardibehesht Iasan," in honor of Ardibehesht, the Amshaspond, or controlling angel of the sacred fire. The fire temples are crowded on this day, and prayers are offered to the Supreme Deity.

The sixth is the "Newroz-i-Iamshid," or "Newroz-i-Sultan" (the king's day). This generally falls on the 21st of March, and is coeval with our vernal equinox. It is a day observed by many Asiatic nations for the computation of the solar year, the collection of revenue, and the arrangement of agricultural operations for the year. This festival is supposed to owe its origin to Iamshid, who is said to have lived 3,200 years before Christ. It is kept up by the Persians for several days with great pomp, but the Parsees simply observe it as a day of rejoicing.

The seventh is the "Ava Ardui Sur Iasan," a festival in honor of Ava, the angel who presides over the sea. On this day the Parsees are required to approach the sea-shore, or

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any stream of water, and chant the prayers which are written in Zend; but to this they have added many Hindoo rites—such as offering flowers, cocoanuts, sugar, &c., to the sea. In Bombay a fair is held, on the esplanade, in honor this festival.

The eighth is the "Addar Iasan," or festival of fire. Addar is the name of the ninth month of the Parsee year. This month is the most religious of all the months, and the ninth day of that month is held in great respect and sanctity. On this day the fire temples are very much crowded, and offerings of sandal-wood are made to the sacred flame, and money distributed among the priests.

There are a few other festivals of minor importance; but the concluding ceremony is the *Moohtads*, which is performed at the end of the Parsee year. It consists of a pile of brass or silver vessels, filled with water and raised above the ground on iron stools. Flowers and fruits are placed there, and religious ceremonies in honor of the dead are performed before the *Moohtads*, or vessels. A society for religious reform, which has been lately established among the Parsees, has denounced this ceremony in no respectful terms: for, according to the tracts published by the society, the Parsee scriptures only require that the last ten days of the year should be spent in deeds of charity, prayers, and freedom from worldly pursuits; and they condemn the use of brass and silver vessels, &c., as having been borrowed entirely from the Hindoos.*

Having disposed of the religion and religious festivals of the Parsees, we proceed to notice their domestic life. When an infant is born it is introduced into the world on the ground-floor of the house, to which the mother is conveyed as soon as her time has come. She remains there forty days after the birth of the child; then she undergoes the ceremony of purification, and is allowed to appear in the family as before. Mr. Framjee gives the following particulars as to the curious practices which follow the birth of a child among the Parsees. He says: "For five days after the birth of a

* Framjee's *Parsees*, pp. 60, 63.

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child the mother is fed simply with conjee, or other light food, and the infant is sustained chiefly by sugar and water, given to it by means of a wick. The exact period of birth is carefully noted down, and five days after the event, or as soon as convenient, an astrologer is invited, who is either a Brahmin or a Parsee priest, to cast the nativity of the child. He begins by drawing on a wooden board a set of hieroglyphics in chalk, and his dexterity in counting and recounting the stars, under whose region or influence the child is declared to be born, is marvelled at by the superstitious creatures thronging around him. All the relatives of the child press forward to hear the astrologer predict its future life and prospects. He has first, however, to enumerate the names which the child may bear, and the parents have the right to make choice of one of them." It is right to add that the Parsee men, especially the educated ones, laugh at the whole affair; but the women are not yet sufficiently advanced to be conscious of its folly.

The Parsees take great pride in extravagantly dressing and adorning their children, but they do it with great taste. The usual costume of a child is a single, loose shirt, extending from the neck to the ankles, and through which the head and arms are passed. This *jubhla*, as it is called, is embroidered with gold and silver lace. The *topee*, or skull cap, covers the head and completes the dress. When the child is six years old the *jubhla* is thrown off; certain ablutions and ceremonies take place in the presence of the *dastoor*, or high priest, who pronounces a benediction at the close of them, and the child is then invested with the *sudra*, or linen gauze dress, fastened around the waist by the *kusti*, a thin woollen cord of seventy-two threads, representing the seventy-two chapters of the sacred book Izashné. The *kusti* is passed round the waist three times, and tied with four knots, during the chanting of a hymn. At the first knot the person says, "There is only one God, and no other is to be compared with him." At the second he says, "The religion given by Zurtosht is true." At the third, "Zurtosht is the true prophet, and he derived his mission from God." At the fourth and last, "Perform good actions, and abstain from evil ones."

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The house costume of a Parsee consists of a long muslin shirt (*sudra*) and girdle, with a vest of white cloth or chintz, loose trousers of cotton, slippers, and silk skull-cap. When he goes out he puts on a loose ungirded tunic over the muslin shirt, with sleeves twice the length of the arm and folded above the wrist; also, a turban of a beautiful pattern, and generally of a dark chocolate color. The rich wear silk trousers, stockings and English shoes. The priests dress in like manner, excepting that they wear white turbans. The women are generally graceful and well formed, fair in complexion, and of pleasing countenance. They conceal their hair under a thin piece of white linen; the hair is gathered into a bunch at the back of the head and tied with the ends of the linen. They wear the *sudra*, the *pusti* and silk trousers. Their outer dress is several yards in length, and is generally of bright colored silk or satin, embroidered, or fringed with gold lace. It is folded round the waist, covering the lower limbs, and the remainder is gracefully thrown over the head, from which it falls upon the right arm. Under it they wear a silk vest with short sleeves. They are very fond of jewelry, necklaces, bracelets and anklets. The rich ladies wear nose-rings, composed of three large pearls with an emerald pendant, and baugles of pearls. Their slippers are often embroidered with pearls.

The Parsees of the present day closely follow English manners and modes of living, and have adopted modern improvements in their houses. Formerly they sat on the ground at their meals like the Hindoos, and took their food out of one large brazen dish, on which the viands were spread in confusion, or on a plantain leaf; but now they dine exactly as the English do. They have three meals a day. Their breakfast usually consists of tea, bread and butter and eggs. In the middle of the day they dine, and have meat, fish and vegetables, rice, and curry. Tea is drunk in the afternoon; and between eight and ten in the evening they sup. This supper is the substantial meal of the day, and wines are then consumed in large quantities by those who can afford them; but the Parsees drink no intoxicating liquors during the day. They are enjoined by their religion

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to say grace before each meal. The males eat apart from the females, and sometimes each individual eats apart. This custom is derived from the Hindoos, for the Persian ancestors of the Parsees not only dined with their mothers, wives, and sisters, but took their ladies out with them to feasts. The leading Parsees, however, are reviving this ancient practice. The Parsee ladies are not seen in society, but they have entire liberty in the house. The sons, after marriage, do not live separately from their parents, and hence it is common to see great-grandfathers and great-grandchildin the same house; hence, also, a Parsee family is always large; Sir Iamsetjee Jeejeebhoy's numbers upwards of one hundred individuals.

Formerly it was the custom among the Parsees to betroth their children at a very early age and bring about early marriages; but this practice is fast disappearing. The priests are the great match-makers, and they employ astrology in furtherance of their schemes. The betrothal is a very simple affair. The parents of the boy present a dress to the girl, and those of the girl give one to the boy. This exchange of presents make the marriage contract complete and it cannot then be dissolved. The wedding may take place at any time afterward; but it is usual for the astrologer to name the "fortunate" day. The wedding is a very grand affair, according to the means of the parties. The ceremony takes place in the evening in the presence of the guests. The whole of the bridegroom's party, male and female, repair to the house of the bride with music and priests, and the ceremony takes place in the bride's house. Presents are then distributed, and the bridegroom and his party retire. Then the supper is served, and the health of the newly married couple is drunk.

The Parsees, unlike the Hindoos, allow widows to marry; but they strictly prohibit bigamy. The penalties for this offence are very severe. The ceremonies at death are peculiar. The dying man is washed and dressed in clean clothes. The priests then pronounce sundry texts of the Zend Avesta, in which the dying man joins if he can; if he cannot his nearest male relative does it for him. After death the body

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is wrapped in clean clothes and placed on an oblong piece of polished stone, which is laid on the floor. The female members and relations of the family then sit down together on a carpet spread in the same room in which the body is placed, the men sitting on benches on the veranda of the house. If the death takes place at night the body is kept in the house until the next morning; but if it happens during the day it is removed to its resting place in the evening. It is placed in an iron bier by the corpse-bearers; then two priests stand facing the corpse and recite, in ancient Zend, which few now understand, a certain part of the Izeshné, a sort of funeral sermon. The body is then carried to the Tower of Silence, which is erected in a solitary place, and generally upon a mountain. The male relatives and friends follow, and at the close of the procession the face of the corpse is uncovered for a few minutes that all may take a last look at it, and the whole assembly bow to it. After this the corpse is deposited in the tower and exposed to the birds, who soon strip it of flesh; the bones then fall through an iron grating into a pit beneath, from which they are afterwards removed into a subterranean entrance made for the purpose. On the fourth day after this a solemn feast for the dead takes place, and the women wear mourning from three to thirty days, according to their pleasure or convenience.

The affairs of the Parsee community, after their expatriation from Persia, seem generally to have been managed by a *punchayet*, or council of five, selected from among their wisest men. We have no record of the early history of this body, and are in ignorance as to what laws it was guided by in its early existence. It was a court of justice, and its decisions were never disputed. Any one refusing to obey them was excommunicated, and his co-religionists held no further intercourse with him. He could not attend the fire temples, nor receive the rites of Parsee burial. This state of affairs lasted until about the middle of the 18th century, when the *punchayet* found they could no longer rule their countrymen effectually. In 1778 they petitioned the British governor of Bombay for legal power to inflict punishment by beating with the shoe. This was granted. But about eight years

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afterwards violent disputes arose between the priests and the people on the subject of marriage, the former claiming the right to marry the daughters of the latter, and prohibiting their own daughters from marrying a commoner. The matter was referred to three English Commissioners, who, after a lengthened investigation, recommended a reconstruction and reform of the *punchayet*. Accordingly it was changed into a council of twelve by the British Government in 1787. And this council continued to act until all the original members had died off. It was reconstructed in 1818, but somehow fell into contempt. In 1838 the Parsees applied to the legislative council of India for fresh powers and for the alteration of the laws relating to the inheritance of property. This application proved unsuccessful. At last, on the 20th of August, 1855, a public meeting was held in one of the fire temples for the purpose of adopting measures for declaring the laws which shall be binding upon the professors of the Zoroastrian faith. The meeting appointed a committee of 150 gentlemen to draft a code, and these, again, selected by ballot a sub-committee of 20 to carry out the work. After a time these gentlemen completed their labors. The laws were drafted, and subsequently accepted by the Parsees; and according to it they now govern themselves. We may conclude by observing that the Parsee merchants are esteemed throughout the commercial world for their integrity, enterprise, wealth, and public spirit. They have been among the foremost to promote the development of the resources of India, and as they own all their prosperity to the Government of England they are her most loyal adherents.

ART. IV.—1. *An Essay on the principle of Population, or a view of its past and present effects on human happiness.* By T. R. MALTHUS.

2. *An Inquiry concerning the power of increase in the numbers of mankind.* By WILLIAM GODWIN.

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3. *The principles of Population and their connection with human happiness.* By ARCHIBALD ALISON.

The causes of the increase or diminution of population involve all the elements affecting human well-being — extending through the entire range of political economy. So vast a subject can be fully discussed only in an elaborate treatise. It is questionable if it can be reduced into a simple elementary form. The most useful method is to single out salient incidents of principal consequence, to develop the effect whether injurious or otherwise, and if the former, to inquire for a remedy. We propose to notice some prominent topics, without attempting an exhaustive review of the whole subject.

I. What is excessive population? This is not determined by ascertaining how many can be provided with the necessaries of life. A population may be excessive, although there should be sufficient physical sustenance. This world is not a mere *anthropopoion*, a vast inclosure for the raising of man stock. It is true there is successive propagation, which, taken in all past ages, has already swelled to the infinite, and cannot be expressed by arithmetical notation. But there are manifest purposes of our existence other than merely to be transplanted like seedlings to another state. Character is to be formed here, passions to be developed and put under restraint, the faculties of the soul to be increased and prepared for higher functions, and social life to be gradually refined and elevated by the interfusion of noble qualities wrought out in individual experiences.

Hume's doctrine, that in the economy of human life there is a singular absence of provision for our happiness—all the arrangements being such as merely to ensure re-production—is applicable only to such populations as are in excess of what can be provided for beyond mere physical wants. The greatest drawback in the condition of the mass of a people is the unequal distribution of the means of enjoyment. When property is in the hands of a few, the rest of the community are without independence, and therefore subject to the discomforts and vices of a menial state. The feudal lords of the middle ages had a large number of retainers, who had nothing but their food

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and scanty clothing. The moral state of these dependents can be estimated by the record we have in English history of *Villeinage*, and yet the peasantry in England were superior to any other in Europe.*

In Italy, under Roman rule, when the lands were appropriated by a small number of citizens, a populace was created which had no regular employment, and thence it came that provision had to be made for them by the gratuitous distribution of bread in the city of Rome—the number of recipients in the time of Augustus being 200,000, supposed to be male adults, but unmarried. The vice that prevailed in the city beyond what was ever seen before or since was a natural result. Of course it was a check to the increase of free citizens, for there would have been an inadequate supply of food, yet at an earlier period when there was less inequality in the proprietorship of lands, a much larger population was maintained. Seven acres was an ordinary farm in the earlier days of the Republic. Paulus Æmilius lived on one not larger, and had, besides his own family, one or two sons-in-law, with their children. The number of men called into military service in the second Carthaginian war is almost incredible when we bear in mind that the Roman armies were then composed of substantial citizens.

Again, there may be an industrial class, as the operatives in modern manufacturing populations, far more numerous than the peasantry of former ages, when each nation had to depend upon its own agriculture for support—greater facility of exchange now enables one nation to purchase of another its surplus food. Thus England at the present time sustains a population far exceeding what it can provide for by its own agricultural products—the deficiency being made up by importations

* *Villeinage* was originally a sort of slavery—villeins being either attached to a manor and sold with it, or to the person of the lord, who could dispose of them by deed. They were not included in the provision of Magna Charta against oppression. "Nullus *liber* homo capiatur," &c. Even the class above this lowest one, viz.: such as were qualified to take part in the business of the county courts as jurors, &c., appear to have been mean as compared with the commonalty of the present day, as may be judged from the process of *attaint* for a false verdict, which was frequent, and the *wager of law*, that is the production of compurgators by a defendant to swear that they believed the defence to be true. Yet Fortiscue says, that in France there was no trial by jury, because there could not be found competent persons to serve as there were in England. *De Laud. Angl.*

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from other countries more sparsely peopled—but it has become the most difficult problem of political economy in that country, what can be done to check the downward tendency of this crowded and uncultivated part of the people, or rather how to elevate them from their present state of privation and consequent abasement, intellectual and moral.

It is not impossible to impart education to the densest population—that is to say, such education as is furnished in schools—but there will necessarily be an absence of all that important part of culture which belongs to the privacy of domestic life and solitary reflection. The Chinese are educated so far as they can be in the ceaseless stir and din of humanity brought into the closest contact; they can generally read and write, and have mechanical handicraft, so far as depends upon mere imitative manipulation, but they are deficient in independent thought and originality, or rather individuality of character, and are chiefly noted for general uniformity in low propensities. We rely for this estimate chiefly upon the testimony of Huc, who has, upon the whole, analyzed the Chinese character with a more extended observation than any other writer. According to his report venality prevails in public office and falsehood in private dealings. More recently, since emigration from China to California has been going on, we have had an opportunity of observing their habits more closely. It is said that those employed in mining and the construction of railroads are industrious, frugal, and temperate. This would seem to show that the vices they are charged with in their own country may in a great measure have grown out of their over-crowded condition. It may be that better qualities will be permanently displayed in this new field, where so much greater encouragement is offered for upright dealing; but we cannot avoid serious misgiving in anticipating what may be the consequence of an unchecked flow of the surplus of that densely populated region, whether it shall overwhelm the numerically inferior race and give to the aggregate an Asiatic type, or whether our superior intelligence shall be adequate to transmute the Chinese imitativeness into American free thought. One defect there is in the Chinese which is of the gravest account, viz.: the entire

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absence of religious ideas. The evangelizing of those who have come among us is as yet unpromising.*

The increased facilities in Europe and our own country for gaining information must have some tendency to elevate the laboring class; but it is questionable whether newspapers and the lighter periodicals, while they serve to enliven their minds, constitute a healthful stimulant; whether, on the contrary, they may not be to the weak mental organism like the dangerous resort to opiates and alcohol for the relief of the care-worn body. It cannot be said that we have any selfish object in making this remark, since our journal has no support to expect from that class. Excess of labor or privation, the want of proper recreation, the dearth of cheering hope in the future, enfeeble the intellect and moral nature. The wild vagaries of the morbid minds are most congenial to the toil worn, as may be seen in the marvellous circulation of the sensational class of publications in England. A like circulation is seen in our own country; but here, in place of the monotonous manual toil of the English laborers, there is the gadding eagerness in pursuit of a better condition, the effect of which is to make life restless, to curtail innocent recreation, and to impair vigor of mind, save in one direction, to which it is wholly turned.

A hypostasis complete in its conditions of happiness for an entire community was never yet realized, perhaps in the nature of things is impossible. The greater part of the experience of mankind has been an effort to secure the advantage of a limited number, an aristocracy either by hereditary rank or wealth,† without regard to the condition of the many, or rather by the sacrifice of the personal rights of the latter. The greater or

* The estimate by our American missionaries is more favorable as to the intellectual character of the Chinese, and the hope of religious impression being made upon them; but the recent comprehensive examination by *Edkins* of their three religions, the Confucian, the Taou-Kia, and Buddhism, confirms what we have said of the absence of spiritual ideas, in our sense of the term, from the Chinese mind. See Edkins' *Religious Condition of Chinese*, 1859.

† According to Aristotle's definition the αριστοι and ολιγοι, men of ability and men of wealth (Polit. B. 2.), but men of ability have usually been those who had rank; it is only in a rude state of society that mere brute strength could acquire leadership. Where laws have been established and civil order prevails weight of character will have pre-eminence, and this will belong in the greatest measure to that class, who have ancestral distinction and the prestige which grows out of the habit of command.

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less number of the privileged class have determined, relatively, the beneficial character of the government; but whatever the number, a common people uniformly have been left unprovided for in respect to much that is essential to the proper use and enjoyment of life. The free city of Athens, so called in comparison with other states which were more proscriptive of the plebeian element, invested less than a third, or even a fourth, of its male population with the franchises of citizenship; the rest were slaves or aliens.* In the Roman *comitia* suffrage was allowed to a populace that for the most part was destitute of habitations fitted for domestic life, and of means of enjoyment except what was provided at public expense, the *circus*, *baths*, &c. Yet there was a class still below them, *libertini*, who had been manumitted from slavery, but had not received citizenship; *aliens*, who, however, more easily obtained citizenship than at Athens, and, lastly, *slaves*, who were imported chiefly from Asia. The 200,000 pauper citizens of Rome, it is not likely, were possessed of fixed habitations, or at all events, of anything more than merely places for sleeping. During the day they were in the courts, or public assemblies, or places of amusement. Manual labor was left to slaves, intercourse with *libertinæ* and female slaves was unrestrained, and the moral character of the *Plebs* was probably upon a par with that of the Asiatic slaves. Infanticide was of course common, and was not prohibited by law.†

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* In a population at Athens which has been variously estimated from 400,000 to 1,000,000, there were during the Peloponnesian war probably 21,000 free male citizens, who, with their families (allowing five to a family, according to the common method of computation), would have made upwards of 100,000. Aliens were a numerous class—all being so held whose father or mother was an alien—but in great emergencies citizenship was conferred upon many aliens and slaves for the purpose of providing for military and naval service—only citizens being competent to serve.

† When the freedom of the city (that is the rights of citizens of Rome) was extended to Italian cities and to Gaul, there must have been a vast increase of profligacy by the confluence of a crowd of provincials to the elections, while there must have been an abuse of the franchise to an incalculable extent from the difficulty of distinguishing slaves and aliens from citizens. The extension of suffrage would have added strength to the government had there been any proper idea of representation and the provincial cities been permitted to vote within their own municipalities. The demand by the Italian cities to participation in the government of the republic was just, and the concession of the right at the termination of the Italic or social war, secured a promise of future peace and order, but was in fact followed by civil disturbances and wars that ended in the overthrow of the republic.

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The democractic principle which has been practically developed in our own country, and is maintained in England by political theorists, is entire equality of rights. Till the late rebellion there was indeed an inconsistency with the professed principle in the retention of slavery in some of the states, and there is still a marked distinction of political ethics growing out of pre-existing habit and mode of thought, the consequence of that incongruous condition — the arrogance of the former master and the contempt of labor heretofore assigned to menials being yet dominant in the late slave states.

The principle of equality is, however, fallacious. It operates as a reversal of the old regime, and a substitution of the poor in place of the rich as the more favored class. This effect was observed by Aristotle. "An *aristocracy*," he says, "is liable to be converted into an *oligarchy* which regards only the rich, a free state into a democracy which regards only the poor."* To counteract such tendency checks are required, and we have none. The will of a majority of the people is absolute. Even the restraint attempted by the adoption of constitutions is subject to being abrogated by a popular vote, there is only a certain formality to be gone through, which in a time of vehement commotion may be disregarded.

Universal suffrage invests power in the numerical majority, which consists of the more ignorant and poorer class of the community. Again, it is a fallacy to suppose that by equal regard to the whole the welfare of the community will be equally provided for. On the contrary the level, if attained at all, would be likely to be attained by curtailing one class of its educational and social superiority, instead of bringing up the other to a higher standard. Thus there would result universal mediocrity, which, if it could be of a proper grade, might not *per se* be unfavorable; but it is impossible in a populous country that there can be such a condition. Inequality must exist, and the levelling process, if attempted to be carried out, must inevtiably end in the voluntary transfer of power by a demoralized community to some popular and unscrupulous leader.

* Polit. B., iii., c. 7.

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Increase of population is not necessarily indicative of real prosperity, even if there should be corresponding increase of wealth. Substantial good is best promoted by the maintenance of individuality and self-respect, and this is impracticable in the perpetual intermingling of human beings, so that distinction of thought and consciousness is lost.* The populousness of large cities presses chiefly upon the lower class. The rich have it in their power to secure such privacy as suits them; but to the closely crowded poor there is no escape from the oppressive magnetism of companions always present—often unwelcome.

On the other hand, there is a disadvantage in the stationary condition. If the resources of a people remain the same they will be likely to continue in the same hands, that is in the hands of those who have property and their descendants. Little opportunity will be found for successful enterprize; a stagnation from the want of incentive to exertion will be apt, therefore, to ensue. But it is hardly possible that such a state should exist for any considerable time with unchanging uniformity. Either population will advance, and then there will be strife of competition, which will result in the success of a few and impoverishment of the rest, or there will be a gradual decay of population, at least of the better sort, by reason of inadequate encouragement for the growth of families. Colonization was, in ancient states, the method of disposing of surplus citizens, so that the condition of those who remained was apparently unchanged. A similar process is now going on in European countries by emigration to America. This will probably continue many years, and to some extent obviate the pressure of excessive population.

In general, however, stationary wealth, or what is equivalent, an unvarying limit of production, is a restraint of increase in the middle and self-providing class, while in the lowest there will be improvident procreation or destructive licentiousness. The condition of most of the states of Europe during the last

* "A population," says Mill, "may be too crowded though all be amply supplied with food and raiment. It is not good for man to be kept perforce at all times in the presence of his species. * * Solitude, in the sense of being often alone, is essential to any depth of meditation or of character. *Polit. Econ.*, B. 4., c. 6.

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three centuries has been nearer a proper equilibrium than was ever before realized. In the present century, since the close of the Napoleonic wars, there has, however, been a steady increase of population, which has been but partially restricted by emigration. The tendency is especially to the growth of cities. There has been a vast addition of manufacturing production; but the proportion of growth is still greater in a population wholly dependent upon labor.

II. What will operate to increase or diminish population? A law of general application is asserted by Malthus, that population will always come up to what can be provided for according to the habitual standard of comfort. A correlative of this law is, that the apprehension of exceeding that limit imposes a check, or, as he expresses it, the increase is restrained by fear of want rather than want itself. It is obvious that the condition by which this limit is imposed is not merely what amount can be produced from land, but also what personal security there is of enjoying it. The retainers of a feudal baron who were without individual ownership of property, and depended upon the will of their superior, could not safely rear families, or, at all events, not more numerous families than would be needed for services required by him. Again, in a territory like Syria, where a farmer is exposed to the risk of having his crops carried off by robbers from the desert, there is no motive to lay out much labor or expense; in fact, the greater the production the greater the risk of being plundered. This insecurity has depopulated that country to a limit far below what could be subsisted by proper cultivation, and what has in former times, under a better government, been actually maintained.* A like effect has been seen in Spain from the general exposure of every man of reputed wealth to the violent exactions of bandits who have long infested the entire country.† Industry is thereby

* It is singular that so large a population could ever have been maintained in Palestine and the adjoining countries as there must have been in the time of David. Wars were destructive, the country was often laid waste by inroads that on a larger scale were like the incursions of the Bedouins of the present time, and the conquered people, or a large proportion, were usually carried away as captives.

† Brigandage has prevailed more than 200 years in Spain. The state of things, as represented in Gil Blas, is almost identical with what is described by modern travellers. It is rather highway robbery than assaults upon dwel-

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paralyzed, large estates in land are suffered to go to waste, and peasant labor is in little demand.

A still greater check to agriculture, and, consequently, to population, is when the government itself levies an undue proportion of what is produced, or when the system of collecting revenue is enforced in an arbitrary and oppressive manner. The population of Turkey is stationary at a limit much below what is maintained under well-regulated European governments, for the reason that the pashas are subject to very little restraint and have despotic power over life and property. The difference, however, is not so much numerically as in the comfort of the people. There is no middle class. Abject poverty is the condition of the great mass of the population, and utter stagnation of industrial production save what is necessary for bare subsistence. The Roman provinces, under the imperial government, were exhausted by taxation, the product of labor was so largely appropriated for the use of the government that it became necessary to enforce it by holding the principal men responsible for an entire community.* Population suffered a corresponding decrease, as may be inferred from imperfect statistics. The difference between Greece under the empire and Greece when it consisted of independent states is conclusive as to the condition of other Roman provinces.

With these and analagous modifications it doubtless holds true that population will always equal whatever can be supported. But what shall be the standard of support? Not, as has before been remarked, what will barely maintain life, as if men were to be classed with brute animals; but such a condition as is deemed the minimum of comfort. In England,

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ling houses, but the latter is usually guarded against by defences, when a residence was in the country far from any other; even in large towns it was, and is still, the usual mode to protect the entrance by a gate—the exterior is in fact a wall within which the yard and dwelling are contained.

* By the revenue laws every town (municipium) was assessed at a certain number of *capita* for which the municipality was responsible. The municipality was composed of *decurions*, who were nominally privileged citizens (*curiales*), but were in fact held to this condition involuntarily. A district of country was included in the assessment, from which it is to be inferred that lands were usually in large estates, the proprietors of which resided in the towns. The assessment was so oppressive that a large proportion of lands was left uncultivated, probably abandoned, in order to escape from the burden. The capitation was by an imperial decree in some instances reduced. Gibbon, c. 17.

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whether it be owing to climate or to hereditary vigor, a more generous diet has always been deemed necessary than in France, and therefore families would not be brought up in the former under a pressure of poverty that would be no bar in the latter. The destitution in Ireland is even greater than in France, and it would naturally be expected, therefore, that population would fall away; but here comes in another modification, that when the standard is at the lowest possible point, and no prospect of improvement, there is an abandonment of all regard to consequences.* The effect is an increase beyond what is consistent with sanitary laws. Diseases resulting from privation carry off a large proportion in infancy. Pestilence and famine occurring at intervals sweep away old and young beyond the average which can be supported with a due regard to the conditions of health. In countries where the state of society is badly regulated the inordinate increase of the lowest class has always been thus curtailed. The same principle operates in populous cities. A greater proportion die in infancy. It is the poorer class that chiefly suffer—the well-conditioned probably enjoy a degree of health equal to the highest standard in the country.

Hardships such as are incident to slavery, or to a servile condition like that of *villeins*, formerly in England, and the boors, *traals* and serfs of other parts of Europe, tended to restrict population, but more especially has this been the case where one people have become dominant over another and feebler race. When the Spaniards first landed in Hayti it is supposed that there were a million of inhabitants, but by the severe labor and exposure to which they were subjected the number diminished in fifteen years to 60,000, and in a short period after were exterminated. In Mexico and Peru it is estimated that 15,000,000 of human beings were destroyed in the process of settlement before a fixed government had been established. Slavery in our southern states was not destructive to life as it

* Mill has noticed the restraining effect of foresight having regard to what is deemed respectable. Many are acted upon by fear of losing what are considered the decencies of life—some in the middle class by a desire of improving their circumstances. This, however, does not operate upon the lowest class; they are content to bring up families to live as they have themselves—sometimes not even that, but rely upon chance or public charity.

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has been in all past history, for the reason that, importation being prohibited, it became profitable to propagate for sale. In Italy, under the empire, the supply of slaves was furnished by continual importation; there was little propagation by the slaves themselves, probably because it was more expensive to rear them at home than to buy in the Eastern markets. Marriages, therefore, were not encouraged, and infanticide was common.

Vice is probably even a greater impediment to growth in population than poverty. In the city of Rome, under the imperial government, general licentiousness superseded marriages and the raising of families to such an extent that laws were enacted for the promotion of matrimony, but with little effect. The prevalence of similar immorality in Paris has not the same result, in consequence of the care of children of unknown parents at public expense. The design was to relieve poor mothers of illegitimate children, but no inquiry was made as to parentage. But foundling establishments have undoubtedly had the effect of increasing the vice whose consequences they were intended to alleviate. It is a great drawback also to the charity itself that a fearful mortality prevails among infants thus provided for, amounting probably to as large a proportion as would be sacrificed under the old practice of infanticide—though the actual number of illegitimate children is no doubt greater. In 1856 there were 120,000 foundlings in France under the age of 12 years, and 60,000 to 70,000 between 12 and 21. The annual number received into foundling hospitals is 25,000 to 30,000. The mortality is reported to be 52 per cent. under the age of 1 year, and 78 per cent. under the age of 12, while in the whole community 50 in 100 reach the age of 21.*

A like destruction of life in infancy, through want of proper care, is seen in the children of the poor, even when born in lawful wedlock. Malthus estimated that in London one-half of the children born die under the age of 3 years, in Vienna and Stockholm, under the age of 2. Perhaps he intended that one-half of the *deaths* were under those ages—even then it would exceed the

* It is said that 13 per cent. of male foundlings become convicts, or are imprisoned under the charge of crime; one-fifth of female foundlings become inmates of houses of prostitution. The number admitted into the foundling hospital of Paris in 1856 was 3,943.

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present mortality. In the city of New York it is ascertained by exact statistics that about one-half of the deaths are under the age of *five*. By the United States census of 1860 it appears that the average through the entire country is 20.74 per cent. under the age of 1; 42.95 per cent. under the age of 5; but it is supposed that the enumeration of deaths is deficient, particularly of very young children. According to the returns the rate of general mortality is 1 in 79, whereas it is insisted that the real rate is equal to that in England, which is 1 in 44.*

Taking into account the comparative unhealthiness of the Atlantic coast south of the state of Delaware, and of the lower Mississippi, the proportion of infant mortality, it can hardly be doubted, is not less than one-half of all the deaths under the age of 5.

There has been of late years great improvement in the condition of the lower class, sanitary laws are better understood, and more attention is given to ventilation, cleanliness, and other essentials to health. This has in part been made necessary as a defence against pestilence, especially Asiatic cholera. Mortality has thereby been diminished, but in the same proportion population has increased and is becoming more crowded—that is to say, the class which has been thus relieved or better provided for. In fact, there is in all the charities of our time and the charitable disposition which has been developed in the entire community, a tendency to increase the evil of too rapid growth of that part of the population which is unable to provide for itself. Relief from the pressure of want soon creates a greater number that will need relief. On the same principle, when greater means of subsistence are required by sudden prosperity in trade, manufactures, or otherwise, while there is for a time greater apparent comfort, population speedily arrives at a point when pressure upon these enhanced means begins. So, also, extended cultivation of land furnishes one generation with a more ample support; but in the next generation there will be a greater number to be supported.†

* Kennedy's *Prelim. Report on 8th Census.*

† Malthus says that uncultivated land has no effect either of injury or benefit to the poor. Enlarged cultivation will for a time be a benefit, but popula-

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In British India protection of the people from the devastation suffered under former misrule, and the vastly increased intercommunication between the several parts of the country by roads, railways and canals, have had the effect of bringing about a large increase of agricultural production, and yet the prices of all products have risen, and there is a seeming scarcity of supply. The reason is that population has advanced in still greater ratio. Formerly war, famine and pestilence kept down excessive growth of population. The present scarcity or high prices of the necessaries of life cannot be understood by the natives; they superstitiously attribute it sometimes to the surveys of the lands for the designation of ownership or the construction of roads and other improvements, sometimes to the slaughter of cattle by the English, and they petitioned against the consumption of beef by the soldiers.*

The discussions at the recent social science convention in Birmingham (October, 1868) elicited some interesting facts and theories in relation to the late rapid increase of population in England. It was asserted by a Malthusian that such increase was confined to the lowest strata of society, whose prolificness was in exact proportion to their misery, and the remedy he proposed was a more energetic and thorough sanitary regulation of the physical condition of the poor by government agency. Another (Prof. Fawcett) insisted that high wages are no advantage to an ignorant population; it is only furnishing more money to be spent in sensual indulgences. Raise wages and there are more frequent marriages, an increase of population, and things are soon as bad as ever. This reasoning would go to show that in proportion as the circumstances of the lower class are made easy they will multiply, and thus, by numerical aggregation, press speedily beyond the limit of comfort to that of privation. Upon the same principle, relief by public charity tends to promote increase of the class from whom the extreme pressure of the struggle for subsistence is taken off, so that

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tion would soon come up to the same proportion; so far as land is not cultivated it is the same thing as having a smaller territory. *Prin. of Prop.*, v. 2, 210.

* *West. Rev.*, July, 1868, Art., "British Rule in India."

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there must be a continual addition to the number relieved, or the pressure upon the whole class will necessarily return.

III. Public policy, in restraint of population—provision for the poor. It is the most difficult problem of political science how to regulate the relief from want as dictated by a law of humanity, and at the same time guard against such accumulation of the number to be relieved as to defeat the charity intended. The alternative method is either to leave them to entire dependence upon the superior class, or to require them to be self-supporting, and furnish no other aid than education and moral discipline.

1st. The former method assumes that the means from which support is to be derived are disproportionately appropriated by a few; if that state of things is to be maintained, the obligation necessarily results that these shall bestow sufficient for the actual subsistence of the many—that is to say, the necessaries of life. This is the theory which has been acted upon in England, and it must be conceded that in no other country has there been a more systematic and liberal provision for the poor than is exhibited in English legislation. At an early period religious institutions for the aid of the poor were largely endowed by government and invested with privileges in consideration of such professed object. Of this character were the monasteries and other charitable foundations; so also the church dignitaries in their corporate constituencies, their demesnes being deemed to be held under a pledge of furnishing alms and protecting the poor. But in the reign of Henry VIII. the monasteries were broken up under the pretext that vice was encouraged and the poor not provided for. Then succeeded the poor-laws, which became necessary for the support of the class that had hitherto received alms, or were entitled to such. The first statute (called the Vagrant Act) was based upon the assumption that idleness was a misdemeanor, and that all vagrants and needy persons should be set at work.* Edward VI. founded two

* King Henry, on presenting to parliament the form of the act which he wanted, said that the gaols must be rid by proclamation or by jury. "Sturdy beggars, and such prisoners as cannot be set at work, shall be set to work at the king's charge." * * "Then if they fall to idleness, the idler shall be had before a justice of the peace, and his fault written. If he be taken idle again, he shall be known where his dwelling is,"—the second time to be burned in the hand; the third time to die for it. Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, v. ii., p. 407.

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hospitals for the relief of the impotent by reason of infancy or sickness, and a third (*bridewell*) for the punishment and employment of able-bodied vagrants. But these were found inadequate, and the statute 43 Elizabeth was enacted, which is the basis of the poor-laws that are now in force. By this it was directed that a fund should be raised in every parish for the relief of the poor who were not able to work, and to provide employment for such as were able-bodied but could not find work. The latter provision has never been efficiently carried out. The principle of furnishing work to the poor in their own habitations, which was had in view in the act, was undoubtedly sound, but it was not adhered to; the modern practice has been, with occasional alterations of other experiments, to bring into a work-house all that could not support themselves, and this is now forced by statute of 1834. The effect has been to take away self-respect from the poor thus relieved, and to establish a low pauperism, which is a heavy and increasing burden upon the community. Outside relief was formerly given to some extent, but it was found difficult, if not impossible, to obtain such careful attention as was necessary to insure a just discrimination. The expenditure for the poor at public charge has been, however, diminished about 40 per cent. under this law; but this probably has arisen from the fact that a large proportion of those needing assistance have rejected it with the condition of being removed to the poor-house.*

The English system has been generally adopted in this country—but the ease with which subsistence is earned leaves a very small public burden by taxation for the support of the poor, with the exception of some of the large cities, where emigrants from abroad are largely congregated.†

* The amount expended in 1818 for direct relief of the poor, was £7,870,801—in 1859, £5,586,689. Since 1861, it is estimated that the average had been about £5,000,000 annually. It should be understood, however, that there is a large expenditure beyond what directly reaches the persons provided for. The total expenditure in France in 1853, was $57,886,554, which included nearly $7,000,000 for pensions to soldiers, and other items that belonged to the civil list.

† Yet in the city of New York, which is the most burdened with foreign paupers, who constitute nine-tenths of the aggregate, the public charge is not more than one-half the average rate in England. A large additional amount is, however, bestowed through charitable institutions and individual agency.

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In France the poor were formerly provided for in work-houses, and mendicancy was prohibited by law, though the law was not rigidly enforced. The present system is to provide for the infirm in hospitals; for the able-bodied at their homes or in work-houses. It is reported that in Holland there are 280,000 paupers in a population of about three and a half millions; in Belgium about 700,000 in a population of four and a half millions—being the largest proportion in Europe.

The other method of providing for the poor before referred to can be sustained only by a well-ordered and enlightened people. Education, such as is ordinarily obtained in schools, is not alone sufficient. In Prussia, education is more general than in any country of Europe, and yet it is asserted by Alison that the proportion of crime is also greater, for which he cites tabular statements of Malte Brun.*

More recent statistics may, perhaps, not sustain this assertion; it may be that a more complete record is kept in Prussia, and that the larger proportion is of petty offences. The proportion of the educated in Prussia is 1 in 7. In France 1 in 23; in Austria 1 in 15; (yet in the latter crime is said not to be one-fourth what there is in Prussia)—in England, (1816), 1 in 16; in Scotland 1 in 11. If the statement, however, be true, it must be accounted for by the rigid military system of Prussia, whereby all the youth are compelled to take their turn in public service, and are thus taken away from domestic influence at the most critical period of life. It appears to be well attested that suicides are of more frequent occurrence in Prussia than in any other country, not excepting even France. The want of religious influence is illustrated by this state of things. Free thinking is prevalent—there is neither superstition nor evangelical belief. Of course this remark is true only in its general application—it is not intended to say that religion is extinct, but that it has lost its hold of the public mind. There must be a virtuous training in the household. Christian doctrine, rightly applied, has the greatest power. If a community is properly instructed in religious truth, it will not be likely to be led away

* *Hist. of Europe*, v. 5, 15, *ib.* 7, 5.

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by visionary or unprincipled men—which is the greatest danger to which the uneducated are exposed. Such self-respect, and the feeling of responsibility by every man to society, will have a tendency to insure habits of industry, and also a conscientious self-restraint, as to marriage and the raising of children. Mill insists that the only effectual check to reckless increase of population is the provident forethought which will result from education—that the producing of large families, without the means of support, would be restrained by public opinion holding it a disgrace, and he denounces the idea that a married man cannot be continent—that having or not having a family is not within a man's own control.*

There is more basis for another of his hypotheses, viz.: that women would not allow excess if supported by public opinion. It is not by the choice of the wife that families are too numerous; to be relieved from it would be hailed as a blessing by multitudes. The recent change of laws in this country as to the rights of married women in respect to property, has also to some extent modified their personal status; at all events, the principle upon which such partial change is founded necessarily involves greater personal freedom of the wife, though there has been no statutory abnegation of the common law except in the particular above mentioned.

Such self-restraint, however, as a reliable check upon improvidence, will require a large advance in intellectual and social culture. Luther asserted that sexual instinct could no more be resisted than the appetite for food. He referred, however, to entire abstinence. It may be moderated, but not wholly subjected.

At all events, such rational continence as should be entirely subject to prudent calculation, can be sustained only by the substitution of other more refined enjoyments, and by an equilibrium of mind involving the right exercise of all a man's powers and affections, which is hardly attainable in a life of much physical labor or even of intellectual employ-

* *Polit Econ.*, v. 1, 458.

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ment, if it be irregular. Equanimity is essential, and this requires not only integrity of purpose, but a firm control of all passions and impulses.

We think there is weight in the suggestions of Dr. Draper as to public policy in respect to this difficult subject. His proposition is that "population is determined by law," and he deduces that counter-action of the law that resistance always implies immorality. "He deceives himself who supposes that he can interrupt action while organization exists; at the most the effect is illusory, and is finding its manifestation in some other way. Public celibacy is private wickedness. It is this dreadful truth, as applicable to communities, which has induced several European governments to enter on those methods against which every religious man must revolt, the organization of prostitution."*

A statistical fact has recently been brought to public notice, which has given rise to an inquiry of peculiar interest to our own country. It is stated, as the result of an examination of the registry of births and deaths in Massachusetts during the last 20 years, that the native population does not re-produce itself; in other words, that it is diminishing, not merely by the effect of emigration, but by the decrease in the proportional number of births.†

In the state of New York a similar state of things is shown by the census of 1865. More than one-half of the married women have not an average of two children, a very large proportion *none*. But allowing for the mortality of children, it is certain that there can be no increase of population with less than an average of three births in each family.

The explanation given of this falling off in births is two-

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* *Future Civ. Pol. of Amer.*, c. 2.

† The statistics are furnished by Dr. Nathan Allen, of Lowell, on recent publications, from which it appears that in a population of which less than one-fourth was foreign, more than one-half the births were of foreign parentage. Yet there was not the same disproportion of marriages, there being, in 1864, of American or native born, 7574; of foreign or mixed, 4934.

In a paper recently read by this gentleman, at a social science convention, in Chicago, Nov., 1868, he says that formerly, in New England, there was an average of from six to ten children to each married couple, but within the present century the average has fallen to three, and in cities the birth rate from the native stock is even less.

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fold. 1st. Physical degeneracy of American women. 2d. Aversion of a large number of married women to having children. The latter hypothesis imports that means are resorted to for prevention. It is not likely that this startling condition is peculiar to one or two states. There is a homogeneity throughout our country, at least in all the older and settled parts, a uniformity of habit, especially in female education, manners and tastes. Is it to be inferred that the refinement which has become a characteristic of so large a proportion of our countrywomen has the tendency to induce rejection of the burdens of mental life? French women, who are passionately fond of social enjoyments, seem not to be affected to a like extent, but we are to take into account the slight attention given by them to the nurture of children, it being left by the higher class, for the most part, to hireling nurses; while by the lower class it is turned over in considerable proportion to foundling hospitals.

The more charitable, and probably the true explanation, is the physical enervation of American women, resulting from their habits of life. There is an extreme delicacy of the nervous system, and therefore an inordinate susceptibility to any severe trials of the organism. The consequence is a premature failure of health in the majority of married women, under the cares and physical ordeals of marriage life, and even if life should be prolonged there is induced an incapacity for parturition and the nurture of children.

ART. V.—1. *The true History of the State Prisoner, commonly called the Iron Mask, extracted from documents in the French Archives.* By the Hon. GEORGE AGAR ELLIS.

2. *Historie de l'Homme au masque de fer;* per J. DELORT.

"The Man with the Iron Mask," is the usual designation of a French prisoner of state, who died in the Bastille of Paris, in 1703. His story may properly be called the romance of captivity. For more than a century and a half

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conjecture has been busy concerning his identity. Last January an announcement of considerable interest was made in the *Moniteur Universel* of Paris, to the effect that a young writer, M. Maurice Topin, who had just obtained the prize of 3000 francs from the French Academy, for a work entitled, "L'Europe et les Bourbons sous Louis XIV.," after long and laborious research in the public archives at Paris, ascertained, on unquestionable evidence, the true name of the famous prisoner. It was added that M. Mignet, his uncle, the well-known author, had counselled him immediately to address a letter to the president of the Academy of moral and political science, announcing his discovery, the particulars of which were not to be publicly disclosed until after a certain time—probably, in an extended memoir, by himself, with the requisite *pieces justificatifs*, of evidence and other documents. As yet, no such disclosure has been made.

What long was known as the Bastille was a castle, built in the city wall of Paris, as one of the defences against the English; begun in the year 1369, by Charles V., and completed in 1383, during the reign of his successor, Charles VI. In succeeding reigns it was so greatly enlarged as to become the citadel of Paris; strengthened by the addition of several towers, surrounded with a moat twenty-five feet deep, through which water flowed. Finally it became a state prison, and was besieged and pulled down by the populace in July, 1789. What is called the Column of July (1830) stands on its site. In the year 1697, the responsible office of governor of the Bastille became vacant by the death of M. de Bezemaux, and Benigné d'Auvergne de Saint Mars, Seigneur of Dimon and Palteau, and then governor of the island of St. Marguerite, was placed over the Bastille. Saint Mars entered upon his duties in the Bastille in September, 1698, bringing with him a prisoner from the island of St. Marguerite. This was the Man with the Iron Mask, who had been in his charge for many years. The mask, however, was not made of iron, but of black velvet, strengthened with whale-bone, and fastened behind the head with a padlock. It did not cover the whole

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face, as the lips, chin, and jaws were visible. It was effectual in concealing the other features. The wearer had already been in St. Mars' custody for a long time, in various prisons. St. Mars conveyed his masked prisoner to Paris, and rested with him, on the way, at his own estate of Palteau. A letter, dated June 19, 1768, published in the "Année Littéraire" of that year, and written by M. de Palteau, a direct descendant of St. Mars, describes the visit of the Iron Mask. He arrived at Palteau in a litter, which preceded that in which St. Mars himself travelled. They were accompanied by many men on horseback and by peasants who had gone to meet their master. St. Mars always ate with his prisoner, who sat with his back to the windows of the dining-room, so that the peasants who were in the court could not see whether he kept his mask on at meals; but they observed that St. Mars, who sat opposite to him, had two pistols placed by the side of his plate. They were served by a single servant, who brought all the dishes from the ante-room, where they were placed, and always, when he came in or went out, shut the door very carefully after him. When the prisoner crossed the court he always had his black mask over his face. The peasants also observed that his teeth and lips were seen, that he was tall of stature, and had grey hairs. St. Mars slept in a bed which had been put up close to that of his prisoner.

On the taking of the Bastille, in 1789, a careful search was made among the records of that prison, for entries relative to the Iron Mask. But the great register had been mutilated; folio 120, coinciding with the year 1698, when the masked prisoner had been incarcerated, had been cut out. Subsequently, however, the original sheet was found among the papers of the last governor. The entry, now preserved in the library of the arsenal at Paris, is as follows:

Noms et Qualites des prisonniers.	Date de leur entree.	Tome, Pagg.	Motif de la detention.
Ancien prisonnier de Pignerol, obligé de porter un masque de velours, dont on n'a jamais sçu le nom ni les qualités.	18 septembre 1698 à 3 heures de l'apres midi.	*Du Junca*, vol. 37.	On ne l'a jamais sçu.

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This document was first published in a work entitled "La Bastille Dévoilée," accompanied with the comment, "This is the famous man in the mask, whom nobody has ever seen or known. This prisoner was brought to the Bastille by M. de Saint Mars on his litter, when he took possession of the government of the Bastille, coming from his government of the islands of Saint Marguerite and Saint Honorat, and whom he had before with him at Pignerol. The prisoner was treated with great distinction by the governor, and was only seen by him and M. de Rosarges, major of the fortress, who alone had the care of him."

In the register of the Bastille the surname, "Du Junca," in the third column, has been taken for that of the prisoner. This was a mistake. The place of Lieutenant du roi, at the Bastille had been created by Louis XIV. for M. du Junca, who had been "exempt" in one of the regiments of the king's body-guards. He kept a journal in which the arrival of the Iron Mask is thus recorded:

"Thursday, 18th September, 1698, at three o'clock in the afternoon, M. de St. Mars, governor of the Bastille, arrived to take possession of his office, coming from the islands of St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, bringing with him in his litter an old prisoner, whom he had taken under his care at Pignerol, of whom the name is not mentioned, who is always kept masked, and who was first placed, till night, in the tower of the Basinière, and whom I conducted afterwards myself, at nine o'clock at night, to the third chamber of the tower of the Berthandière; which chamber I had taken care to furnish with all things necessary before his arrival, having received orders to that effect from M. de St. Mars. When I conducted him to the before-mentioned chamber, I was accompanied by Sieur Rosarges, whom M. de Mars also brought with him, and who is charged to wait upon and take care of the aforesaid prisoner, who is fed by the governor."

As Rosanges, who was made major of the Bastille by Saint Mars, had been brought with him, it is probable that he had previously waited upon and taken care of the prisoner at Saint Marguerite. From the prisoner's arrival at the Bastille until his death he is believed to have always worn the iron mask. Sometimes, but masked, he attended mass in the chapel of the prison, but was forbidden to speak or attempt to show his face, and the guard who then escort-

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ed him received instructions, in his hearing, to shoot him if he disobeyed the injunction. He was served by the governor himself (or his confidential deputy Rosarges), and none others, except priest or physician, ever entered his chamber. He told the physician of the Bastille that he believed he was 61 years of age.

The register of the Bastille, published in "La Bastille Dévoillée," has an entry of the death of the Iron Mask on November 19, 1703, "aged 45, or thereabouts, buried in Saint Paul's the next day at four in the afternoon, under the name of Marchiali, in the presence of M. de Rosarges, major of the fortress, and of M. Reilh, surgeon-major of the of the Bastille, who signed their names in the extract of the burial register of St. Paul's. His burial cost forty livres." There is an entry in the parish register of St. Paul's precisely to the above effect. It is further stated, "he was ill for some hours, and died almost suddenly; he was buried in a winding-sheet of new linen; and, for the most part, everything that was found in his chamber was burnt, such as every part of his bed, including the mattresses, his tables, chairs, and other utensils, which were all reduced to powder and cinders, and thrown into the drains. The rest of the things, such as the silver, copper, and pewter, were melted. The prisoner was lodged in the third chamber [floor] of the tower Berthandière, which room was scraped and filed quite to the stone, and fresh white-washed from the top to the bottom. The doors and windows were burned like the rest." It has been stated, on the authority of M. Delaunay, governor of the Bastille, "that the floor was new paved, the old ceiling was taken away and renewed, and every corner was searched in which it was thought that any paper, linen, or other memorial of him might be concealed."

Such extraordinary precautions indicate a great desire to prevent the identity of the Man with the Iron Mask from being known. Some have affirmed that his body was buried without a head, and M. de St. Foix says, in his "Essais Historiques," "that a gentleman, having bribed the sexton of St. Paul, had the body taken up at night, and found a stone instead of the head." It is more prob-

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able that the body was subjected to the action of quicklime. Voltaire, in his "Age of Louis XIV.," has collected and repeated some of the gossip of the time, about the pains anxiously taken to prevent communication between the prisoner and the world. "There was sent," he says, "with the greatest secrecy, to the castle on the island of Marguerite, on the sea of Provence, an unknown prisoner, rather above the middle size, young and graceful figure. On the road he wore a mask with steel springs, that enabled him to eat without taking it off. . . . . The Marquis de Louvois (principal minister of Louis XIV.), who went and saw him at St. Marguerite, spoke to him standing, and with that kind of attention that marks respect. He was lodged at the Bastille as well as that castle would admit. Nothing was refused him that he desired. His chief taste was for lace and linen, remarkably fine. He played on the guitar. His table was the best that could be provided, and the governor seldom sat down in his presence. An old physician of the Bastille, who had often attended him when he was indisposed, said that he never saw his face, though he had frequently examined his tongue and parts of his body; that he was admirably well made, that his skin was rather brown, that he had something interesting in the sound of his voice, that he never complained or let drop anything by which it might be guessed who he was."

Voltaire puts the arrival of the Iron Mask at St. Marguerite at "some months after the death of Cardinal Mazarin, in 1661." It really took place in 1687. Louvois, though he corresponded with St. Mars about this prisoner, never visited him at the island of St. Marguerite, and had been over six years dead at the time of the transfer to the Bastille. Voltaire goes on to say, that when the prisoner was sent to St. Marguerite "no person of importance in Europe was missing." Yet this prisoner certainly was a person of importance. Soon after their arrival there the governor put the dishes on the table himself, retired, and locked the door. One day the prisoner wrote something with his knife on a silver plate, and threw it out of a window to a boat that was drawn on shore near the bottom of the tower. A fisherman,

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to whom the boat belonged, took up the plate and brought it to the governor, who, with evident astonishment, asked the man if he could read what was written on the plate, or if any other person had seen it. He said he could not read; that he had but just found it, and that no one had seen it. He was, however, confined until the governor was certain that he could not read, and that none other had seen the plate. He then dismissed him, saying, "It is lucky for you that you cannot read!"

According to the Abbé Papou, a young lad having one day seen something floating in the water, took it up. It was a fine shirt, written almost all over. He took it to M. Saint Mars, who examined it, and asked the lad if he could read, or had read it. He repeatedly answered in the negative; but, two days afterwards, the boy was found dead in his bed. Another tradition is, that one Dubuisson, who was confined at St. Marguerite, in the room immediately over that occupied by the masked prisoner, spoke to him through the vents of their chimnies, and pressed him to declare who he was, but was met with a refusal, saying that if he did, it would cost him not only his own life, but the lives of all those who should become possessed of the secret. Lastly, Monsieur de la Grange Chaucel, who was imprisoned at St. Marguerite for writing a satire on the duke of Orleans, is reported to have learned from several persons there that when St. Mars was about taking the Iron Mask with him to the Bastille, the prisoner asked whether the king had any intentions against his life, and that the answer was, "No, *prince*, your life is in safety; but you must allow yourself to be conducted." There may be only slight foundation for these traditions, but they show the interest which has attached itself so widely to the Man with the Iron Mask.

The long debated question is, who was this personage? In connection with this must arise the inquiry, what had he done to merit the heavy punishment inflicted upon him? Among the persons who have been put forward by various writers are the following:—Mohammet IV., the Turkish sultan, who was deposed in 1687 by Solyman III.; Arde-

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wik, Armenian patriarch of Constantinople; Henry Cromwell, youngest son of the renowned Oliver, lord protector of the commonwealth of England; the Duke de Beaufort, known in Paris as "the king of the markets;" Fouquet, who was superintendent of finances in the early part of the reign of Louis XIV.; the Duke of Monmouth; the Count de Vermendois, a son of Anne of Austria, wife of Louis XIII.; or, lastly, an ex-secretary of state in the service of the last sovereign duke of Mantua, of the house of Gonzaga. In considering the claims which have been made to identify each and every of these persons with the mysterious man in the iron mask, it is to be remembered that he was in custody at St. Marguerite in 1687; that he was placed in the Bastille late in 1698, and that, when he died there, in November, 1703, he was from 60 to 63 years old, instead of 45, as stated in the record of the register of the Bastille.

As for Mohammed IV., the Turkish sultan, who was deposed in 1687, the year in which the Iron Mask was taken to St. Marguerite, it is known that St. Mars had had him in charge for several years previously. Besides, the sultan did not speak French, but the Mask did, and in a very pleasing manner. Nor was there any cause why the king of France should have imprisoned the Turk for years; not even any proof that he ever set foot on French soil. As the Sultan Mohammed IV. died at the age of forty-nine, in the year 1691, in the Turkish prison into which he had been cast when his army deposed him, fully seven years before the Man with the Iron Mask was placed in the Bastille, the question as regards him cannot be entertained.

Ardewik, (or Arwediks, as French writers sometimes spell it), was Armenian patriach at Constantinople, where he made himself very obnoxious to the Jesuits, then very powerful in all catholic countries. There was found, about the year 1824, in the archives of the foreign office, at Paris, a letter from M. de Bonac, French ambassador to Turkey in 1725, which stated that Ardewik had joined in a cruel persecution of the Armenian catholics, had been kidnapped on board a French vessel, had been imprisoned, first in St. Marguerite and then in the Bastille, and that this ecclesias-

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tic was supposed, by some, to be the Man with the Iron Mask. That the patriach was thus abducted and placed in duresse, seems proven by M. de Bonac's letter, though denied by the French government at the time, when the Ottoman court remonstrated. The outrage took place, however, after M. Periol had become ambassador to the Sublime Porte, in 1699, whereas the Iron Mask was installed in his chamber on the third floor of the Berthandière tower, in September, 1698. This puts Ardewik out of court.

It is difficult to decide why Henry Cromwell should have been considered a possible Man with the Iron Mask. He was the protector's fourth and youngest son, born in 1627. He fought in the Irish war, by his father's side, with distinguished gallantry, and governed Ireland as viceroy, with judgment and success. Had he been in London when his father died he probably would have acted with more firmness than his brother Richard, who so speedily resigned the power he was unable to exercise properly. Henry Cromwell, to whom the soldiers were much attached, might have been able to hold his own against General Monk. After the restoration he passed into obscurity with the rest of his family, and lived on a small estate in the country, where Charles II., when attending the races at Newmarket, paid him an informal visit, which occupied several hours. Henry Cromwell never was in France, and therefore never donned the Iron Mask. He was forty-six when he died, in 1673.

The duke of Beaufort, grandson of Henry IV. of France, was set forward, in 1759, by two able authors, Messrs. Dufresnoy and Lagrange Chancel, as the Man with the Iron Mask. He was mixed up in many conspiracies during the successive administration of affairs by Richelieu, Mazarin, and the regency. In the time of the Froude he sided with the malcontents, and was very popular with the mob of Paris. Reconciled to the court, he was entrusted, in 1669, by Louis XIV., with the command of a fleet sent out to relieve Candia, then besieged by the Turks. It is believed that he was slain in Candia, during an encounter with the enemy, as his body was not found; (if his head had been cut off, according to the Turkish custom, to be sent to the Sultan in Constan-

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tinople, its identification would have been difficult), a rumor prevailed, for a time, that he still lived. As he was born in 1616; he would have been eighty-seven in 1703, when the Iron Mask died.

A claim was set up for Nicolas Fouquet, in August, 1789, immediately after the capture and destruction of the Bastille. A Paris bookseller named Maradan published a little brochure, without date, entitled, "L'Homme au masque de Fer dévoilé, d'après une note trouvée dans les papiers de la Bastille." In this it was affirmed, on the authority of a paper said to have been picked up, at or after the storming of the Bastille, that Fouquet was the man. The writing ran thus:

"64389000. Fouquet arrivant des isles Sainte Marguerite avec un masque de fer. * * * Kersadion."

It was true that a man wearing an iron mask had been conveyed to St. Marguerite, in 1687, by St. Mars, and taken to the Bastille in the autumn of 1698, but it is impossible that this person could be Nicolas Fouquet, inasmuch as he died a captive at Pignerol in 1680. St. Mars, when he had charge of the state prisoners in the citadel of Pignerol, actually had the duke de Lauzen as well as Fouquet in his custody there. Nicholas Fouquet, viscount de Melun and de Vaux, and Marquis de Belle Isle, born in 1815, was noble by birth, and became Maitre des Requêtes in Paris, in 1636, at the age of twenty-one—two years before the birth of Louis XIV. In 1650, at the age of thirty-five, he purchased the high office of procureur général of the parliament of Paris, and rendered great service in this situation to the queen-mother (Anne of Austria) and Cardinal Mazarin. He was recompensed, ere long, by being made superintendent of finances, jointly with M. Servien, but soon acted independently of his colleague, and exercised an immense power—political and social. He labored without intermission for the benefit of the state, restored the public credit, augmented the public finances, promoted the interests of commerce, and encouraged literature, science and art. Eminently a man of pleasure, though he would work like a clerk when necessary, he also aimed at taking a high position in politics, and is believed to have aspired to succeed his patron, Mazarin, in the

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office of prime minister of France. After the death of Servién, his collegue, in 1659, it seemed as if his aspirations were likely to be successful. Proprietor of Belle Isle, on the north-western coast of France, he fortified it at great cost, with the intention, it is supposed, of having a secure asylum in the event of a political failure. His prodigality purchased him the support of the leading nobility of France. On his hereditary estate at Vaux he created, at an expense equal to $36,000,000 of French money of the present time, a palatial residence which, M. Sainte Beuve declares, was an anticipation of Versailles. Thus, long before Louis employed them, Fouquet had Le Vau for his architect, Le Brun for his painter, Le Nôtre for his landscape gardener, Molière for his dramatist, Pélisson for his secretary, and Vatel for his maitre d'hotel. For society, he had the wits and beauties of Paris, which then was the gayest and most intellectual city in Europe. At Vaux, where he held a court, attended by talent and beauty, as well as by rank and fortune, Fouquet gave a féte to Louis XIV., in August, 1661, on which he expended over a million francs, which may be estimated at double that amount in the specie currency of to-day. On that occasion Molière's comedy of "Les Fácheux" was performed for the first time. King Louis, then only twenty-three years old, was displeased at seeing himself outshone by his own servant, and is said to have also been piqued beyond measure on discovering that Fouquet had presumed to rival him in the affections of Louise de la Vallière, of whom his majesty was then very much enamored. Thus irritated, and prompted by Colbert, who afterwards succeeded to the office of minister of finance, the king issued an order for the arrest of Fouquet, which was made by D'Artagnan, the captain-lieutenant of Mousquetaires, who is the hero of Alexander Dumas' best historical romance. This was immediately after the death of Mazarin, and it was declared that among Fouquet's papers had been found not merely credence of his intrigues to become prime-minister, but to obtain supreme power, even by open rebellion. His having fortified Belle Isle in the most complete manner was alleged as corroboration of this charge. His trial for

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malversation and high treason occupied three years. On his conviction thirteen out of twenty-two judges voted for banishment for life, and nine for death. To permit a man of his talents, ambition, and energy to live in any foreign country, where he might dispose of his state secrets to the detriment of France, was what King Louis was reluctant to allow, independently of the anger which rankled in his mind on account of his suspected passion for the fair De la Vallière. A traitor might be mercifully dealt with, but royalty had no pity for a rival. Not Louis only, but Colbert, Le Tellier, and others who envied or feared him, were the enemies of Fouquet. Guy Patin states, in a letter dated December 23d, 1664, that the common belief at court was that, if condemned to death, Fouquet would certainly be executed. Anne of Austria, who was well disposed to him, said to Madame Fouquet, "Pray to God and to the judges for all they can do in favor of M. Fouquet, for he has nothing to hope for from the king." Racine declares, in his "Fragments historiques," that Louis said to Mademoiselle de la Vallière, "If he is condemned to death I shall let him die." It was no secret that his majesty was displeased with the comparative clemency of the judges. He changes their sentence of exile to perpetual imprisonment, and Fouquet passed the rest of his life, (sixteen years), in the castle of Pignerol, where he was put in charge of St. Mars, who subsequently had the duke de Lauzun (another disgraced royal favorite) in his custody, and was also subsequently the jailor of the Man with the Iron Mask. The death of Fouquet took place at Pignerol, on the 23d of March, 1680. The angry feelings of the king induced him to have Fouquet treated with extreme rigor in prison for several years. Louvois' letters to St. Mars, still existing, impress upon him the necessity of being very strict with the prisoner. This severity was enforced during eight years, after which it was somewhat relaxed, for Fouquet was then allowed to receive letters from his wife, and visits from the officers of the garrison. Seven years later (1679—when he was sixty-four years old) he fell ill, and received permission to use the baths of Bourbon. The boon came too late, for he died of

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apoplexy, in prison, on the 23d of March, 1680, as appears by a letter from St. Mars to Louvois. Madame Fouquet was in the town of Pignerol when her husband died, and one of their daughters was about occupying a room next to, and communicating with, his in order that she might attend him in his illness. The count de Vaux, Fouquet's eldest son, was also at Pignerol, and St. Mars was reprimanded from Paris for allowing him to remove "his father's papers and verses." Permission was given to Madame Fouquet to take the body of her husband, and she had it deposited, as the burial registry of the convent of the Filles de la Visitation of Paris proves, in the church of that convent, in the same vault in which his father's remains had been placed forty years before. This would appear to be conclusive evidence, but in the "Histoire de L'Homme au masque de fer," written by M. Jacob, and published in Paris in 1840, it contended that Fouquet did not die at Pignerol in March, 1780, but that King Louis, with his animosity kindled afresh at the instigation of Madame de Maintenon, had resolved still further to punish Fouquet, and therefore, causing his death to be announced, had immured him in a lonely and inaccessible dungeon, where his face was concealed by a mask. Further, that the pretended interment in Paris did not take place until over a year after the reported date of his death, and that, five months before, when a search was made in the church of the convent of the Visitation for the coffin of André Fremiot, formerly archbishop of Bourges, to be removed to that city, the body was found in the Fouquet vault, the coffins in which having been opened, that which was believed to contain the remains of Nicholas Fouquet, the superintendent, was found empty. On the other hand, what interest could Madame de Maintenon (who did not marry Louis XIV. until 1685 or 1686) have in punishing Fouquet for having aspired to come between the king and his mistress nineteen years before? Besides, Fouquet was born in 1615, and would have been eighty-eight years old at his death, if he had been the veritable Man with the Iron Mask, who died in the Bastille, in 1703, was set down in the burial register as 45 years old, and, by all

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accounts was 63. There is no out-arguing the logic of dates.

There are not even plausible reasons for believing that the duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, could have been the masked prisoner of the Bastille. Nevertheless, Poullain de Saint Foix asserted this in a letter published in "L'Année Litteraire" of the year 1768. There was a suspicion in England, even during the life-time of Charles II., that Monmouth was his legitimate son, and indeed he had been treated by the king with such marked distinction as to corroborate the belief. Before "Mr. James Crofts," as he was called at court, had completed his sixteenth year, he was married to the Lady Anne, heiress of the great Buccleugh property, and created duke of Monmouth. As years passed on he was taken up as a protestant foil to the catholic proclivities of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and became very popular among the non-conformists, particularly in the west of England. He was in the Netherlands when his father died, and immediately went to England, where he set up his standard, claiming to be king of England by his legitimacy and right of blood, and declared James II. to be an usurper and murderer, whose intention was to introduce arbitrary power and popery. The campaign of the west immediately was begun, and was ended in a few days by Monmouth's defeat at the battle of Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater. Made prisoner, Monmouth was taken to London, where he was tried and condemned as a traitor. He was publicly executed on Tower Hill, on July 25th, 1685. His body and head were deposited under the communion table of the chapel of St. Peter, in the tower. Lord Macaulay says, "Such was the devotion of the people to their unhappy favorite that, in the face of the strongest evidence by which the fact of a death was ever verified, many continued to cherish a hope that he was still living, and that he would yet appear in arms. A person, it was said, who was remarkably like Monmouth, had sacrificed himself to save the Protestant hero. The vulgar long continued, at every important crisis, to whisper that the time was at hand, and that King Monmouth would

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soon show himself." That year, and again in 1698, attempts were made to represent him, in the counties of Wilts and Sussex. "So long," Macaulay adds, "did this delusion last that when George III. had been some years on the English throne, Voltaire thought it necessary gravely to confute the hypothesis that the Man in the Iron Mask was the duke of Monmouth." Many ballads of his time, preserved in the Pepysian collection, represent Monmouth as living, and predict his speedy return. In 1688, during the exciting trial of the seven bishops, "the rustics in many parts of the country [England], loudly expressed a strange hope which had never ceased to live in their hearts," that their Monmouth would suddenly appear, would lead them to victory, and would tread down King James! The Pere Griffèt, who himself had been chaplain in the Bastille for nine years, and was a skilful and profound historian, strongly opposed the Monmouth theory of St. Foix, and a fierce encounter between them took place in Frerou's "Année Litterarie." Griffet demolished St. Foix's unsupported statements, but set up a new man (count de Vermandois) as a candidate for the martyrdom of the Iron Mask, and died, (in 1771,) before he had written much to prove his case.

In the year 1745 a work entitled "Mémoires secrets pour á l'histoire de Perse," was published at Amsterdam. It was an allegory, and assumed to be a history of the court of France after the death of Louis XIV. The names, which were framed to resemble the Persian, were imaginary. The story supposed the Regent Orleans to have paid a visit to the Bastille, to ascertain whether a prince who had been sent thither, and was reported to have died there, thirty-eight years before, was still alive. This was the count de Vermandois, reputed son of Louis XIV. and Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who, it was alleged, had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment for having given the dauphin a slap on the face. A report of his death had been raised: he had been interred with magnificent obsequies, and had been secretly transferred to a prison in the isle of Ormus, (Sainte Marguerite,) there to finish his days. In the romance, the name of Giaffer was given to this victim, and the old story

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of his having endeavored to communicate with the outer world by scratching his name, with the sharp point of his knife, on the back of a silver plate, is repeated. It is added that, after a long residence in the citadel of Ormus, this state prisoner was transferred to a cell in Ispahan, (the Bastille of Paris); his former jailor, a man of rank, being continued in personal charge of him by promotion to the vacant governorship of that prison, and that, effectually to prevent his being recognized, an iron mask perpetually covered his face. The authorship of this so-called Persian story has been attributed to M. Pecquet, a clerk in the foreign office at Paris, who was sent to the Bastille on suspicion of having written it.

In 1746–52 the voluminous chevalier de Mouhy, a French novelist, published at the Hague, in three volumes, a romance entitled, "Le Masque de Fer, ou les aventures admirables du père et du fils," in which he mentioned numerous instances of state prisoners having been masked. At Berlin, in 1751, was published the "Siècle de Louis XIV.," written by Voltaire under the *nom pe plume* of M. de Francheville. The story of the count de Vermandois was reproduced in this, with some gossip about the masked prisoner, which it was pretended had been supplied by certain officers of the Bastille. The commencement of his captivity was here stated at a few months after the death of Mazarin, in 1661, and the date of his transfer to the Bastille is given as 1690, instead of 1698. It is a well-established fact, that, notwithstanding all the speculations respecting him, the count de Vermandois, actually died on the 19th of November, 1683, after a week's illness; that he was buried with great pomp in the cathedral church of Arros, a Flemish-looking town in Artois, by the express desire of Louis XIV., in the same vault in which reposed the remains of Elizabeth, countess of Vermandois, wife of Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, who died in 1182, and that a royal grant of 10,000 livres was made to the chapter of the cathedral for a perpetual dirge to be chanted to his memory.

The prevailing belief in France, for a long period, was that the Man in the Iron Mask was a twin brother of Louis XIV.;

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in a word, that Anne of Austria, having given birth to Louis XIV., was delivered of a second son, some hours later, and that, fearing that the pretensions of a twin brother might one day be employed to renew the civil wars which had afflicted France at various times, the king, their father, resolved to conceal the birth, and had the second infant sent away to be brought up privately and obscurely. There was danger of a disputed succession, it being the opinion of certain legal and ecclesiastical authorities that the first-born of twins has at best but a doubtful claim to any inheritance depending upon birth.*

The legend further states that the child brought up and privately educated in Burgundy, grew to manhood, discovered the secret of his birth, by means of a portrait, and was then placed in confinement with a mask to conceal his features, which very greatly resembled his brother. A prophecy had announced disaster to the royal family from a double birth,† and it was said that, to avoid this, Louis XIII. had caused the last born of the twins to be brought up in secret.

Other accounts, which also represent Anne of Austria to have been mother of the masked prisoner, do not credit her with the prudence of a virtuous wife. It has been charged that she had an intrigue with the duke of Buckingham, who was ambassador in France in 1625, thirteen years before the birth of Louis XIV., which took place after she had been twenty-three years married, without having produced an heir to the throne of France. Contemporary memoirs

* A French author says "Plusieurs médecins pensaient que le dernier né de deux frères jumeaux est le premier conçu, et par conséquent qu'il est roi de droit."

† In a Paris paper (*Le Petit Journal*, 20th January, 1869,) is the following, which may be considered curious, if true:—"On a prétender que le regent d'Orelans avait livré le secret du nom du *Masque de Fer* à sa fille. Voici la relation qu'il lui donna; elle est censée émanée d'un prétendu gouverneur de l'intéressant captif, et se trouve aujourd'hui dans les archives du gouvernement anglais. Le Prince infortuné que j'ai élevé et gardé, dit-il, jusqu'à la fin de mes jours, naquit le 6 septembre 1638, à huit heures du soir, pendant le souper du Roi Louis XIII.—Son frère, actuellement régnant (Louis XIV.), était né le matin, à midi, pendant le dîner de son père; mais autant la naissance du premier fut splendide et brillante, autant celle de son frère fut triste et cachée avec soin; car le roi, averti par la sage-femme que la Reine devait faire un second enfant, avait fait rester en sa chambre le chancelier de France, la sage-femme, le premier aumônier, le confesseur de la reine et moi... pour être témoins de ce qui arriverait et de ce qu'il voulait faire s'il naissait un second enfant..."

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and correspondence have abundantly shown the general belief that the duke of Buckingham did not cherish an unrequited passion for Anne of Austria, and it has been remarked that the assassination of the duke looked like the vengeance of a wronged husband. It has also been declared that the Man with the Iron Mask was a young foreigner, gentleman of the chamber of Anne of Austria, and was the real father of Louis XIV. The alleged source of this scandal was a little book published at Cologne in 1692, entitled, "Les Amours d'Anne d'Autriche, épouse de Louis XIII., avec M. le C. D. R., le véritable père de Louis XIV., roi de France; ou l'on voit au long comment on s'y prit pour donner un héritеur à la couronne, les ressorts qu'on fit jour pour cela, et enfin le dénouement de cette comédie." The third edition of this book has on its title page, "Le Cardinal Richelieu," instead of the initials "C. D. R.," which have been taken for the Count de Rivière by some, while others (of whom M. Paul Lacroix is one) fancy that the count de Rochefort was indicated.

Up to the year 1770, when a letter, written by the baron d'Heiss, appeared in the "Journal Encyclopédique," no one seems to have got upon the track of the true hero of the Iron Mask mystery; D'Heiss copied a statement, printed in the "Histoire abrégée de l'Europe," for August, 1687, to the effect that a secretary of the duke of Mantua, who had endeavored to dissuade him from selling his capital town, and had done much to oppose the designs of France against Italy, had been lured beyond the frontier of Piedmont, seized, and conveyed to Pignerol, and finally conducted to St. Marguerite, where he was then (1687) under care of M. de St. Mars, the governor. M. Louis Dutens, writing nineteen years later, adopted and repeated the above statement, and his conjectures were strengthened by the "Reserches historiques et critiques sur l'homme au masque de fer," by M. Roux-Fazillac, published in 1800, and finally established as the true and full solution of the question, by M. Delort's "Histoire de l'homme au masque de fer," published in Paris in 1825.

This last author, shrewdly believing that the solution of

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the mystery was to be found in the archives of the French government during the reign of Louis XIV., obtained permission, during the reign of Louis XVIII., to examine these documents carefully. He found a continuous correspondence between Louvois, minister of Louis XIV., which proved that the prisoner, who had been a state and secret prisoner of France from May, 1679, until November, 1703, when he died in the Bastille, whose name was concealed, whose fate was instant death if he uttered a syllable which could disclose his identity, was Count Matthioli. The reason why so much and such long concealment was used must have been that Matthioli, however unworthy, was a minister plenipotentiary when he was seized; that the law of nations was greatly outraged by such an act, as an ambassador is supposed to represent his sovereign, personally as well as politically; that, there being no proof of his seizure and detention, it was easier to deny than justify; and that, denial once made, the "honor" of France required that it should be adhered to. King Louis, who did not shrink from crime, would have blushed at having committed the offence of being detected and exposed. Therefore, Matthioli was a prisoner under unusally severe discipline for nearly five and twenty years! Let us see what he had done to arouse such cruel enmity of the king of France.

Hercules Matthioli, born in Bologna in December, 1840, became secretary of state to Charles III., duke of Mantua, whose successor made him supernumerary senator, gave him the title of count, and placed great confidence in him. Matthioli, a venal man, consented to take part in a scheme devised by the Abbé d'Estrades, French ambassador at Venice in 1677, for allowing a French garrison into Casale, the capital of the Montferrat, and the key of Italy, as enabling its military occupants to invade Milan at will. Charles IV. of Mantua allowed his mother, an Austrian princess, wholly in the interests of the court of Spain, to govern his duchy; was dissatisfied with being thus reduced to a cipher, wanted money, and was supposed to be thus accessible. Matthioli represented himself as inimical to the Spanish interest, and desirous of entering into the service of France.

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He was then in his 27th year, highly accomplished, clever, and had shown talents for public life. He entered into a secret agreement with d'Estrades, and introduced a French agent to the duke of Mantua, and was finally sent to Paris by the duke to close the compact speedily. Accordingly Matthioli made a treaty with King Louis, who gave him a secret audience, and presented him with a large sum of money and a valuable ring, that French troops should be received into Casale, that the duke of Mantua should command any French army sent into Italy (Louis had a design upon the duchy of Milan), and that when the treaty was executed, Louis should pay 100,000 crowns to the duke of Mantua. Having a valuable secret in his possession, Matthioli resolved to trade upon it. For a money payment he allowed the President Turki, one of the ministers of the court of Savoy, to make copies of all the documents he had brought with him from Paris. He did all he could to retard the admission of the French troops into Casale. At last, late in April, 1679, unable to delay any longer without causing suspicion, Matthioli reached Turin to make a final arrangement with d'Estrades. But the duchess of Savoy had shown d'Estrades the documents which Matthioli had sold to her minister, and therefore the full extent of Matthioli's treachery was disclosed. King Louis, thus betrayed and deceived, resolved to have full revenge on Matthioli, who was easily induced, by a promise of money, to cross the frontier and pass into France. He had no idea that he was detected, or even suspected, and easily fell into the trap. Catenat, the French commandant, who awaited him, vainly endeavored to obtain a confession as to the place where the original papers relating to Casale were concealed, and then arrested him, and conveyed him at once to the adjacent fortress of Pignerol, where state prisoners were sometimes detained. This was on May 2, 1679, and here it may be stated that, in 1681, Casale was given up by the duke of Mantua to a French garrison in terms of the treaty negotiated by Matthioli.

St. Mars, who began by treating his prisoner very civilly, mentions him by name in his letters to Louvois, but in a

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short time called him Lestang. Matthioli prevaricated about the papers—perhaps he hoped to be speedily liberated, when he might make money of them. Finally, but not without great difficulty, (they had to threaten him with the torture,) Matthioli told where the documents could be found. A political intriguer to the last, he suggested a new plan for inducing the governor of Casale, simply through his (Matthioli's) influence, to admit a body of French troops, without the concurrence of the duke of Mantua. Thus having betrayed King Louis to Savoy, to Austria, and to Spain, he was willing to balance the account by betraying his own sovereign, who so much trusted him, to France! His proposal was not accepted. He had been a month in prison before he gave up the papers.

Matthioli anticipated only a short detention. He was speedily undeceived, as is shown in the whole official correspondence between Louvois and St. Mars, which M. Delort has given very fully in his book. The whole of this correspondence passed under the eye of Louis XIV., whose outraged personal feelings it completely exhibits. Louvois writes all through as if from royal dictation. From the moment of the arrest, St. Mars acted upon the strict instructions, repeatedly conveyed through Louvois, to conceal that such a prisoner was at Pignerol, to conceal his identity, and to prevent him from holding intercourse with any one but himself and the very few whom it was necessary to trust. During the first days of Matthioli's imprisonment he was waited upon by St. Mars himself. In a few days the Abbé d'Estrades contrived that Matthioli's servant should be sent to him, with the effects and papers he had left at Turin. St. Mars took a sure way of securing this man, for he was locked up like his master, and remained a prisoner for life, that he might wait upon Matthioli:—this was done to obviate the necessity of admitting any of the attendants of the prison into his presence.

St. Mars was repeatedly and strongly urged by Louvois, (*i. e.* by the king) not to treat the prisoner too kindly. Before he had been a fortnight in prison, Louvois wrote: "You will have sufficiently seen by my former letters that it is not the

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intention of the king that the Sieur de Lestang should be well treated, nor that, except the absolute necessaries of life, you should give him anything that may tend to make him pass the time agreeably."

In almost every letter to St. Mars, for a long time after this, he was reminded of "the severity with which the individual named Lestang must be treated;" and commanded to keep Lestang "in severe confinement, and not to be allowed to see a physician, unless he were in absolute want of one." The result was the prisoner's mind broke down.

In January, 1680, St. Mars reported that, like a monk imprisoned at Pignerol, he had become "subject to fits of madness." He complained in this state, that he was "not treated as a man of his quality and the minister of a great prince ought to be;" declared that he conversed every day with God and his angels, and that he was the near relation of the king, to whom he wished to write to complain of the way in which he was treated. Louvois wrote in reply; "With regard to the Sieur de Lestang, I wonder at your patience, and that you should wait for an order to treat such a scoundrel as he deserves, when he is wanting in respect to you."

By this time Matthioli had become violent, using terrible menaces, and writing abusive sentences on the wall of his room with charcoal, insomuch that Blainvilliers, St. Mars' trusty and fitting lieutenant, was obliged to threaten him with personal chastisement. He asked for a priest to visit him, to whom he might confess. In a dungeon near him was another prisoner, a Jacobin monk, who, for some cause now unknown, was treated very rigorously. Matthioli was placed in the monk's room, and St. Mars, (7th September, 1680,) wrote to Louvois thus:—"Since you, sir, permitted me to put Matthioli with the Jacobin in the lower part of the tower, the aforesaid Matthioli remained for four or five days in the belief that the Jacobin was a man whom I had placed with him to watch his actions. Matthioli, who is almost as mad as the Jacobin, walked about with long strides, holding his cloak above his nose, crying out that he was not a dupe, but knew more than he would say. The Jacobin, who sat continually on his truckle-bed, with his

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elbows resting on his knees, looked at him gravely without listening to him. The Signor Matthioli continued still in the persuasion that it was a spy that had been placed with him, until he was one day disabused by the Jacobin's getting down from his bed, stark naked, and setting himself to preach in a wild incoherent style. I and my lieutenants viewed all their pranks through a hole over the door." Matthioli's madness may have been assumed. Probably he became quiet and submissive, under fear of Blainvilliers' cudgel.

In April, 1681, St. Mars, who had only the command of the state prisoners, was offered the governorship of the fortress of Pignerol, was promoted to the government of Exiles, a strong fortress on the frontier of Piedmont, and desired him to take with him, from Pignerol to Exiles, only "the two prisoners in the lower part of the tower," namely, Matthioli and the monk. He received very minute instructions respecting the two prisoners, for their safe keeping, and to prevent their having any communication with other persons, including the soldiers who were on duty to guard and watch them. Late in the autumn of 1681, St. Mars removed his prisoners to Exiles, where they were kept with all the strictness and in all the seclusion required.

It appears that St. Mars, as well as his two prisoners, had bad health at Exiles. Early in 1686 the monk died, and Matthioli was very ill. St. Mars petitioned the king for a change of governorship. This was granted in January, 1687, by his appointment to the government of the islands of St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, on the coast of Provence, not far from Nice, and he was directed, as before, to take his prisoner with him. This was done by conveying him (to use St. Mars' own words) "in a chair covered with oil-cloth, into which there would enter a sufficiency of air, without its being possible for any one to see or speak to him during the journey—not even the soldiers whom I shall select to be near the chair." Effectually to prevent his being seen, the prisoner was made to wear a mask of black velvet, stiffened with whalebone. The padlock which fastened it at the back of his head was the only metal in the so-called iron mask. In his new prison, the rigorous rules long applied were not relaxed.

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The prisoner's room had only one window, with iron bars, and looking out upon the sea. Sentinels, continually on guard, had orders to fire at all boats which approached too near. His valet, who died at St. Marguerite, was not replaced. Having remained eleven years at St. Marguerite, St. Mars was appointed governor of the Bastille, in the last days of 1697, and, as has already been related, took his prisoner thither in September, 1698, as previously described.

The state secret of Louis XIV. was well kept, until the French archives were put into the witness-box. In 1826 the Hon. George Agar Ellis, created Baron Dover in 1831 (the title is now extinct), published a volume, the title of which is given at the head of this article. It is: "The true history of the state prisoner, commonly called the Iron Mask, extracted from documents in the French archives." Most of these had previously appeared in M. Delort's work. They occupy 263 out of the 352 in Lord Dover's book, the narrative portion of which, though full of facts, is singularly dry. It may be doubted whether M. Maurice Topin, the prize-winner of the Academie Français, can supersede the evidence which establishes Matthioli (Sieur de Lestang, of Pignerol, and Signor Marchiale of the Bastille) as the Man with the Iron Mask.

The secret must have been known to others besides Catenet and St. Mars, Louis XIV. and Louvois. The duke of Orleans, who was regent of France after the death of Louis XIV., was in possession of it, and many attempts were unsuccessfully made to coax or surprise it out of him. Not even to Louis XV. did he disclose it until after that monarch had attained his majority. In turn, Louis refused to speak of it—always evading the subject. Even to the duke de Choiserel, his favorite minister, he refused to confide more than that all conjectures that had hitherto been broached were erroneous. To Madame de Pompadeur, who pressed him long and closely upon it, his utmost revelation was that he was "the minister of an Italian prince." This is stated in a work entitled "La Correspondence Interceptée," by M. Lewis Dutens, published in 1789, who said he received the information from the Duke de Choiserel himself, and by Mr.

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Quintin Crawford in his "Mélanges d'historie et de littérature," published in 1809. Madame Campan declares in her memoirs that she had heard Louis XVI. tell Marie Antoinette that the Count de Mawrapas (who, both from his age and situation, was very likely to know the truth), had informed him that the Iron Mask was "a prisoner dangerous from his intriguing disposition, and a subject of the duke of Mantua."

Napoleon, according to the dutchess d'Abrantes, had a strong desire to penetrate the mystery, and had many inquiries made, but without effect. He desired Talleyrand to have the archives of the foreign office carefully examined, and was much disappointed when no light was thrown upon the secret. Las Casas reports, in his memoirs of Napoleon, that the conversation having turned, one day, at St. Helena, upon the Iron Mask, Napoleon stated that he was known to have been the twin brother of Louis XIV., and the elder of the two; that, on one occasion, a genealogist endeavored seriously to demonstrate to him (Napoleon) that he was a lineal descendant of the Iron Mask, and, consequently, the legitimate heir of Louis XIII. and Henry IV., in preference to Louis XIV. and all his issue; that the name of the jailor of Sainte Marguerite was M. de Bonpart, "a circumstance, to begin with, very singular;" that his jailor, it was asserted, was aware of the origin of his prisoner; that he had a daughter; that she and the prisoner, both young, saw each other and loved; that the governor having informed the court of this circumstance, it was decided to allow the unfortunate captive to seek in love and marriage an alleviation of his misery; that there was an entry of the marriage in the register of one of the parishes of Marseilles; and that the children born of this union were silently and secretly conveyed to Corsica, where the difference of language, chance, or perhaps intention had changed the name Bonpart to Bonaparte and Buonaparte, which has the same meaning, and is, in fact, the same thing. Such was the genealogist's ingenious story, which Napoleon, proud of his ancient Tuscan descent, could scarcely have believed. When he repeated it to Las Casas he added a circumstance which, at the time of the revolution, had been mentioned in favor of the Orleans branch. "It was

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founded," he said, "on a document found in the Bastille, and surmised that Anne of Austria, who was brought to bed after twenty-three years of sterility, had been brought to bed of a girl; that Louis XIII., fearing she might have more children, had been induced to put away that girl, and substitute in her stead a boy, which was Louis XIV; that the following year, however, the queen had again been brought to bed, and this time really of a boy, which boy was Philip, the head of the house of Orleans, who thus turned out to be, with his descendants, the legitimate heir to the throne, whilst Louis XIV. and his issue were only intruders and usurpers." According to that story the Iron Mask was a girl!

Here, then, is what appears to be the true story of the Man with the Iron Mask. He had displeased, injured, and betrayed Louis XIV., the most relentless of absolute monarchs, who, to punish him, did not hesitate to violate the law of nations and the conventional courtesy which one sovereign usually extends to the political ministers of another. To conceal this breach of law, and to hold the victim in his continuous and cruel grasp, Louis took great precautions against discovery. The record, supported by the correspondence of Louvois, Catenat, and St. Mars, and variously corroborated, shows that Matthioli must have been the man arrested and put into prison at Pignerol, in May, 1679; transferred to Exiles in the autumn of 1681; lodged in a cell at St. Marguerite in April, 1687; removed to the Bastille in September, 1698; dying there in November, 1703, and interred under a false name. Concealment and mystery all through, and the same vigilant jailor (St. Mars) employed from first to last, in charge of this prisoner.

Some disappointment may arise from the comparative insignificance of Matthioli. Louis XIV. was a tyrant without mercy when he was offended. His interests had been betrayed by Matthioli's disclosure to the petty princes of Italy of his intrigues against that country. His *amour propre* had been deeply wounded. He had condescended to hold personal intercourse with Matthioli, had presented him with a valuable jewel as evidence of his favor, had given him a large sum of money to retain him in his service, and had been be-

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trayed by him. The arrest was considered politically necessary, in the first instance, in order to get back the documents which would have shown the truth of Matthioli's disclosures. Afterwards the difficulty was what to do with him. If Matthioli had been liberated, what a story of outrage, discreditable to King Louis, he could have told! To punish him for the past and silence him through the future, he was morally annihiliated. Henceforth, the Italian was as if he were of the dead, and the longer he lived the more necessary was his suppression. His imprisonment, from which death alone released him, extended through nearly twenty-five years—a long period, even to one who participates in the struggles and successes, the joys and griefs, the business and pleasures of active life, but a weary, lingering, enervating and hopeless time to a solitary prisoner, of whose very existence the world was utterly ignorant.

ART. VI.—1. *Vassar College and its Founder.* By BENSON J. LOSSING. 4to, pp. viii.—175. New York. 1867.

2. *Third Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Vassar College,* Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 1867–8. New York. 1868.

3. *Communications to the Board of Trustees of Vassar College.* By its Founder. New York. 1869.

Some ill-natured person has remarked that a great college is as easily established in this country as a petroleum company. To this it is added that one institution as well as the other requires a certain amount of capital, but that the great thing to make it pay is puffery. It is no news to us, or to our readers, that there are many institutions in the United States called colleges which are unworthy of the name; but we confess that until lately we did not believe that charlatanism was carried to one-tenth the extent it is in this college business. Many colleges, seminaries and schools as we have visited in Europe and America; much as we have written on collegiate education during the last twenty years, our recent experience has surprised us more than we can find words to express.

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We had indeed been often assured by educated men and women who had ample opportunities of forming an opinion on the subject, that Vassar College was a very different institution from what it was represented in certain publications. But we never make charges on mere hearsay. In this instance we were particularly cautious, because the generosity of its founder had strongly prepossessed us in favor of the college, before we knew anything of its character. While thus most unwilling to utter an unkind word, a lady friend presented us a copy of last year's catalogue. A glance at this seemed to confirm the charge that those having control of Vassar not only substituted *words* for *things*, but did all they could to make parents and guardians believe what they did not believe themselves.

Yet we confined ourselves to a few criticisms on the bombastic style of the catalogue; those who will turn to our article in last September number, entitled Our Colleges and Seminaries, Male and Female, can judge for themselves whether what we ridiculed, though in a good-humored spirit, did not deserve to be so treated. But some whom we have since found to be interested parties affected to think that we had done great injustice to Vassar; that there was no institution in America like it, &c. Upon the other hand, those who had no interest in the matter further than to prefer the genuine to the spurious, assured us that much as the catalogue amused us it was not half such a burlesque as the college itself. We had been thinking, for some time, of visiting the college; now we resolved to do so, as soon as we could find time, provided we were permitted on application.

Those who know us would need no explanatory remarks here, before being presented with the results; but it may be necessary to say to those who do not know us that far from our being opposed to female colleges, none would do more to encourage them; and that far from sneering at the female intellect, or seeking to depreciate it, none entertain a higher opinion of it. Nor is this any new feeling, or new faith, on our part; and were it different we should display lack of intelligence as well as of perception.

There have been great female educators in all ages. In most

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of our discussions of the lives and works of illustrious men, ancient and modern, we have had occasion to see how much they were indebted to their mothers, their wives, or their sisters. The greatest philosophers, from Socrates and Pericles to Leibnitz, Locke and Newton, have gratefully testified how much of their knowledge and culture they owed woman. We need not go back as far as the time of Hypatia, the learned and accomplished daughter of Theon, to point out female instructors who rivalled the greatest men of their age as teachers of the most abstruse sciences.*

Even in the middle ages ladies were among the best professors in the colleges of Italy, which were then superior to all others; and those excellent women were as distinguished for their virtue and modesty as they were for their learning and educational talents. Nay, such is the effect of a superior education in purifying the mind, especially the female mind, that we find the fair pagan head of the famous Alexandrian school, (Hypatia,) scarcely less scrupulous in her moral conduct than the equally learned, beautiful and accomplished Maria Cajetana Agnesi, who, with the permission of Pope Benedict XIV., succeeded her father as professor of mathematics in the celebrated university of Bologna. This lady was not alone one of the ablest mathematical scholars of her time; she was also well versed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German and Spanish. During her leisure hours she found time to write essays on various subjects. In one she published in 1740, she undertook to prove "that the study of the liberal arts is not incompatible with the understanding of woman." But did all this make her vain or fond of display? a question which we cannot better answer than by remarking that she withdrew from the world at a comparatively early age, entering the monastery of the Blue Nuns at Milan, where she died January 9, 1799, at the age of eighty-one.†

We are aware that there are those who smile derisively at the idea of ladies knowing Latin and Greek, or either; yet

* Vide Sinesius ed. Petau. Menage, *Hist. Mul. philosop.*, p. 52.

† Paulo Frisi *Elogio storico di Mar-Gœt. Agnesi.* Bianca Milesi Majon, *Vita di Mar-Gœt. Agnesi.*

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there were many such ladies long before we could boast any female colleges. Both the mother and wife of Bacon were familiar with both languages. The philosopher's mother translated a Latin work into English with fidelity and elegance; and in sending her version to the archbishop of Canterbury for his opinion, she accompanied it with an epistle in Greek, which the primate answered in the same language. That Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots and Lady Jane Grey were well versed in the same languages is sufficiently known.

In illustration of what woman has done for science in our own time we need only mention the name of Caroline Lucretia Herschel. Few are aware of the part this excellent lady had in the well-earned fame of her illustrious brother, the late Sir William Herschel.

Without adding any more distinguished and honored names, though we might fill pages with them, we may ask, Why should not American ladies become as familiar with the classic languages and the sciences as the ladies of Italy, England, or any other country, if equal opportunities were afforded them? There is certainly no reason why they should not; and what is more, we have ourselves the honor of knowing several American ladies, who have as thorough a knowledge of the languages and sciences as any ladies we have ever met. In our visits to ladies' seminaries, academies, and schools in the United States, from time to time, we have witnessed as correct and elegant translating, and heard as intelligent replies to scientific questions, as we have in any male institutions of similar grades or pretentions. In some instances we have been most agreeably surprised at the elegant scholarship thus evinced by the young ladies; and our readers may remember that it has afforded us pleasure to record the fact, and to express the opinion that many a graduate of a first class male college could ill compete with those fair and modest American translators.*

The reader may infer from this whether we resolved to visit Vassar with any prejudices against female colleges, or with any disposition to disparage the capabilities of the female in-

* *Vide N. Q. R.*, No. xxxii.

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tellect. On the contrary, although we are not in favor of what is called woman's rights, we made our decision in the full belief that there are many women capable of governing kingdoms and empires. We admit, however, that from what we had heard in this case we were reminded that Cardinal Mazarine once expressed the same opinion; but added, that there was always danger that they would allow themselves to be ruled by men who were not capable of governing a dozen of pullets. Further than this, however, we yet knew nothing of the matter from our own knowledge; we did not know whether the Vassar ladies belonged to the ruling class in any sense—we merely suspected that the Vassar men belonged to the pullet-governing genus. At all events, we addressed a note to Dr. Raymond, the male president of the college, inquiring whether there was any objection to our visiting the institution for the purpose of learning what we could of its system of instruction, standard of scholarship, &c. In due time we received a polite reply from the doctor granting us full permission, although it is but fair to say that we were told by friends in the city that it would have been better had we applied to the "lady principal," or to a certain gentleman residing in New York, to whom we shall have occasion to refer more particularly a little further on. This we regarded as merely a jest, but it was somewhat comically corroborated to us on our reaching Poughkeepsie. Happening to meet a gentleman who was just coming from the college, we inquired whether the president was home. "Yes, Dr. Raymond is there; but the real president is absent. Don't you know that Hannah W. Lyman is *High Cockalorum?*" This was said in the presence of several gentlemen, all of whom smiled, but at the same time nodded assent—the most serious of the party remarking, "That's so." What "high cockalorum" means we cannot pretend to say, but presume it is one of the *degrees* of Vassar. At all events, as we spent our time in coming so far we were determined to go the rest of the way. After a brisk drive of some twenty minutes or more we found ourselves in the immediate vicinity of Vassar College, without having had a glance of it before. This rather surprised us, as we had been led to suppose it was situated on an

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eminence; whereas, in point of fact, the breeze, as well as the view, is more or less intercepted on all sides by hills, the aspect of which is not very inviting. If there be any sheet of water within sight on any side, or nearer than a mile or two, it escaped our notice. We make this remark because many suppose, as we had ourselves, that Vassar College is situated on the Hudson, or at least within view of that noble river. But although we saw no water our first impulse, in glancing at the lawn in front of the building, was to inquire of the driver whether there were not chills and fever in the neighborhood. The reply we received was not very satisfactory; still the place may be very healthy.

Probably some who have accompanied us thus far expect criticisms on all the professors, male and female; but if so, they will be disappointed. We distinctly disclaim all intention of saying an unkind, sneering, or disrespectful word of either male or female teacher that we happened to see on the occasion. All not only treated us politely, but evidently did what they could to render our visit as agreeable to ourselves as possible, and we trust that whatever may be our faults, to be uncivil or offensive to those who treat us civilly and kindly is not one of them. Dr. Raymond we had the pleasure of knowing several years ago, when he was principal of the Polytechnic Institute, at Brooklyn; and he has since lost none of the courtesy and urbanity which distinguished him in that position, and certainly gave us the impression of his being a gentleman of amiable disposition. Whether it be his example and influence that have made the other teachers, male and female, so polite and agreeable; whether they owe those good qualities to the superior wisdom of the "lady principal," or whether they brought them to the college with their other qualifications is not, we suppose, one of those points on which we are expected to inform our readers. Be this as it may, when we come to form an opinion of the work done at Vassar, then we must say, however reluctantly, that we have no admiration to bestow. We are not merely disappointed; notwithstanding the unfavorable reports we had heard, we are really astonished at the immense difference between the real Vassar College and the institution conjured up

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by the puffers. There is no use in mincing the matter—alas! Vassar is no college; but a third-rate boarding school, or rather a boarding house, in which some lessons are thrown in with the board, as an inducement to customers. Not, indeed, but the buildings are abundantly large for a college; nay, more, they are well calculated for a college; but although architecture and upholstery are very good things, they require important additions in order to constitute a college.

But we beg leave to make a slight digression here. While waiting in the sitting-room to be introduced into the class-rooms our attention was called to a very handsome gilt, illustrated book that lay open on the table. This proved to be "Vassar College and its Founder, by Benson J. Lossing." Quite a fortunate discovery, thought we—there is scarcely any need in going any further; this will tell us all. But to our surprise, the first page we happened to glance at treats on *breweries*; turning over page after page we learn what an excellent thing ale is for making money and founding female colleges. Among the pictorial illustrations we have "Brewery on Vassar street." (p. 32.) "Brewery on the River," (p. 35.), etc. In short, in no other work have we seen so elaborate a glorification of brewing. "All day long," says our historian, "Mr. Vassar might have been seen *brewing at the dye-house*, or *going about the village with his ale*, or disposing of his 'grains,' as the barley was popularly called after it had served the purpose of brewing, while his *evenings until midnight were devoted to his customers in his 'saloon.'*" (p. 27.)

This, of course, was highly praiseworthy. A page or two farther on we are informed that "so promising of success was Mr. Vassar's ale and oyster business that he ventured to set up a domestic establishment in the spring of 1813, when he was not quite twenty-one years of age." (p. 29.) Growing more and more enthusiastic and appreciative as he proceeds, our author brings us to that happy time when a partnership was formed under the name of Vassar & Co., with an enterprising gentleman "*who had quaffed many a mug of ale at Vassar's rooms with great satisfaction.*" (p. 33.) All this glorification of ale brewing is interlarded with bacchanalian quotations from the poets; thus,

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for example, we have four stanzas from Burns, "John Barleycorn," etc. (p. 19.) Surely, thought we, on reaching thus far, the young ladies of Vassar must rank ale-brewing amongst the noblest and most laudable of pursuits!

We do not mean to find any fault with Mr. Vassar for having made his money by brewing and selling ale; assuming that he did much mischief, rather than merit honor or glory by his mode of business, we think he has merited both by his generous *intentions* in contributing so much money towards the great cause of education. But a man brought up as Mr. Vassar was—who spent at least fifty years of his life as he did—could not be supposed to be a good judge of the fitness of those to whom he confided the great work of establishing a college. This difficulty becomes at once apparent. It may be that those men meant well like himself; but it is not all well meaning people who are capable of establishing a respectable school, not to mention a college. Had fame been the object of Mr. Vassar, then indeed he might have congratulated himself on having placed his half a million of dollars in the right hands; that is if puffing of the most extravagant and bombastic kind can be said to constitute fame. Let those who doubt this, first read "Vassar College and its Founder;" if, altogether independently of the part devoted to brewing, they ever read anything like it before in book form, their researches in that sort of literature have extended far beyond ours. It is not alone the great benefactor himself who is eulogized to the skies; the whole Vassar family, for generations past, are made partakers of the same immortality. Thus, in addition to what we are informed in the most approved Jenkins style, we are presented with portraits of James Vassar, Thomas Vassar, Ann Vassar, etc. All this, however, is but a small part of the glory. The curious in such matters must next visit Vassar College; here they will find Vassar portraits and busts wherever they turn, chaste specimens too of the fine arts! Then let them turn their attention to the newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets, and they will see that the most uncompromising enemies of "the liquor business," including divines, philosophers and temperance lecturers vie with each other in

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demonstrating to the world their high admiration of the refining and elevating influence of Poughkeepsie ale brewing, especially on the female mind!

But we enter a recitation room; as we pass wearisomely from one to another we begin to feel like one who had gone into a grocery store to look for diamonds and emeralds. Not but the rooms are well furnished, neat, and, in general, comfortable; not but the young ladies are respectable. We have no fault to find with rooms, students, or professors; but we utterly failed to see anything to justify the representations of those having charge of Vassar. Our readers may judge whether they were the inferior classes of whose proficiency and attainments we were permitted to see specimens. Every one has heard of the rich *curriculum* of Vassar. As for Greek and Latin, they are but trifles in that institution; yet all the classical lore we were privileged to see was a translating exercise in Cæsar. We can truly say that more amusing efforts at translating we have never witnessed anywhere; only one student gave a correct rendering of a plain, flowing sentence; and we learned, on inquiry, that this young lady had studied the language elsewhere, and had but recently entered Vassar. If, on former occasions, we were surprised at the accuracy and elegance with which young ladies translated the most difficult of the Roman poets, at a private school, we were surprised, in the present instance, that such ludicrously incorrect translating could be witnessed by a visitor at an institution that aspires to be considered a college.

But the treatment received by Cæsar was a grave and instructive performance compared to the recitation in political economy. It was extremely difficult to listen to the manner in which some of the young ladies accounted for the production of certain kinds of wealth without relaxing into a smile. And of a kindred character was the recitation in natural philosophy. In both cases the students proposed some questions to their instructors, which were rather puzzling—in fact, such questions as innocent children sometimes propose to their parents, causing all who hear them to laugh at their quaint, whimsical character. There is this difference, however, that

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while the children merely obey a natural impulse to gain information, or add to their limited stock of ideas, the young ladies at Vassar only want to show how smart they are.

We were also present at recitations in German and French; but these were of the ordinary character—that is, such as we see at boarding-schools of no very high pretensions. Certainly we have seen much better at very modest schools. Still we find no fault with them. Indeed, compared with the recitations in Latin, political economy, and natural philosophy, they seemed to us highly respectable; and yet, as already remarked, we have no reason to doubt the qualifications of any of the teachers or professors. All we know of the latter is that both ladies and gentlemen are polite and agreeable; what their attainments or abilities are we have made no effort to ascertain, but we are quite willing to take it for granted that they are of the proper standard. But, whatever may be the character of the intellectual pabulum furnished by Vassar, the physical pabulum is quite good. We can conscientiously recommend it to travellers as an eating house; for we had the honor of dining there with the most distinguished and interesting members of the faculty.

We trust we need not say that neither by word, nor jesture, did we express any censure from the time we entered the college until we left it. We withdrew with the most friendly feelings to all we met; nor have those feelings undergone any change since. We suspected all along that it was not the professors or teachers, male or female, that were to blame for the vast disproportion between what Vassar College is represented to be and what it really is; although to Dr. Raymond alone were all our inquiries directed. But some nine or ten days afterwards the whole affair assumes a new phase; at least, it assumed a phase which was new to us. Our office is visited again and again by no less important a personage than the Chairman of the executive committee. This, thought we, on receiving note after note, is very kind. One of the first opens as follows: "Mr.———, chairman of the executive committee of Vassar College, has called *three times* to see Dr. Sears in reference to advertising the college, &c."

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This was all right enough. Sorry that our absence in the country for some days had caused the worthy chairman to be thus disappointed several times, we felt bound to call on him. As he was absent in turn, we wrote a line with pencil, expressing our regret, and left it with the servant for him. Next morning we receive a long letter, in which we are informed that our correspondent is one of the "national commissioners appointed to co-operate with the Department of the Interior on Indian affairs," also "state commissioner of public charities, &c., &c." To this information he adds, "If I fail to see you to-morrow you will please to consider 12 o'clock on Monday next the time appointed to meet you for making some arrangement about *noticing* or *advertising* Vassar College in your Review."

Now, at all events, we thought, we shall be raised out of poverty! Finally we have the honor of a shake hands at our office from the chairman of the executive committee. After we have expressed our sense of his great kindness in taking so much trouble, &c., he proceeds to dilate on the superiority of Vassar above all other institutions. Even a catalogue of all the high qualities on which he expatiated as peculiar to Vassar would occupy more space than we can spare at this moment. By this time we had learned perfectly how we should commence our article in order to satisfy our Indian commissioner and executive college chairman; it should be in some such key as,

"Vos, ô clarissima mundi lumina!"

But anxious as he is to impress us with this high idea of Vassar, he is still more anxious, if possible, to impress us with the worthlessness of other female institutions. From the latter part of his speech we begged leave to dissent; one of the expressions he uses in reply is: "There is as great a difference between them as there is between the Fifth Avenue Hotel and a boarding-house in the Bowery." EDITOR, (jestingly): "But, doctor, it is not altogether for eating that parents send their daughters to colleges or seminaries. It is not for its superior board, but for its high standard of education you would have Vassar celebrated?" CHAIRMAN: "That is very true; but you see people ask *why do we boast so much of the great Vassar grant*

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when we charge $400 for each student—*as much as seminaries that have no grant.* We want to show that it is *for the good food and superior accommodations* we charge, and *not for the education*, which we give almost for nothing." EDITOR: "Then you set more value on your butcher, your grocer, and your cook, than you do on your learned professors, male and female, your philosophical apparatus, &c., &c.?" CHAIRMAN: "Well, you know that whatever they do in Germany and other places, Americans like to have their stomach well lined, let the learning and accomplishments go as they may," &c.

It may easily be understood that we did not wish to be too captious in such a case, especially when we saw that the worthy chairman himself evidently regarded the high scholarship of Vassar as something like Barnum's Feejee mermaid; and so we admitted that nobody ought to grudge paying a fair price for good food, honest pork and beans, potatoes, &c. This seemed to satisfy our good friend, who now took a pencil and a sheet of paper and commenced to write. When done he presented the document to us. As no such proposition had ever been made to us before, except by quack doctors—whose nostrums have never been permitted to sully even our advertising department, on any terms—we supposed the paper handed to us was the advertisement so often referred to; and we only hoped it would contain no brewery cuts; no extracts from "John Barleycorn," &c. But, on examination, it proved to be a form of "agreement" which we were required to sign. By this we should bind ourselves, *secundum legem*, to write and print a eulogy of a certain number of pages, embodying those "peculiar advantages" offered by Vassar; and furnish proof-sheets thereof to the said chairman, so that he might alter or amend the same, *ex cathedra*, before publication, as he thought proper. We were informed that if we only executed this paper we might make our own terms;* in short, that we should profit by the transaction in various ways. After paying us quite a handsome

* For this purpose the place for the amount is left blank for us to fill! We copy the following items verbatim, and ask the executive chairman to deny his hand writing if he can. "Advertising one page, per annum, $—— *including account of visit to the College and occasional notices.*" If this little bargain had only our signature to it we should have received no threatening letter!

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sum, our good friend would have us get up the article in pamphlet form; for this, too, he would pay us our own price. Here he mentions several periodicals which he had rewarded in this liberal manner, including the "Princeton Review," which, we confess, we had supposed was too pious for that sort of work. But it seems the temptation was very strong; we are told that when persons wrote to inquire about the college, a copy of the puff article, duly credited to the "Review," was mailed with the prospectus; and by this means both Vassar College and the "Princeton Review" were served at the same time; the latter securing subscribers, and sometimes other little jobs, while the former secured students and fame!

Here we are reminded that our friend had intimated to us in an intorrogative sort of way, at the beginning of our interview, that he had been informed we belonged to the Episcopal church; we assented, and it seemed to satisfy him that at least we must be a believer in St. Luther. Now we could understand how scrupulous the gentlemen is both in religion and ethics! We tell him we have no doubt that the National Review would be vastly benefited by his plan; but it is contrary to our rules, and we must beg leave to decline it.

He is quite skeptical when we assure him that we have never asked a dollar for any article published in our journal, that colleges and seminaries on which we write articles, instead of paying us more than ordinary business establishments, pay us *less* than those whose names have never been mentioned in our editorial pages, and that before himself no college officer, male or female, protestant or catholic, ever offered to pay us for any article or notice. To this we added that it was for the purpose of having an article on Vassar College we visited it, that we intended to have one accordingly; that we had no disposition to speak of it otherwise than fairly; that it was quite true we wished to be favored with a part of the advertising patronage of the institution, and that if he did not like to pay our regular terms, we would make a reduction, as we did to others under similar circumstances. It was then agreed that we should strike off a certain amount from our usual rate for the year, and furnish back numbers of the Review

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to the chairman. When he was leaving we begged leave to remind him that we required a written order. His reply was a solemn pledge that we should have all the documents in our hands within eight days, including *the proof sheets of the new catalogue*, of which he had already *shown us a part*, in order to enable us to see how *much superior* it was in literary style, etc., to last year's catalogue, which we had taken the liberty of criticising. This we regarded as entirely satisfactory, and our friend left; but he soon returned, and remarked that he would be glad we would send him the back numbers without delay; at the same time he took another copy of our last number. We did not forget to do our part; we immediately sent twenty-two numbers of the Review to the residence of the chairman, as directed. Some three days afterwards we receive a letter from that gentleman, in which we are informed that it was "decided not to advertise in any Quarterly at present."

Two days later we receive another long letter, which concludes as follows: "You will confer a favor on the committee of the college library by informing me whether a full set of your Review can be bought, and at what price." This, we suppose, ought to soften our heart, but it is as hard as Pharaoh's. Our reply is that we could no longer have any confidence in his statements, and therefore begged to be excused from paying any attention to them. Some two or three days elapse after this, when we receive quite a heavy despatch, two large sheets of letter paper marked at the top, "copy." We find, on examination, that this is a formidable document. We may be mistaken, but it seems to us to smell very strongly of beer—the *cerevisia tenuis* of brewing chemists, vulgarly called *small beer*. Be this as it may, it is evidently intended to make us tremble. However, we get over the first sheet, and more than half of the second, without being much frightened; as for a little abuse we do not mind it—we have grown pretty well used to that. But when we come to the last page of the second sheet, we find ourselves—*horresco referens*—warned of our doom. Still to a certain extent our destiny is left in our own

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hands. If we find no fault with Vassar, or its executive chairman, we may be permitted to live on another while, but if otherwise, we are warned that "*several Editors of leading* papers of this city (New York) *are waiting for an opportunity to present this matter to the public*," etc.* Will our "leading editors" take beer money for that sort of work? We have no doubt but some editors will, if they only get the right amount; but we deny that such are leading editors, except those leaders of the blind who lead into the ditch. For the rest we assure our "executive" friend that we were quite prepared for this sort of thing before we were aware that such a college officer as he was in existence. While witnessing the treatment received by Cæsar at Vassar, we mechanically turned over a leaf or two, and, remembering that the puffers are sometimes called the Gauls, we were particularly struck with the remark, in reference to the blundering, and not very brave or honest Litavicus, and his retainers who adhered to him in his disgrace with a perseverance worthy of a better cause—"*nefas more Gallorum est etiam in extrema fortuna deserere patronos*;" † which being freely translated means that among the Gauls it was considered impious to abandon their patrons even in the most desperate extremities. The "leading editors" (puffers) may therefore be ready to go to work at once, but we would advise them to get the beer money in advance!

It is not to gratify any personal feeling that we have stated these facts. The loss of so much of our time—nearly a whole week—when we had not a moment to spare from our desk, not to mention twenty-three numbers of our Review—as a consequence of our not permitting ourselves to be bribed in the most shameful manner to praise false pretensions and imposture, and to slander true scholarship and genuine worth—has not in the least ruffled our temper. First, we give our impressions of

* It is a singular coincidence that a little more than five years ago we received exactly such a threat as this from an individual calling himself Dr. J. Walter Scott, and representing himself as president of the faculty of the "New York Medical University." The "leading editors" were to have gone to work for him too. So they have lately, it will be remembered, though in a somewhat different way from what he pretended. But how much he frightened us the curious reader may learn by turning to our number for March, 1864. Art., "*Our Quack Doctors and their Performances.*"

† *De Bell. Gal.*, l. vii., c. 40.

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Vassar College as it is; then we give our experience of the *modus operandi* by which it is sought to create the impression that it is superior to all other institutions; and we leave the public to draw its own conclusions.

ART. VII.—1. *The Poetical Works of Henry Kirke White, with an account of his life.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY. Philadelphia.

2. *Chambers' Cyclopedia of English Literature.* 2 vols., 8vo. Boston.

PERHAPS few things seem more strange than the extraordinary intellectual ability which certain precociously developed individuals exhibit. It is contrary to the ordinary course of nature, and therefore, like other uncommon things, it attracts our especial attention. But no mind, however great, can acquire knowledge without experience; and no person can produce great thoughts without something to make thoughts of; in other words, without the facts of nature to work up into something adapted to the experience of an intellectual, moral and religious being. It is a well-settled fact in mental science that the poetic talent is as much inherent in the constitution of the human mind as the mathematical or the oratorical, and, perhaps, even more so; but the world has never known a great poet, a great mathematician, or a great orator without great intellectual powers. We therefore conclude that a poet, in order to be great, must not only have a good development of that talent which is peculiar to poets, but he must, at the same time, possess great intellectual powers; for it is the intellect that produces the thoughts, the moral and religious sentiments give them their tone, and the poetic talent enables the writer to give them to the world in that form of composition known as poetry.

It has been supposed by some that the natural poet needs no education to enable him to write good poetry. *A priori* reasoning teaches us that more than native ability is needed;

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but if more is required to show that the poet, as well as the philosopher, needs educating, it is found in the fact that there is no instance on record where an individual either secured or deserved any considerable permanent distinction by his poetical productions, unless he had previously stored his mind well with various kinds of knowledge. In short, he must be educated. The genius for poetry has sometimes made its appearance in individuals of little or no education, in the ordinary sense of the word, but it never could attain even mediocre proportions in so unfruitful a soil. It is not altogether improbable that this mistaken notiôn, that a poet does not need the benefit of an education, or that in some cases he is actually injured by it, has prevented some from exerting themselves in the cultivation of their mental powers to that extent which they otherwise might have done.

No charge of this nature, however, can be brought against Henry Kirke White, for few persons have labored harder than he to store his mind with useful knowledge. Henry Kirke White was born in Nottingham, England, March 21st, 1785. He was the second son of John and Mary White, the maiden name of the latter being Neville, and of a respectable family. John White was a butcher by trade, and, we should judge, better adapted to that business than to superintending the education of a precocious boy who possessed an instinctive love for knowledge.

From the age of three to five Henry learned to read at a school taught by Mrs. Garrington, a lady who had the good sense to perceive his extraordinary capacity, and who spoke of it with confidence, as respected his future success in the world of letters. In his poem on childhood, Henry describes her in the following affectionate terms :

"In yonder cot, along whose mouldering walls,
In many a fold the mantling woodbine falls,
The village matron kept her little school,
Gentle of heart, yet knowing well to rule ;
Staid was the dame, and modest was her mien ;
Her garb was coarse, yet whole, and nicely clean.
Her neatly broider'd cap, as lily fair,
Beneath her chin was pinn'd with decent care ;
And pendant ruffles, of the whitest lawn,
Of ancient make, her elbows did adorn.

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Faint with old age, and dim were grown her eyes,
A pair of spectacles their want supplies:
These does she guard secure in leathern case,
From thoughtless wights, in some unwonted place.

At a very early age he became much attached to his books; so much so that reading was a passion which took almost complete possession of his mind. It was with much reluctance, however, that he first went to school.

"Much did I grieve on that ill-fated morn,
While I was first to school reluctant borne."

When he was about seven he would steal into the kitchen to teach the servant to read and write, and it was some time before it was discovered that he had been thus laudably employed. Probably his first composition was a tale of a Swiss emigrant, which he gave to this servant to read, being ashamed to show it to his mother. We are not informed as to what were the merits of this early production, but we may be allowed to conclude that it was chiefly remarkable for the command of language which the writer exhibited, rather than for the ideas which it contained. We cannot expect a mind, uneducated, however precocious and powerful in itself, to produce so great thoughts as an active great mind when educated. The greatest productions in literature, science, and art, are from persons whose minds have not matured young, and who have, seemingly, grasped all their knowledge at once; but rather from those whose minds have expanded slowly and have acquired knowledge gradually, and which has been well digested, and at all times ready for use. Even if the human mind could acquire a great amount of knowledge at once, including facts and principles, it could not be used to much advantage till it was classified, and the bearing of each fact and principle upon all the others distinctly perceived and understood. Thus it is that our precocious poets can write poetry which charms us from the depth of feeling exhibited, but their great thoughts only keep pace with their study and understanding of nature. But early productions frequently give indications of future greatness in the world of thought; and we hence usually judge a young writer mainly by what his efforts foreshadow.

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At about the age of six Henry was placed under the tuition of the Rev. John Blanchard, who then taught the best school in Nottingham. Here he learned writing, arithmetic, and French. One day when he was about eleven years of age, he wrote a separate theme for every boy in his class, which consisted of twelve or fourteen; and the master said that he never before knew *them* to write so well, and he could not help expressing his astonishment at the comparative excellence of Henry's. It must have been a great advantage to Henry to be at so good a school, and it was so considered by his friends. Mrs. White had not yet overcome her husband's intention of bringing up Henry to his own business; and by an arrangement which took up much of his time, and interfered to a considerable extent with his studies, he was required to carry the butcher's basket one day in the week besides his leisure time from school on other days. At length some difference arose between Mr. Blanchard and Mr. White, and the result was Henry's removal from school.

Henry evidently had the misfortune of not being fully comprehended at Mr. Blanchard's school, for when one of the ushers came to receive the money due for tuition, he took occasion to inform Mrs. White what an incorrigible son she had, and that it was impossible to do much with him. This information made his friends uneasy, and they felt quite dispirited about him. Fortunately, however, they did not rely wholly on this report; for they soon placed him under the care of a Mr. Shipley, who was not long in discovering that he was a boy of keen perception, and fine talents. He hastened to inform Henry's parents of the truth in relation to him, and thus to relieve the anxiety and suspicions of his friends.

The truth is, he felt the confinement and the ordinary routine of the schoolroom to be irksome, and he thought they were unnecessary. We may remark, in passing, that this period in the life of Henry Kirke White reminds us of Irving's early school days, when he used to watch the bobolink, and think that bird so happy while he was suffering the tortures of confinement in the schoolroom. Henry seems to have discovered what nature had done for him, and at the

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same time that his teachers were complaining of his obtuseness and incorrigibility, he was writing satires upon them. These pieces were shown only to his particular friends. In a manuscript volume he had enumerated several of them in the table of contents, but he cut out the leaves containing the poems. He termed them "School Lampoons." One written at the age of thirteen has been preserved. His confinement in school, one pleasant morning in spring, was the cause of it.

"The morning sun's enchanting rays
Now calls forth every songster's praise;
Now the lark, with upward flight,
Gayly ushers in the light:
While, wildly warbling from each tree,
The birds sing songs to Liberty.

"But for me no songster sings,
For me no joyous lark up-springs;
For I, confined in gloomy school,
Must own the pedant's iron rule,
And, far from sylvan shades and bowers,
In durance vile must pass the hours;
There on the scholiast's dreary lines,
Where no bright ray of genius shines,
And close to rugged learning cling,
While laughs around the jocund spring.

About this period, by the advice of several friends, his mother was induced to open a ladies' boarding and day school in Nottingham, her eldest daughter having previously been a teacher in one for some time. She succeeded beyond her expectations, and Henry's home-comforts were, in consequence, materially increased; but his parents were still unable to give him that education which his talents deserved.

It was now determined to devote him to the hosiery trade, the staple manufacture of his native place; and at the age of fourteen he was placed in a stocking loom, with the view of getting him, at some future time, into a hosier's warehouse. He was extremely unhappy in this situation. His family, however, were not in circumstances to do anything better for him at that time. His mother seemed to realize the unsuitableness of the employment, but it was not till after a year of *misapplication*, as his brother termed it, that he was placed in a situation rather more congenial to his nature.

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But Henry Kirke White is not the only boy that has been placed in a situation to which he was not adapted. Parents and friends do not always take a wise course with children that they would be glad to place in such a situation as would lead them to prosperity in life. Children usually have a choice as to what trade or profession, one or the other, they follow in life: and this choice is dictated by nature—growing out of the superior development of this or that group of the faculties of the mind. We should, therefore, observe what nature would seem to indicate in relation to this matter before we finally decide.

Henry wished to be in some business in which his mind could find more employment, and for one in his pecuniary circumstances the law seemed to be more practicable than any other of the learned professions. His excellent mother, at all times taking a more rational and correct view of his case than his father, favored those plans which she considered the best; and, accordingly, she made every possible effort to effect his wishes, while his father, on the contrary, was decidedly opposed to them. At length, however, after overcoming a variety of obstacles, he was fixed in the office of Messrs. Coldham & Enfield, attorneys and town-clerks of Nottingham. As no premium could be given with him he was engaged to serve two years before he was articled; so that, though he entered the office when he was fifteen, he was not articled till he was seventeen—at the beginning of 1802.

On thus entering the law his employers recommended him to obtain some knowledge of Latin. He had no time for the study but the leisure moments which were left in an attorney's office in extensive practice. These moments, however, to one who is disposed to use them, amount to a good deal of time in the course of a year. He received some instruction in the rudiments of this language from a person by the name of Cormick, then residing in Nottingham under an assumed name. It is not known that he received any other assistance; yet in the course of ten months he was able to read Horace with tolerable facility, besides making some progress in Greek, a language which he indeed began before the other.

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To gain time he used to employ his mind in declining the Greek nouns and other words in going to and from the office. The habit which he thus contracted of employing his mind in study in this way, he continued to follow in all his walks, to the end of his life.

Having now the law and Latin and Greek to study, "he became," says Southey, "almost estranged from his family: even at his meals he would be reading, and his evenings were entirely devoted to intellectual improvement." He had a little room given him, which he called his study. This he described in a letter written in Hudibrastic verse. To avoid a loss of time he refused to sup with his family, and his milk supper was taken up to him.

In these severe and unremitting labors the law was his first study, and the papers on this subject, which he left, showed such industry that it was considered strange by those who examined the remains of his literary labors, how he found time for the study of anything else. Greek and Latin next claimed his attention; and, besides these, he found time to obtain a tolerable knowledge of Italian, and some acquaintance with the Spanish and the Portuguese. Besides his knowledge of the languages mentioned, he acquired a respectable knowledge of chemistry, and found time to study astronomy and electricity. He gave some attention to drawing, and it was thought that he could have excelled in it had he given his mind to the subject. He could play by ear on the pianoforte, composing the base as he proceeded. But he checked his love for music, lest it might interfere with more important objects. He had considerable mechanical skill, and fitted up his study with his own hands.

The success of all this mental labor must be sought in a vigorous constitution, which, if attended to with care, would have prolonged his life to old age, a great love of study, and his great amount of night labor, which he has thus described in his poem on Time:

> "————————For me the day
> Hath duties which require the vigorous hand
> Of steadfast application, but which leave
> No deep, improving trace upon the mind.
> But be the day another's; let it pass!

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The night's my own ; they cannot steal my night !
When evening lights her folding star on high,
I live and breathe, and, in the sacred hours
Of quiet and repose, my spirit flies,
Free as the morning, o'er the realms of space,
And mounts the skies, and imps her wing for heaven.
Hence do I love the sober-suited maid ;
Hence night's my friend, my mistress, and my theme,
And she shall aid me *now* to magnify
The night of ages,—*now* when the pale ray
Of starlight penetrates the studious gloom,
And, at my window seated, while mankind
Are locked in sleep, I feel the freshening breeze,
Of stillness blow, while in her saddest stole,
Thought, like a wakeful vestal at her shrine,
Assumes her wonted sway."

Mental labor does not exhaust all alike. Observation shows us that the person who possesses by nature a mental temperament can endure much more study, other things being equal, than he who is otherwise constituted.

It was Henry's wish from early years to become a member of a literary society at that time existing in Nottingham. After repeated applications and failures, he finally succeeded, by the influence of his friends, in being admitted. There were six professors in the society, and upon the first vacancy Henry, then in his fifteenth year, was appointed to the chair of literature. The first subject upon which he lectured was *Genius*. He considered the subject for one day and then spoke to the society extemporaneously. His lecture was two hours and three quarters in length. His hearers, so far from being wearied, passed a unaminous resolution of thanks to the speaker. This must have been a great success for Henry, since the society was organized for the promotion and diffusion of knowledge, and respectable enough to possess a good philosophical apparatus. He wished to qualify himself to be a good speaker as well as sound lawyer. Henry was not yet dissatisfied with his adopted profession, but he began to have higher aspirations, and to look toward the university, but perhaps without a reasonable hope that he would ever attain its important advantages. A magazine called the " Monthly Preceptor," was at this time published, and themes were proposed in it for boys and girls. Henry

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was successful in several instances. At the age of fifteen he gained a silver medal for a translation from Horace, and the next year he gained a pair of twelve-inch globes for an imaginary tour from London to Edinburg. He determined to try for it one evening while at tea, and at supper he read to the family his composition. The editors allowed him seven pages in the magazine for his performance, though they had originally limited the allowance of space to three. These were high honors to Henry as testifying to his ability, and they served to encourage him to try further his powers of composition. From a letter written soon afterwards, it was discovered that many of his pieces in prose and verse gained admission into the various magazines of the day. "In prosaic composition," he said, "I never had one article refused; in poetic, many." This doubtless was owing to the greater difficulty of writing good poetry, and the greater amount of time, an element which he could not well spare, necessary for correcting that kind of composition. All these efforts were really steps toward the university. Henry now became a correspondent of the Monthly Mirror. "Magazines are of great service," says Southey, "to those who are learning to write; they are fishing-boats, which the buccaneers of literature do not condescend to sink, burn and destroy. Young poets may safely try their strength in them; and that they should try their strength before the public, without danger of any shame from failure, is highly desirable." Henry's rapid improvement was now as remarkable as his unwearied industry. The pieces which had been rewarded in the "Juvenile Preceptor" might have been rivalled by many boys; but what he produced a year afterwards, few men could equal. Those which appeared in the Monthly Mirror attracted some notice, and introduced him to the acquaintance of Mr. Capel Lofft, and Mr. Hill, the proprietor of the work, who was himself a lover of English literature, and who possessed one of the most copious collections of English poetry in existence. The encouragement of these two gentlemen induced Henry, about the close of the year 1802, to prepare a small volume of poems for publication. He hoped by the sale of this little work to obtain, either directly from

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the profits of it, or from the notice which it might excite, the means to prosecute his studies at a university.

Henry had been somewhat skeptically inclined in regard to Christian revelation; but various influences changed his views, and he now felt a deeper interest in the opposite view, and hoped by his college studies to fit himself for holy orders. He was still, however, attached to the law, and had hoped to be admitted to the bar at some future day. But owing to a deafness to which he had always been subject, and which rather increased with his years than diminished, he felt it to be necessary to adopt some other profession in which so much was not dependent on his sense of hearing.

He was advised to obtain, if possible, some patroness for his book, whose rank in life and notoriety in the literary world, might be of service to him. The countess of Derby was applied to, but she refused, upon the ground that it was her invariable rule never to accept such a compliment. She sent a two-pound note, however, as her subscription to the work. He next applied to the dutchess of Devonshire. After much trouble and delay Henry's brother, Neville, succeeded in obtaining an audience, and the dutchess permitted the work to be dedicated to her. In due course of time the work appeared with her name on the title-page, "and a copy was transmitted to her in due form, and in its due morocco livery, of which no notice was ever taken." Henry sent his volume to each of the reviews then existing, and accompanied it with a letter in which he stated what his disadvantages had been, and what were the hopes which he wished to realize from the publication. We cannot forbear quoting the following paragraph from the preface. The volume consisted of one principal poem, "Clifton Grove," and several smaller ones. The first was written when he was in his sixteenth year, and the others were, some of them, "the productions of a very early age." "Such are the poems," he says, "towards which I entreat the lenity of the public. The critic will doubtless find in them much to condemn; he may likewise possibly discover something to commend. Let him scan my faults with an indulgent eye, and in the work of that correction which I invite, let him remember he is holding the

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iron mace of criticism over the flimsy superstructure of a youth of seventeen, and remembering that, may he forbear from crushing, by too much rigor, the painted butterfly whose transient colors may otherwise be capable of affording a moment's innocent amusement."

Henry was disappointed, as, perhaps, many another has been. He doubtless expected that reviewers would say all the good things about his poems and leave the other untold, but he miscalculated; human nature too frequently exerts itself to demolish rather than build up or encourage. The old adage, that he who has struggled against obstacles till they are overcome, can find plenty to assist him; but he who but just sets out, or who is unable to ascend the hill alone, finds enough to keep him down. The "Monthly Review" for February, 1804, contained a criticism so severe and so contemptuous that it nearly dethroned Henry's reason for a short time. He wrote to the editor and complained of the cruelty with which he had been treated. His letter called out another article in the next number of the Review, with the object of softening somewhat what had been said in the former number.

Fortunately for Henry, his poems and his circumstances attracted the attention of the poet Southey. "I was indignant," says the latter, "at the injustice of this pretended criticism, and having accidentally seen the letter which he had written to the reviewers, understood the whole cruelty of their injustice." This induced him to write to Henry to encourage him. Southey's kindness revived Henry's spirits, and he replied, a part of his letter being as follows:

"I dare not say all I feel respecting your opinion of my little volume. The extreme acrimony with which the Monthly Review (of all the most important,) treated me, threw me into a state of stupefaction; I regarded all that had passed as a dream, and I thought I had been deluding myself into an idea of possessing poetic genius, when in fact I had only the longing, without the *afflatus*. I mustered resolution enough, however, to write spiritedly to them; their answer in the ensuing number was a tacit acknowledgment that they had been somewhat too unsparing in their correction. It was a poor attempt to salve over a wound wantonly and most ungenerously inflicted. Still I was damped, because I knew the work was very respectable;

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and therefore could not, I concluded, give a criticism *grossly* deficient in equity—the more especially, as I knew of no sort of inducement to extraordinary severity. Your letter, however, has revived me, and I again venture to hope that I may still produce something which will survive me."

This review of Henry's volume, which was, perhaps, intended to crush his hopes, was the principal occasion for bringing his poetic remains to light, and which, in consequence, have been a source of much pleasure to many a reader.

As we have before mentioned, Henry was at one time skeptically inclined, but becoming satisfied that the doctrines of Christianity as set forth in the New Testament are true, he resolved to learn the law, and devote his whole life to the promulgation of the religious opinions which he had formed. Like many others who allow their religious sentiments to control them when their reason ought, he was determined, against the advice and arguments of his friends, to follow this new course. To accomplish all this, it was necessary to place himself in one of the universities. Many obstacles must be overcome. The better half of the term for which he was articled had now been served; his entrance and continuance in the law had been a great expense to his family; and to leave so lucrative a profession for one that afforded only uncertain means of obtaining a decent competency, seemed to his friends the height of folly. "This determination cost his poor mother many tears; but determined he was, and that by the best and purest motives." However pure our motives may be, we must remember that our mental and physical constitutions are adapted to this world, and the circumstances which control us should be the first to which we should attend. We think that no one is in duty bound, under any circumstances, to labor solely for the good of others, to the neglect of himself. Indeed, if he sets out in life with any such idea, sooner or later nature will teach him that he must seek another basis, in which himself is included. The world works upon the plan of looking first at home and then abroad, and the dictates of nature cannot be all wrong.

Henry never failed to find friends. His employers, Mr.

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Coldham and Mr. Enfield, listened to his plans and consented to give him the remainder of his term, though it had now become quite profitable to them, as soon as there was any reasonable prospect of his getting through the university. Mr. Dashwood, a clergyman who then resided in Nottingham, exerted himself in his favor. A friend of his residing at Queen's College, Cambridge, spoke of Henry to one of the fellows of St. John's, and that gentleman, after hearing about his talents and piety, spared no pains to obtain for him an adequate support.

As soon as these facts became known to his employers they gave Henry a month's leave of absence for the advantage of continuous study and recreation, for which his health now required. He chose for his resort the village of Wilford, near Clifton woods, the subject of the principal poem in his volume. In this village his mother procured lodgings for him; and he spent his month very pleasantly. Soon after its expiration, however, intelligence arrived that the plans which had been formed in his behalf entirely failed. He went immediately to his mother and said, "All my hopes of getting to the university are now blasted; in preparing myself for it, I have lost time in my profession; I have much ground to get up; and as I am determined not to be a mediocre attorney, I must endeavor to recover what I have lost."

He now applied himself more severely than ever to his studies. He allowed himself no time for relaxation and little only for his meals, and a mere trifle for sleep. How much he needed some knowledge of the laws of health! He would read till one, two, and three o'clock in the mornings; then throw himself on the bed, but to rise again to his studies at five at the call of a *larum*, which he had attached to an old Dutch clock in his chamber. Many nights he took no time for sleep, not lying down at all. His good mother, who dreaded the consequences of such health-destroying application, was unable by entreaties, tears, or commands, to check this desperate course of study. Though controlled by the purest motives, as he supposed, his object in the future prevented him from heeding the good advice of a mother that was his best friend, and to whom he was in-

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debted, directly or indirectly, for the advantages which had been afforded him, and whose counsel would probably have conducted him safely through that trying period of his life—his passage through the university—and saved him from filling a premature grave. Nothing can be gained by a violation of those laws by which nature controls our physical existence. Henry's mother found it necessary at one time to go every night into his room at a suitable hour for him to retire, to put out his candle; but here he eluded her vigilance by hiding his light in a cupboard as soon as he heard her coming up stairs, and throwing himself into bed and feigning sleep till she had left the room, and all was quiet, when he would again rise and resume his studies. "The night," he says, "has been everything to me; and did the world know how I have been indebted to the hours of repose, they would not wonder that night-images are, as they judge, so ridiculously predominant in my verses."

Human nature cannot endure everything. His health soon sunk, as we should expect, under those habits of unrelenting study; he became pale and thin, and at length had a severe fit of sickness. From some cause death much too frequently seemed to stare him in the face, for many of his poems have frequent reference to the grave and another world. Soon after his recovery he wrote some beautiful lines in the church-yard of his favorite village. He says,

"Here would I wish to sleep.—This is the spot
Which I have long mark'd out to lay my bones in;
Tired out and wearied with the riotous world,
Beneath this yew I would be sepulchred.
It is a lovely spot! The sultry sun,
From his meridian height, endeavors vainly
To pierce the shadowy foliage, while the zephyr
Comes wafting gently o'er the rippling Trent,
And plays about my wan cheek. 'Tis a nook
Most pleasant. Such a one perchance did Gray
Frequent, as with a vagrant muse he wanton'd.
Come, I will sit me down and meditate,
For I am wearied with my summer's walk;
And here I may repose in silent ease;
And thus, perchance, when life's sad journey's o'er,
My harrass'd soul, in this same spot, may find
The haven of its rest—beneath this sod
Perchance may sleep it sweetly, sound as death."

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His friends were of opinion that he never completely recovered from the shock which his constitution thus received. He thought himself in danger of consumption, but he did not seem to realize that his mind was in danger from his diseased and over-taxed body. His hopes of entering the university were again renewed, and these had a beneficial influence on his bodily health. He was now induced to go to Cambridge. He found other friends to exert themselves in his favor, and after some time the means were provided, the facts in relation to which we need not detail, for sustaining him while pursuing his studies at the university. All things being finally arranged he quitted his employers in October, 1804. From the testimony of Mr. Enfield it would appear that Henry conducted himself, while in their employ, much to their satisfaction. "I have great pleasure," he says, "in paying this tribute to his memory, of expressing the knowledge which was afforded me during the period of his connection with Mr. Coldham and myself, of his diligent application, his ardor for study, and his virtuous and amiable disposition. He very soon discovered an unusual aptness in comprehending the routine of business, and great ability and rapidity in the execution of everything which was intrusted to him. His diligence and punctual attendance were unremitted, and his services became extremely valuable a considerable time before he left us. He seemed to me to have no relish for the ordinary pleasures and dissipations of young men; his mind was perpetually employed either in the business of his profession or in private study."

He was advised to *degrade* for a year, and he accordingly placed himself under a Rev. Mr. Grainger, of Winteringham, in Lincolnshire, and there, again, notwithstanding the entreaties of his friends, he pursued his unrelenting course of study, and a second illness was the consequence. When he was recovering he was prevailed upon to relax his studies, to ride on horseback, and drink some wine; but he could not long afford this, and relaxation he would not take when he did not feel the imminent necessity for it. At this time he frequently studied fourteen hours a day. These habits enabled him in twelve months to make great progress, and when he went to Cam-

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bridge he was, at once, as much distinguished for his classical knowledge as for his ability. During his first term one of the university scholarships became vacant, and Henry was advised to offer himself as a candidate. "He passed the whole time in preparing himself for this, reading for college subjects in bed, or, as he says, where, when, and how he could, never having a moment to spare, and often going to his tutor without having read at all." Again his health failed, and, as misfortunes never come single-handed, the general college examination came on, and he was utterly unprepared to meet it, believing that a failure here would have ruined his prospects for ever. He had two weeks to read up what others had been a whole term reading. Again he exerted himself beyond his strength and his disorder returned. He went to his tutor with tears in his eyes and told him that he could not go into the hall to be examined. Mr. Calton, his tutor, thought his success here of so much importance that he advised him to hold out if possible. Powerful stimulants were given him to sustain his strength, and he was pronounced the first man of his year. But life was the price of these honors. He said that were he to paint a picture of Fame crowning a distinguished under-graduate, after the senate-house examination, he would represent her as concealing a death's-head under a mask of beauty.

After this examination he went to London instead of seeking a place of retirement where he could find what he so much needed, rest. In all his subsequent studies at the university he still pursued the same course in relation to his continued application. His rapid progress at the expense of health, and life, finally attracted general attention. Every university honor was thought to be within his reach. These encouragements were his death-warrant. They stimulated him to greater exertions, if possible. While writing to his mother and brothers that he was better, his letters to his most intimate friend, Mr. Maddock, tell a very different story. We have always regretted, since we first read Henry's life, that he was so unfaithful to that truest friend, his mother, the best of all, to whom he ought always to have been true. But he did it for the best, without doubt, hoping that he would recover.

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He declined the mastership of the free school in Nottingham lest it might have frustrated his intentions with regard to the ministry. His college provided him with a tutor during vacation, which should have been wholly devoted to relaxation. Again his strength failed, and he went to London; and when he returned to college he was worn out. His disorder increased rapidly. His brother Neville came to see him, but he was delirious, and he knew him only for a few moments. He sunk into a stupor; and on Sunday, October, 19th, 1806, his spirit passed to a higher state of existence. Such is genius unguided by wisdom.

ART. VIII.—1. *Parliamentary Reports.* 1868-9.

The spectacle of Mr. Disraeli governing England was to Earl Russell what the prosperity of the wicked was to King David—a grievous puzzle. The political game in England had made the one and consigned the other to the limbo of the house of lords, where he had little else to do, after proposing the royal commission to inquire into the condition of the state church of Ireland, than to look on in deprecating wonder.

Mr. Disraeli's cabinet included Earl Mayo, Lord Stanley, Lord Cairns, Mr. Hardy, Sir Stafford Northcote, and others; and in his speech, in private meeting of his adherents, on the afternoon of the 5th March, 1868, he alluded to the leading questions of the moment, which would occupy his administration, as being the Scotch and Irish reform bills, and the great problem of Ireland generally. On the evening of the same day, Mr. Disraeli met the house of commons for the first time as chief of the ministry. Oratorically his first speech as prime minister of England was not the best specimen of his powers—it hung fire at times, and the practised tactician and easy victor in so many fights was positively nervous, as he laid his hands upon the laurel, and heard a sweet, if trembling, voice salute him, *imperator*. The ex-journalist, the man whom the commons once refused to hear, was, indeed, reaping a proud revenge when he not immodestly named himself the head of the English cabinet, the successor of Chatham, Canning, Peel and Derby!

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But the right to take that glorious place was one thing, and the might to keep it was another. After an eulogy upon his predecessor, Lord Derby—graceful, emotional and appropriate—Mr. Disraeli announced a "truly liberal policy," as the one he would adopt. He trusted that the agitations in Ireland would soon disappear; he regretted the continued suspension of the *habeas corpus* there, and, exhorting the house to proceed with circumspection, appointed an early day as the one when the secretary for Ireland would enunciate the intentions of the new government in relation to that country. The immediate difficulties of the incoming administration, which was in large minority (60 to 70), in the commons, were the Irish land-tenure system and the Irish Protestant Church establishment. "During the greater part of the 17th century," says the Count Cavour, in his memoirs, "the Irish were placed in a state of slavery worse than the negroes of the Antilles," which is reliable and disinterested testimony. But since the 17th century, from 1728 to 1825, the population trebled.* Within a generation wonders had been done for Ireland, and, according even to Mr. Lowe, a partisan of disestablishment, the progress of Ireland, in some respects, had been a rapid one. Though inadequately represented in parliament, her taxation was lighter than that of England, and she received large assistance from the public funds. Mr. Bright, too, conceded the comparative prosperity of Ireland, and so did Mr. Gladstone, though from their seats in parliament both expressed their sorrow that it co-existed with disloyalty. Ireland and the Irish had improved in houses, food, clothing, wages, means of employment, relief from certain great burdens, order and security of life, and, above all, in education. The local government was administered chiefly by Irishmen. The lord lieutenant is habitually an Irish resident. Lord Mayo, the Irish secretary, was an Irishman; the lord chancellor, the lord chief justice, the master of the rolls,

* In 1710 the spinners and weavers, mostly peasants, exported about 1,600,000 yards of linen goods; in 1818 the quantity was 56,000,000 yards In 1720 the amount of general exports was about £1,200,000; in 1820 that amount was £7,100,000. From 1781 to 1800 the gross exports amounted to £69,600,000, and from 1802 to 1820 to £103,600,000.—Moreau's *Statistical Ireland*, London, 1827.

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the twelve judges of the common law courts, were all Irishmen—a large proportion of these dignitaries were Roman catholics, and the police were exclusively Irish.

Improved in these material respects, as well as in mental culture, was, perhaps, precisely why the Irish wanted new land arrangements, more suited to their advanced condition, as well as entire religious equality. Several millions of British subjects, amounting to about one-sixth of the population of Great Britain, thoroughly organized, and ruled by an intelligent, patriotic clergy to whom they were devoted, claimed an abolition of the Episcopal church; this "badge of conquest," this endowment of the few rich and disendowment of the many poor, which had lasted from the days of Lord Cecil to those of Lord Derby.

With the census of 1861 as a guide, we find, in fact, the number of episcopalians in Ireland would not exceed 600,000 or 700,000,* though double that number was the one oftener alluded to. Out of every 100 persons, 78 are Roman catholics, 12 are episcopalians, 9 are presbyterians, and one is an odd one; and the 12 who receive state aid are the richest part of the community. The church of these 12 is established and endowed, and for these 700,000 worshippers there are 2 archbishops and 12 bishops, 1,510 beneficed clergy, and 622 curates—about three times as many as any one can pretend necessary—and a net revenue approximating to 450,000 pounds sterling.† The queen is at the head of the Irish church, and the bishops sit in the house of lords by rotation. The service has its ecclesiastical courts, maintained at the public expense, for deciding questions among the churchmen, and the income devoted to the establishment is equal to the interest upon 10 or 12 millions of pounds, whilst the church of four and a half millions of Irish catholics is supported by the voluntary system altogether. As a religious institution, as an engine for

* 693,357 unknown, faith included.

† If catholic France had that ratio in her clergy, she would have 500 bishops, 75,000 *curés*, and a yearly budget of 576 millions of francs.—Prince de Joinville in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, May, 1868.—Before the Revolution, France had 136 archbishops and bishops and 44,000 *curés;* in 1828 she had 85 cardinals, archbishops and bishops, and about 25,000 *curés* and *desservans*.—Moreau's *Almanach du clergé*.

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converting catholics, the Anglican church has proved a failure, which figures show, though, when created by the advisers of Queen Elizabeth, it was doubtless believed that the whole Irish people were about to become protestants. But the effect of the pressure of the establishment upon an antagonistic population would seem to have been to intensify their veneration for an ecclesiastical government, in preference to the civil one, which they hated, because of the church it forced upon them. As a political institution, then, the protestant church was likewise a failure, and in 1835 an attempt was made to disendow it, which miscarried, owing to a change of ministry.* Ever since the Act of Union sixty odd years ago, the connection of England with Ireland has been a succession of storms and heart-burnings, and the episcopal ritual had formerly to be defended by the sword. For the scaffold, and tales of riot and carnage, are among the records in the past history of the Anglican church among the Irish.

The suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland had been four times renewed—its suspension was now entering its fourth year—each time more significant than the last of aggravated discontent. The barracks throughout the land were filled with troops, the constabulary alone amounted to 13,000 men, and, armed and drilled, they were practised in military duty. A fleet was riding in Cork harbor, gun-boats, never seen there before, were on Irish rivers, according to an Irish member, all of which explained the few cases of outbreak and the total absence of bloodshed among a people really so disaffected. And, admitting improvements during a quarter of a century—from 1841 to 1866—when the extent of cultivated land from 13 became 15½ millions of acres, and the value of live stock, estimated 19 millions in 1841, rose to 50 millions of pounds sterling in 1866, and when there was an increase of general deposits in the public banks, from £12,900,000 to £19,200,000 in 1867;† yet, quite recently, from 1859 to 1867, there was a falling off in the extent of land cultivated, and in the number of horses and cattle, if the

* Lord John Russell's motion passed in the house by 33 votes.

† *Report of Secretary for Ireland*, laid before parliament in 1868.

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member from Cork was to be relied upon. Certain it was that farmers at the mercy of landlords would not put their money into lands, as parliamentary laws, by permitting the multiplication of small holdings (each conferring a vote) to enhance the market value of the estate, failed at the same time to give to the agricultural occupiers security of tenure, and the assurance that they would enjoy the fruits of their own industry and improvement upon their farms. The Devon commssion, which was simply an inquiry made, twenty-four years ago, as to the relations between landlord and tenant, had virtually pledged the government to relieve the Irish agriculturist, but to the present time that pledge remains unredeemed. Minor towns in the interior, it was reported, were sinking into decay; despair filled the minds of small traders and shopkeepers, who saw little hope but in emigration, and spite of an augmentation in the average prosperity of the island, and even of the growing intelligence there, a sluggish animosity to British rule was visibly increasing, if not yet menacing; and the land question was considered by many as at the root of the Fenian conspiracy.

Mr. Disraeli's government, through Lord Mayo, on the 10th March, submitted a purpose to bring before the commons the following week, a bill to regulate and improve the condition of land tenure; but touching the Irish church establishment, as a commission of inquiry, at the instance of Earl Russell himself, was at the time sitting, Lord Mayo deprecated any immediate legislation thereupon, whilst to offset the Irish state universities, Trinity College and the Queen's University, the government of Mr. Disraeli would advise Her Majesty to grant a charter to a Roman catholic university in the same way that it had been done to the queen's universities.

With the publication of the ministerial programme, it was felt that Earl Mayo had not reached the bottom of the difficulty by a great deal. Government policy on the church question was apparently inaction; on the land question it was procrastination; and concerning education, and the proposition to charter a catholic ministry, it was regarded by some to be retrogression. The second night's debate upon

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the subject, seemed to bring more into light a capricious listlessness on the part of the house of commons, which had overapplauded Mr. Lowe and deliberately snubbed Mr. Mill, the one who was moderate, and the other who was extreme, in a projected panacea for the ills of Ireland. Besides these two, Lord Clinton, Messrs. Maguire, Horsman, and others, had depicted in their speeches the injustice of the land tenure and church systems, and Earl Mayo and Mr. Hardy, of Mr. Disraeli's cabinet, had admitted the necessity of remedy and change. The premier had, in 1844, termed the Irish establishment the *alien* church, and Lord Stanley was quoted as having asked, with something of despair, at a late Bristol banquet, "what was to be done with it?" "I regard this tenth part of the rent of Ireland as public property," had exclaimed Mr. Lowe, not a hasty nor a superficial man, in speaking of the Irish church and its revenues.

"I believe the government to be trustees of that property, coming, as it does, from Irish land and labor, for the benefit of the Irish people at large; and I believe that property scandalously misappropriated when applied exclusively to the support of the religion of only twelve persons out of each hundred. It is not merely the shocking neglect, it is not merely the disgrace to us in the eyes of foreign countries, but it is more the existence of the last relict of the iniquitous past of Ireland which I deplore."

These opinions from adverse sides could not be scattered for want of base, and the conclusion from them was active legislation and abolition of the state church. Yet there seemed now, as had always seemed before, to be something in the thought of legislating for Ireland which daunted the hardiest statesman. Earl Russell himself, when in power, was as inert as any of his predecessors, and the supineness of the present parliament was such that it looked as though nothing but a determined expression of opinion outside the walls could induce the government, or the legislature, to begin the work so needful to be done.

On the evening of the third debate, however, Mr. Bright's speech produced a certain animation. The government policy of treating the woes of Ireland, he called, in quoting Addison, "advertising pills to cure an earthquake." He had his pet

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theory to correct the land tenure system,* but promptly turned to the church, which he affirmed to underlie every other Irish question of the day. The notion of chartering a catholic university he called unstatesmanlike, and believed that such a sop would have no more effect in appeasing the Irish people than had the increase of the grant to Maynooth, by Sir Robert Peel, twenty years before, which the speaker had voted against, convinced that such was not the true path to the tranquilization of the Irish catholics. "You have a church to disestablish," said Mr. Bright, "you have a *regium donum*† to be withdrawn, you have an act making a grant to Maynooth,‡ which act must be repealed."

There had been several partial settlements of the Irish church trouble from the Irish Act of 1793, which conferred the elective franchise upon catholics, with the Irish Fisheries Act of 1819, down to the Catholic Relief Bill, carried by Mr. Peel in 1829,‖ which last removed the civil disabilities of the catholics. Besides Catholic Emancipation, the repeal of the Tests Act before 1830, the reduction of Irish bishoprics in 1833, the act of 1838 for the commutation of tithes at a reduced rate, the enlarged grant to Maynooth of 1845, the extensive modifications in the national schools in favor of Roman catholics were all, within a space of forty years, intended as concessions and as armistices, but all had, apparently, left the real evil fast by the roots. The Irish landed interest, on the one side, and the English church interest, on the other, furnished what might be called two monstrous rows of dogshores, for

* Moro proprietors, Mr. Bright desired; an intermediate class, a sort of *bourgeoisie* of the small holders—some 500,000 to 600,000—between the great land holders and the present land lords, to be raised up by government's advancing money to them at a fixed rate of 3½ per cent. The tenant refunding 5 per cent. per annum, in thirty-five years would own his farm, and enjoy in the meantime a fixity of tenure. The ideas of Mr. Bright will probably figure more at length in the future land tenure bill of the Gladstone government, notwithstanding Mr. Gladstone's emphatic denial, on the 30th of April last, that the president of the board of trade represented the opinion of the cabinet on that question.

† £45,000 a year granted by government to Irish Presbyterians.

‡ Irish catholic college for the education of priests. This act (of 1795,) was a grant of £8,000 a year to Maynooth college.

‖ Mr. Peel's Act raising government subsidy from eight to twenty-five thousand pounds.

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staying the Irish Anglical establishment on a condemned basis, the props and stays being the different measures just adverted to.

With a fresh consciousness of these facts, at this stage of parliamentary proceedings public opinion at the clubs and elsewhere seemed, at last, to be pricked, and, if sluggish before, it now suddenly marked out that impetuous course which characterized a subsequent development of the Irish church movement. The drift, it was soon perceptible, must bear along, not only parliament, but the ministry as well, otherwise it would be left to an incoming and reformed house of commons, under a liberal ministry, to settle questions which the conservative cabinet appeared unwilling to face. Disestablishment and disendowment, pure and simple, were scored as articles of faith almost beyond argument, and, with this magically quickened fervor, that caution previously evinced by politicians, in approaching Irish matters, had passed away completely, and had scarcely left a trace behind.

Such being the temper, and such the tendency of the situation, on the fourth night of the debate, Mr. Gladstone boldly announced that the Irish question had attained a crisis, the imperative gravity of which, he insisted, the government had overlooked. The defection of Ireland by emigration, the repeated suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and the invasion of England by fenianism, betokened, according to the orator, the existence of some great unsatisfied necessity among the Celtic subjects of the realm. He advocated a just land law, to secure to the tenant his property in his own improvements, and, congratulating the House on the rapid advance of public opinion, proclaimed his conviction *that the Irish church, as a state church, must cease to exist*, thereby assuming, beyond cavil, the leadership of the opposition—a position which, up to the present moment, many doubted his accepting.

Mr. Disraeli replied, that he was indeed an unfortunate minister, to reach office just as a controversy, which had lasted for seven hundred years,* arrived at its culminating point.

* Even before the day of the Norman conquestor, Brian Boroimhé the "Irish conqueror," in the first part of the 15th centuary, united his countrymen and resisted all foreign government.—*Plowden's Ireland.*

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The elements of the crisis, which Mr. Gladstone had discovered, were fenianism, which was active, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* in Ireland, which, at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone himself, had already taken place, before the Derby cabinet came into power. Emigration, Mr. Disraeli contended, was less than during the ministry of Lord John Russell, yet Mr. Gladstone, when on the treasury bench, had recognized it to be an element of a crisis. The premier further alluded to the rapid "education" of Mr. Gladstone, who, when in office, had always vindicated the Irish establishment, which he now so fiercely attacked. Mr. Disraeli freely admitted that the Irish church was not in the most perfect condition, etc.

But the statements and sarcasms of the prime minister were futile. His great rival had no choice. From all sections of his followers, from old whigs, dissenters, radicals, and philosophers, came one cry, and Mr. Gladstone had to march at their head, or abdicate all claim to lead in the commons. He spoke out, and, the travail of hesitation over, like the cat in the adage, he had resolved to risk wetting his feet rather than forego the tempting things within sight across the stream. If he had freed himself abruptly from the trammels of early association, his tardy conversion was none the less complete. If he had voted against Lord John Russell's motion for disendowment in 1835, and had summarily refused to entertain that of Mr. Dillwyn in 1865, he now fully committed himself to the anti-church policy. There still remained, it is true, his brilliant essay, *State in its relation to the Church*. Gladstone must answer Gladstone, and the fastidious might sneeringly demand of an authority, whose argument on both sides was the most perfect extant, whether his present position neutralized his essay, or *vice versa?* "A state church is the natural buttress of monarchy as opposed to democracy," had been the old whig device assumed by members of the liberal party. What now had thrown so sudden a light upon the colossal turpitude of the Irish establishment? What impelled Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, to abandon a course, up to 1865, undeviating, upon this Irish church question?

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To a great extent the answer to these queries is furnished by the fact, that everywhere throughout western Europe the principle of equality of church with state had, of late years, been attacked and often overthrown. In France and Italy the supremacy of the catholic church, and the authority of the pope, had been qualified and subordinated to the civil power, and the spirit actuating these changes had gained England, and was showing itself in swift onset upon the temporalities of the Irish establishment—far more abhorrent to the Irish catholic than was catholic autocracy to Frenchmen or Italians. Fenianism, in its influence upon parliament, had something to do with Mr. Gladstone's new bearing; not in a fear of rebels and outrages was that influence revealed, so much as in a lively apprehension of the passive, if not friendly, countenance which these met, tending to aggravate the Irish case, already depicted as so desperate. Englishmen began to ask themselves how they would feel if the tithe-rent charges they paid were devoted to the support of the Roman catholic worship? and at once they now understood Irish impatience, if they did not extend an overt sympathy to that people. And what, too, helped Mr. Gladstone's manifestation was the weakness of the government he confronted, who were without a majority in the house of commons as without a policy before it. His final enunciation of conviction then placed the result as not only possible but desirable before the eyes of the country.

Difficulties assuredly there were. There was, and is, much of the abstract idea of state and church indigenous in the English mind. It regards the Union as an arrangement which clothes the authority of the state with the highest sanctions and sentiments, and renders the church, in its purest and kindest sense, political—raising the government from the mere purpose of a national police establishment, and securing a standard of religious toleration. Endowment was the natural method of carrying out that idea, which requires an independent institution to serve as a stay for the people alike against fanaticism and incredulity.

But the will and conscience of England were nevertheless

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aroused, and the serried attitude of the liberal party, guided by Mr. Gladstone, with the watchwords of disestablishment and disendowment, was henceforth enthusiastic and decided. It was the party of progress and "pulling down," against the party of resistance and "levelling up." Of the former the banner was "sectarian equality," and of the latter the motto was "our church in danger." The cheers that had greeted Mr. Disraeli, when he told his followers that endowments were sacred things, and that he would uphold them, were the same cheers that greeted him of yore, when he told the squires that he would get them back protection and keep away reform. Mr. Gladstone had pointed out the true doctrine of sectarian equality; he wished to disendow all creeds alike, in contradistinction to any new endowments, as proposed by Mr. Disraeli, and to place the Roman catholic priesthood in Ireland on the same footing of worldly independence with the Anglican clergy. The church in England is the church *of* England, but the church in Ireland was not the church *of* Ireland, and the Anglican experiment, which, by force and usurpation, had lasted three hundred years, had, in a popular view, proven itself more than enough for the patience of any people.

On the 23d of March, 1868, Mr. Gladstone brought forward his resolutions.* The first of these sets forth, that the Irish church establishment shall be demolished; the second is a necessary sequel to the first—no new interests should be created, and the third is the complement of the second. Her Majesty, as the head of the state, is the dispenser of vast ecclesiastical gifts, and the third resolution was intended, in some sort, to restrict the royal prerogative.

* These resolutions were: *First*, That in the opinion of this House it is necessary that the established church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment; due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. *Second*, That, subject to the foregoing considerations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the ecclesiastical commission of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity or involving individual rights pending the final decision of Parliament. *Third*, That a humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to pray, with a view to the purpose aforesaid, her Majesty would be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of parliament her interest in the temporalities of the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof.—*Parliamentary Reports*, 1868.

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Mr. Gladstone was bound to provoke, and without delay, the parliamentary struggle. Though briefly stated, the undertaking covered and proposed by his resolutions was, indeed, the greatest task parliament had attempted since the revolution of 1688—a revolution occasioned by the attempt of James II. to favor catholicity, and to banish the protestant service. The episcopal religion, it was expressly stipulated at the time of the union of England and Ireland, should be the state church of both countries, and the responsibility of levelling the Irish church, and of destroying so large an element in that union, was such that the existing house of commons might well have flinched from the magnitude of the prospect before it, especially as that assembly did not represent the elective body which (in virtue of the new reform act) had lately been called into existence.

Lord Plunket himself had declared the protestant establishment so amalgamated with British institutions that its overthrow would involve the overthrow of the state. Nothing could save the Scotch kirk, the Irish establishment once brought low, the Welsh church would be attacked in turn, and, finally, the church of England would be harrassed, and oftener and oftener, until it went also by the board—was the plea and prayer for a pause earnestly offered by many a shocked episcopalian. Counting upon a hesitation in parliament, which proved to be none, three days before the time appointed for the consideration of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, Lord Stanley made his amendment to the same,* the object of which was pronounced to be a postponement of discussion of the main issue, and to secure a prolongation of power by the ministry, whose course, according to its opponents, showed how far below the gravity of the subject and a just appreciation of the pressing need of relief to Ireland, it really was, though others rejoined that since the tithes commutation act, the Roman catholic peasantry contributed but insignificantly

* That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the temporalities of the United Church of Ireland may, after pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or the disendowment of the church ought to be reserved for the decision of a new Parliament.—*Parliamentary Reports*, 1868.

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to the tithe-rent charge, which, in reality, fell upon the land owners, and one tenth only of it was paid by the Catholics.*

The tithes were dues to the state, and the real question was: Is the property of which the Irish church is the recipient employed in the best way for the whole Irish people?

On the 30th March, Mr. Gladstone, in due course, asked the house to signify, by a vote upon his resolutions, that the last hour of the Irish church had come. He affirmed that when Mr. Pitt framed the Act of Union, far from wishing to preserve the church of Ireland as a privilege and monopoly to the protestants, he sought only to effect a religious equality, which was likewise the object of the resolutions. He then alluded to a plan of disendowment, etc., and stated that the balance of assets, after discharging all equitable claims upon the establishment, would be an Irish fund for the benefit of all Ireland. He pointed out that his resolutions resembled the amendment of Lord Stanley in so far that the details of the measure were to devolve upon a new parliament. But it was manifestly proper to prevent a fresh growth of vested interests during the discussion of disestablishment, upon which, as a principle, the present house was competent to declare, and that declaration was what he wished should be registered by a vote. Lord Stanley, in supporting his amendment to Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, qualified these as vague and covering no plan.

Lord Cranbourne (ultra conservative) upheld the principle of church and state. Peace was what was wanted in Ireland, he said, and by abolishing the Irish church, the house provoked enmity on the part of the influential one million and a half protestants, without any proof that they secured the good will of the catholics. He finished by a memorable and scathing personal attack on Mr. Disraeli.

A determination that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions should not

* The tithe-rent charge is, in fact, a national inheritance reserved for public uses, from a date far older than the ancestry of any existing landlord.—*Times*, March 16, 1868. In letting a farm liable for tithes, the rent asked of the tenant was reduced by the amount of tithes that he paid. Or, when a catholic purchased an estate charged with tithes, he paid so much the less for the property.—*Parliamentary Commentaries*, Lord Hamilton.

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simply serve to eject the tory ministry, but should be the basis of real legislation for Ireland, was, now, perhaps, indicated by the consolidating strength of the opposition, which had continued to increase in unity and preponderance. No capital reason for maintaining the "standing reproach to English legislation" had so far been adduced. If Lord Stanley had pointed out ambiguity in Mr. Gladstone's intentions, Lord Cranbourne's speech was morally and materially damaging to Mr. Disraeli, and, under a compound impulse, difficult to dissect, the house accepted, as incumbent upon it, to record a conviction as to the establishment in Ireland. A reformed house of commons, elected with the question duly before the voters, was to meet in the spring, and to it could be deputed the ratifying of the declaration of its predecessor, or of devising the means to accomplish it, and it was simply of party importance who conducted the affairs of the government in the mean time. It may prove interesting to hurriedly sketch, at this juncture, the exceptional position occupied by Mr. Disraeli—one calculated, possibly, to excite a certain interest from its hostile intimacy with the Irish church movement, or as serving as an illustration of that inexhaustible resource and dexterity, so characteristic of the great tory captain, when facing defeat, or caught in a *mauvaise passe*.

Succeeding Earl Derby in virtue only of his unrivalled talents for the post, as leader in a cabinet which half disdained him, and which itself existed by sufferance, since it did not command a majority in the house, Mr. Disraeli suddenly found himself confronted with that bugbear of administrations for centuries past, the Irish church. "Like a thief in the night," had he styled the coming of Mr. Gladstone. Not only was an abolition measure sure, at any time, of a popular support, within and without the house, but it was one particularly well devised to effect the disruption of the never too harmonious tory ministry. Mr. Hardy, the home secretary, was ultra conservative; Lord Stanley, if not an unyielding churchman from inheritance, was vulnerable and perplexed, as Lord Cairns was uncertain, and the premier, of all those on the treasury benches, seemed to be the only one properly "educated" for the emergency. Of

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conservatives outside the cabinet, so potent a speaker as Lord Cranbourne, and so respected an authority as Gen. Peel, the one abused the tory chief for his liberality, whilst the other preached pre-Adamite consistency. Opposed to Mr. Disraeli, in coalition with the liberals, the first time since the death of Viscount Palmerston, were the Cobden school and the philosophers. Mr. Bright, who had sneered at Lord Clarendon as incompetent and untrustworthy, was working with him; Mr. Lowe, who had scoffed at the "irresolution, the haste and lack of judgment" of Mr. Gladstone, was following his lead, and Mr. Mill, whose pamphlet * on the Irish land system had been ridiculed by Lord Russell and Mr. Lowe, was now theirs. In newspapers and pamphlets the conservative leader had been soundly rated. The noted letters of Prof. Goldwin Smith, which appeared in the Manchester Guardian, and were rebuked by the Times, and even by the Spectator, for their intemperate personality, though the last mentioned journal had itself compared the premier to Lucifer in its columns, and the rancorous onslaught by a champion of the philosophers, which appeared in the Saturday Review, and other damaging abuse, served to foment popular prejudice against one whose position prevented his answering similar attacks. Keen and earnest adversaries were Earl Russell, who stigmatized Mr. Disraeli's tactics † as deceptive; Lord Cranbourne, who, through jealousy of his party superior, derided him as fickle and unsafe; Mr. Bright, who hammered at him; Mr. Lowe, who was facetious about him; Mr. Mill, who was impetuous and unpitying for him, and Mr. Gladstone, who would have cut his throat sooner than permit an epigram to pop from it—now finally set, who was crowding, ponderous and grave.

And who had Mr. Disraeli to marshal against this brilliant phalanx of coalesced parliamentary talent. In the absence of real aid from Mr. Hardy, who was out of his reach, as he was beyond the question; from Lord Stanley, who had been elo-

* Mr. Mill's "dismissal of the Irish landlords' motion," Mr. Gladstone repudiated in his speech in Parliament of the 30th April last.

† His lordship's various pamplets are here referred to rather than his speeches in the House of Lords.

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quently repudiated by his colleague, the home secretary; from Lord Cairns, who was too biassed as Earl Mayo was too tame, and from others who were palpably defective, Mr. Disraeli seemed to stand, though surrounded, yet alone. Experienced and self-reliant, all this did not appear to daunt him. Public sentiment at the clubs, where it had not cried out adversely, at best was lukewarm, as for a while was the clergy. The liberals had, in some sort, sprung a trap upon him, and the house, to his practised eye, was hopelessly lost to him from the third night's debate. The whole drear certainty of his short lease of hard-earned power was open before the chief minister, as he rose, on the night of the 3d of April, to retort or reply, over the heads of the broken reeds that his friends had proved to be. Quiet, sarcastic and profound, one after the other of those who had assailed him was taken up, guaged and put down in turn, until he reached the solid and absorbing points of the debate, and, in mere respect of daring and skilful oratory, few could read his speech in that sitting, and, understanding the circumstances, not feel one little thrill of admiration for this single brain struggling with a dozen, no matter how unreasonable might be the dogma, its owner and the politician attempted to maintain.

Mr. Gladstone made a few masterly observations, contented to demolish the oratorical edifice of his opponent by a wave of his hand and in pronouncing the studied reasoning of the premier to be the effects of a heated imagination, which sufficed the house as convincing, in its then mood, and they divided on Lord Stanley's amendment with a majority of 60 against the government. The proposition that the House should go into committee on the subject of the Irish church, that Mr. Gladstone might submit his resolutions, was next carried by a majority of 56.

A great but easy victory for the anti-church party was the one just referred to, but it was followed by a confirmation, stronger still, on the 30th April, 1868, when the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions was put to vote. The House, in committee, shortly divided on the first resolution of Mr. Gladstone, adopting it by a majority of 65 against the

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government, which decision was, therefore, firmer than ever by five votes. The ministry, not regarding this vote as equivalent to one of a want of confidence, did not resign, but tendered its resignation to the queen, who refused to accept it, stating that she should dissolve parliament so soon as the state of the public business would permit. Sharp, acrimonious, and menacing were the speeches of some members, disappointed at Mr. Disraeli's retaining office, but no vote of want of confidence was passed, and Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were adopted by the commons.

They were, however, lost in the house of lords on the 29th June, by an adverse majority of 95 on the suspensory bill, into which they had been merged. The session was closed the last of July, and on the 11th November parliament was dissolved. A new parliament was elected during the autumn, with a liberal majority of 105, a significant expression of public opinion since Messrs. Disraeli and Gladstone had gone to the country on the Irish question.

The new parliament was summoned for the 10th December, before which time Mr. Disraeli had resigned. The first assembly, with Mr. Gladstone as premier, took place the 16th February, 1869, and on the 1st March following he introduced his Irish Church bill.

This bill repeats the two objects: 1st, to sever the union between church and state in Ireland, called disestablishment; 2d, to empower the state to seize the property of the church, called disendowment. Once it became the law, the Irish bishops would cease to sit in the house of lords; the privileges of precedence which the officers of the church, from the bishop to the curate, enjoy, would be abated; the ecclesiastical courts would have no further functions, and the laws of the church, instead of being imperial statutes, would degenerate into the rules of a voluntary church body. The measure further defined that all the property of the establishment, nearly 1,500 churches, parsonages, glebes, lands, tithe rent-charges, etc., would be vested in a board of commissioners, provided for in the bill, and such property would remain subject to the life interests of existing incumbents. It was as-

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sumed by the projectors of the bill that before a certain date, which was fixed as January, 1871, the clergy and laity of the established church would have constructed an organization from among themselves to administer the episcopal church of the future, a sort of governing body. On the 1st of January, 1871, then, the clergy of the Anglical church would cease to be state functionaries, and disestablishment completed, there would remain disendowment. The gross revenue of the church was nearly £700,000 a year; but the capital itself was to be dealt with—a sum of about £16,000,000. All state grants would be resumed by the state for subsequent distribution in Ireland. Private endowments, that is gifts from private sources since 1660,* were to be handed over to the governing body, as well as the churches, and glebe lands,† and houses. The computation being that a residue of some £7,000,000 to £8,000,000 sterling would remain in the coffers of government to be disposed of, Mr. Gladstone proposed to devote the larger portion of the income of that capital invested to the support of lunatic and other asylums in Ireland.

The preceeding is an abridged synopsis of the government Irish church measure. We have seen that Mr. Disraeli's scheme of pacifying the admitted religious grievances of Ireland by a "levelling up" system—which meant endowment of catholic, protestant, prelacy and presbyterianism indiscriminately—found little favor in the commons, though it was felt that with religious equality sectarian feuds would come to an end. Mr. Gladstone's disendowment project was denounced in turn, by its adversaries, as being spoliation of the Irish church, of property which had been given to it for ecclesiastical purposes. That six-sevenths of the glebe lands had come from protestant sources, and that the greater part of the church pro-

* An epoch subsequent to the settlement of Cromwell's confiscations of catholic property in Ireland.

† By the Commissioners' Report of 1833, the glebe lands consist of about 133,000 acres, of which 111,000 lie in the protestant parish of Armagh, some of which were portions set apart in the time of James I., (1603–1625,) for the maintenance of a resident clergy. At the time of the Reformation, (1541,) the glebe lands and tithes taken from the monasteries were frequently given and sold to laymen, in whose possession they still are.

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perty had been granted to it long after the Reformation,* was the reply vouchsafed to those who were vehement in asserting the rights of catholics to lands and holdings of which they had been plundered in ages past. It was maintained that what the Irish catholics were clamoring for, was not simply the land in protestant possession, but a complete separation from England and a republican nationality—disestablishment, even followed by disendowment, as a concession to Irish discontent would be futile, and the argument of abolitionists, drawn from expediency, fell to the ground.

On the evening of the 23d March the bill of Mr. Gladstone, was passed by a majority of 118, to a second reading, which secures the measure in the commons, and, with certain modifications in the details, the law resulting. In November preceding the English nation had voted emphatically in favor of the abolition of the Irish church as a principle, and the representatives of the nation now sanctioned the specific policy of Gladstone, Bright and the government.

In about six weeks from the date of its introduction this gigantic and far reaching problem of the Irish church, so fraught with vital import to the country, had been undertaken and (by the division which decided the acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's resolution, on the 30th April, 1868,) virtually disposed of; not, indeed—at all events down to that epoch—with the careful investigation and calm progress befitting the examination of one of the fundamental canons of English government, but rather with what seemed to be a fevered haste on the part of the commons, to ignore a manual which had ruled it for years. The conversion of the Times newspaper and that of Mr. Gladstone—with whom vulgar power was not the sole incentive—were but mildly illustrative of the zeal that appeared suddenly to possess, not only parliament, but the nation, to disavow traditional policy in the shortest possible time. The infatuation—for whatever result was to be reached, all such precipitate repudiations of the natural precepts of generations proceed from infatuation—had likewise gained the conserva-

* Henry VIII, in accepting the Reformation, in 1541, suppressed the catholic monasteries and confiscated property in Ireland, much of which was, however, rendered by Elizabeth twenty years later.—Wakefield's *Ireland.*

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tive ranks. Members of Mr. Disraeli's cabinet were affected by it, and their normal power of resistance was, in a measure, paralyzed. Had Mr. Gladstone's arguments been of the poorest and Mr. Disraeli's invariably of the best, judging from the spirit that soon obtained at the clubs and with the public, and which invaded parliament, the result was a foregone conclusion. Before whig or tory leader had begun his serious pleading—on the night of the third debate, without the tongue of bell—the knell of the establishment had sounded.

During those fierce and bitter wars of words that followed, even the crown itself did not escape indirect reproach, when suspected of heeding the advice of some one outside the ministry (Earl Derby) who would temporize or delay. Impatience marked the prevailing enthusiasm, as did rudeness the speech of wranglers in debate. The "general invective" of Mr. Bright, described by commentators as more like the fury of an enraged woman than the calm scorn of the legislator, and Mr. Gladstone's "ineffably silly strictures" upon the "unparalleled language" of the first minister (Mr. Disraeli), were met by the last named with an "angry challenge" to the member from Birmingham to be precise, and a recommendation to the opposition leader to examine parliamentary records more carefully.

Upon the meeting of the new parliament, in February last, however, the immense preponderance of the ministry, and the moral certainty of an easy passage, to the statute book, of the propositions of Mr. Gladstone, secured greater deliberation and a wiser scrutiny of their details, with an amenity in discussion that before had been often wanting. Political ambition and personal strife were less conspicuous in the foreground of debate. To Mr. Bright was generally ascribed the chief features of the bill brought in by the ministry.* His vast reformatory doctrines, so captivating to the popular mind, do indeed assert themselves upon the face of it. With the member for Birmingham, who had never concealed his dislike even for the church of England as an establishment, were Mr. Mill, the great positivist, who publicly supported, at the hustings, the

* The draft of it, in fact, is to be found in a recent letter of his to Sir John Grey.

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claims to a seat of an avowed atheist,* Mr. Lowe, who contemned history and veneration, and Mr. Gladstone, who, so late as 1865, had by voice and pen strenuously vindicated the church of Ireland—as chief framers of or converts to this important measure. From the inception of the church debate it was plain that circumstances favored any levelling theory. The "Fenian scare" was deemed to require a striking relief, and that long-maturing conviction, of wrongs done in Ireland, in the thoughts of many Englishmen, suddenly ripened to a faith in action and signal reparation. A startled and widespread belief had grown that only extreme men and extreme measures were fitted for the work and hour.

For with unbiased investigation of the latter day history of the Irish church, its more recent inclination to liberality, as a religious institution, the little animosity expressed towards it by the chief Irish agitators and republicans, protestant and catholic, and the few solid reasons advanced for its destruction which had not been urged generations back—this, and recalling that the Fenian fright was at its apex at the time, and recognizing that absolute respect for state and church allowed by even Mr. Bright to be an English and popular tenet—all taken together, we are convinced that the cool conscience of moderate and conservative England inspired the resolutions and concocted Mr. Gladstone's bill.

The destruction of the Irish church will effect much good. More good, doubtless, would have been done had the establishment been levelled a hundred years ago. With deliberation in the discussion now taking place, and in criticising the various provisions of the bill, the law generated from them may be a temperate statute, and in keeping in its nature with the process by which its principles were first adopted.†

* Mr. Mill lost his own seat last November, but he was reputed to have taken an active part in drafting the resolutions which preceeded and germanted the bill.

† Since the above was written the House of Lords has agreeably surprised many by passing the bill to a second reading by a large majority. This may be regarded as sealing the doom of what has been aptly called the Casper Hauser of modern institutions. Those aware of the monstrous injustice done to the catholic Irish by forcing them to support this church in splendor, out of their poverty, for the benefit of the wealthy; or rather for the purpose of furnishing a bribing fund for purchasing the loyalty of the rich and keeping the poor in subjection to England—can hardly wonder that for more than a

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NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

SCIENCE.

Les Mammifères. Par LOUIS FIGURIER. Ouvrage Illustré de 276 Vignettes dessignées pour la plupart d' après l'animal vivant, par Boncourt, Lalaisse, etc.* 8 vo., pp. 596. Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette & Cie. 1869.

The world is beginning to recognize the fact that there is a romance of natural science as well as of history. Scientific facts are no longer looked upon as necessarily dry and uninteresting to the general reader; they are found to be instinct with life and beauty, and worthy of study even from a purely artistic point of view. Poetry no longer ignores scientific discoveries even in what were formerly considered the least interesting departments. Tennyson, one of the most studious and deep-thinking poets of the age, often enriches his pages with images and allusions drawn from the discoveries of contemporary science. When our poets become what Dr. Johnson declared in his *Rasselas*, that they should be, well versed in physical science, and know how to use such truths poetically, they will be more pleasing as well as more instructive than the majority are at present.

Among the French people are many who know how to make physical science attractive, or rather to present scientific truths so that they shall have their legitimate effect, which will always be to combine pleasure with instruction. The author of the volume before us is one of the most successful laborers in this field. "Les Mammifères" is one of a series of volumes, which has done much to popularize zoological science. It is scientific, and at the same time differs greatly from merely technical works. It is, at once, a complete manual for the student of this branch of zoology, and a most attractive volume for the general reader.

The class of mammifers, or *mammalia*, the last and most important of

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century it has been found necessary to maintain an army of 20,000 men in Ireland for the sole purpose of mounting guard on this church, to protect it from the just vengeance of the masses who could regard it only as a badge of conquest—or an insulting remnant of those iniquitous penal laws, which have excited the scorn and elicited the condemnation of every true statesman and philanthropist of modern times.

We are aware that this statement will seem an exaggeration to many; it will seem still more incredible that twenty thousand troops, with bayonets fixed and cannons planted, would not have been sufficient for the purpose, had the people not been restrained by their priests; yet we can testify, as an eye witness, as one brought up in that church, who has never belonged to any other, that such is really the fact: we can also testify that while the priests exerted themselves most vigorously to save the parsons and their empty churches they were called "surpliced ruffians" by some of the very parties who have lately taken such an active part in demolishing the obnoxious institution, chiefly on the ground that no people on earth could be expected to be content or loyal while at once insulted and oppressed by so monstrous an incubus! ED.

* We are indebted to Mr. F. W. Christern, foreign bookseller, Broadway, for the use of the French works reviewed in this department.

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the *vertebrata*, bring us up to the final blending of the brute with the human race. The indications of the several orders are often so imperfectly marked that it is not always easy to distinguish precisely between them. "Natura non facit saltus," said Linnaeus, and through the quadrumanes animals approach so nearly to man that it is not easy to accurately define the limits between us and what we call the brute creation, except by denying to the latter the possession of reason, which it is by no means certain that we have a right to do. The author of this volume attributes to the elephant qualities which we are quite sure many men do not possess:

"Il comprehend la justice, cést-á-dire, qu'il rend le bien pour le bien, et le mal gour le mal." (p. 98).

If every human being would render good for good, and evil only for evil, the world would certainly be better than it is at present. We are not certain that mere intelligence will lead to the conclusion that man is in all respects the highest type of the animal kingdom, differing not in kind but only in degree. Geological researches seem to demonstrate that the animal has developed from the vegetable, and that man is only a step in the progression of the former. The Darwinian theory may be imperfect and erroneous, but it is not absurd. Possibly we shall yet learn that the doctrine of transmigration of souls had a foundation in truth. Life is reproduced in varied and ever-progressive forms, and, if matter, why not also mind and soul?

We have space only to glance at a few of the interesting revelations in this volume. The whale, the largest of the class *cetacea*, and the greatest of contemporary animals, is treated at the length which his importance demands. We are told that whales are often found twenty metres in length, and weighing seventy tons. If they stood on end some of them would out-top one of the towers of Notre Dame. One has been found over thirty-five metres in length, and weighing over one hundred tons. The whale is not, as is vulgarly believed, merely an uncouth mass, remarkable only for its size, but has an organization which when intelligently considered, is found to present features of considerable beauty, and especially of fitness for its purposes. Its scent and hearing are of great acuteness, and enable it to detect odors and to perceive even slight sounds at a great distance. It has been claimed that the whale never sleeps, from the necessity of coming often to the surface to breathe, but our author declares that, "If the whale sleeps, which is certain, its alternating movements are made during slumbers, necessitated by the need of respiration, and are therefore automatic, like the movements of respiration." (p. 35.)

We had marked some interesting passages relating to the narwhal, another animal of the order *cetacea;* also some of a class *amphibia*, especially the walrus and seal. We are obliged to pass over these, however, for want of space, and will turn to the order *pachydermata*, to con-

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sider the largest of land animals, the elephant. The great longevity of this animal has often been spoken of. "In its savage state," says our author, "the elephant of the Indies attains the age of two hundred years, but in captivity he generally does not live longer than one hundred and twenty years," (p. 105). It has been claimed that the elephant cannot lie down, and is obliged to sleep standing, but M. Figurier, tells us that elephants, like horses, can sleep standing, but that ordinarily they sleep lying on the side like most quadrupeds (p. 98). Many interesting anecdotes, showing the wonderful sagacity of the elephant, are given, as also accounts of the methods of capturing and killing these animals. Other *pachyderma*, the rhinocerous and hippopotamus, are graphically treated. We should be glad to give some of the author's accounts of *ruminata* and *carnivora*, with descriptions of lion hunts, etc., did space permit. The engravings in the work are creditable specimens of art, and much superior to the illustrations generally found in English or American scientific publications.

Address Delivered before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Chicago meeting, August, 1868. By FREDERICK A. P. BARNARD, LL. D., President of the Association in 1866, member of the National Academy of Sciences, associate member of the American Academy, etc., etc. Pamphlet, pp. 101. Salem, Mass. Essex Institute Press. 1869.

If there are any that take particular interest in the progress of science who have not read this address, we are sure they will thank us for calling their attention to it. Some months since an edition of it was issued by the Messrs. Appleton, but they took so little pains with it, knowing that "the million" are rather indifferent to scientific investigations, that the number who saw their pamphlet is comparatively few. That now before us is a reprint from their scanty edition, which we are glad has been rendered necessary by a much better demand than they had anticipated.

Our readers are aware that what are called the physical and mental sciences have been making such strides of late that they threaten to absorb almost all the intellectual activity of our time. Spiritual, or moral, science, on the contrary, seems comparatively apathetic. Those who believe in the trinal nature of our being—that its components are physical, mental and moral, and that the latter is the most important, being indeed the one deathless principal, have reason to be dismayed at the disproportionate activity exhibited in the interest of the two former. They see that the present tendency of philosophical speculation is to crush or ignore the spiritual element altogether; that indeed the present fashion in science is extremely realistic and material. If there is any

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fault here, it is chargeable to the advocates of moral science. They have not been so active as they should be in advancing the important interests confided to their charge. It is their duty to reconcile scientific facts with their teachings, or their teachings to the facts, and not, because the two seem to them irreconcileable, to deny or ignore the facts of science altogether. If they cannot succeed in reconciling these facts with their positions, it shows either that their theology is erroneous, or that they are unfit for their places as public teachers.

It is pleasant to see that now and then there is a man who is sufficiently thoughtful and liberal to dare to grasp these questions, and, while admitting all indisputable scientific facts, to see the possibility and to attempt the work of reconciling them with religious dogmas. Such a man is the author of this address.

The pamphlet before us contains a resumé of the recent discoveries in science, followed by a fearless and able discussion of some of the philosophic speculations of the day. There is no attempt to ignore truth because it appears irreconcileable with received tenets, and no special pleading by way of avoiding what cannot be met, and which the author dare not admit for fear that it may demolish some favorite system. Dr. Barnard has the courage to believe that truth must have a free course; he insists upon bringing to the same level all parts of the truth, that the whole may appear in its due proportions. Considering what science has done and how scientific discoveries have been received, and how their importance is frequently ignored, the Dr. says:

"There are a thousand truths, and applications of truths, which, in the day of their novelty, fastened universal attention, but which, having become familiar, and having added to the permanent treasury of knowledge, have at length almost ceased to be remembered as the gifts of science to civilization. Who, for instance, that now uses the electric telegraph, thinks of the slow process of evolution by which, in the hands of Oersted and Ampère and Arago and Henry, the laws of electro-dynamics were gradually unfolded? or of the happy sagacity by which, in the laboratories of Daniell and Grove and Bunsen, the powerful and persistent electro-motors now in universal use were conceived and perfected? or recognizes the fact that but for the combined results of all these labors, this wonderful instrument of communication could have had no existence? Or who that pauses for a moment before the show window of a print-shop in any one of our great cities, and inspect curiously the latest photograph of the pyramids of Egypt, the mountain gorges of California, the glaciers of the polar seas, or the ruins of Mexico or Peru, remembers, if he ever knew, the weary and disappointing toils, protracted through years, by which Daguerre and Talbot and Niepce de St. Victor succeeded at last in permanently fixing the fleeting images of the camera?" (p. 59.)

The recent investigations in astronomy have produced very satisfactory results. An extract will give an idea of the interesting nature of some of these discoveries:

"A very curious question has been agitating the astronomical world for more than a year past, in regard to the asserted disappearance of the lunar crater Linnæus. This crater was described by Mädler as very large, being not less than six miles across, and also as very deep. In the latter part of 1866, it was announced by Dr. Schmidt, of Athens, that it had entirely disappeared and had been replaced by what he described as a whitish spot. Subsequently, within this spot and at its centre, it was further asserted that there appeared a minute, dark point, seen independently by Schmidt at Athens, Secchi at Rome, and Lyman at New Haven, indicating the

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formation of a new crater; and this had apparently grown larger and gradually changed its place. If these observations, which seem as yet to be received by many with reserve, should be confirmed, quite a new interest will be given to that study of the physical aspects of our satellite." (p. 64)

We have not space to follow the doctor as we would gladly do, in his accounts of the important discoveries made in geology, archæology, chemistry and other sciences. His discussion of the tendencies of modern philosophic speculation, in connection with science, seems to us the most important part of the address. Here the author enters the lists fearlessly, in opposition to some of the most renowned philosophical champions of the day. Regarding the positions which he combats, the following extract will give an idea:

"If the law of conservatism of force is therefore to be extended to mental phenomena, the immortality of the soul can no longer be maintained. On this hypothesis indeed man has no soul. Life is but a momentary phenomenon, a carnal condition of matter, to be classed with combustion, incandescence, sound, odor, anything most accidental and evanescent. More than this, the living being, while his brief consciousness endures, is the mere sport of forces foreign to himself." (p. 92.)

Yet again Dr. Barnard is not afraid of truth, however distasteful to his feelings or opposed to his preconceived opinions it may be:

"The business of the philosopher is to follow the trace of truth wherever it may lead. He must not suffer feeling, or preference, or prepossession, or prejudice, for a moment to bias his judgment. If the law of the conservatism of force, rightly interpreted, conducts us of necessity to materialism, we must accept the conclusion, however humiliating we may find it to our pride, or however ruinous to our hopes. To my mind no such necessity exists." (p. 92.)

We have read the doctor's arguments and statements with much pleasure, and not a little profit, and commend to those who wish to get a clear conception of the tendencies of modern thought to carefully peruse his Address.

ETHICS.

The Dance of Modern Society. By W. C. WILKINSON. 16mo., pp. 77. New York: Oakley, Mason & Co. 1869.

We had hoped that the days of puritanism—the modern phariseeism—were passed, that self-righteous judgments of the acts and motives of society had given place to a refined charity. New England, the *dernier resort* and home, in modern times, of this asceticism, seems, after vigorous struggles, to have emancipated herself from the thrall; her chief literary men—Hawthorne, Longfellow and Holmes—have

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painted puritanism in its true colors as a warning to coming times, and a frightful recollection of the past. Recognizing what of honest motive and self-sacrificing devotion to supposed duty there was in this social and religious phenomenon, all who are imbued with any of the true spirit of enlightenment have seen and felt that there could be no real progress while such ideas prevailed; that in attempting to set up a standard of morals directly in conflict with human nature there is more likelihood of crushing out the good in us than of eradicating the evil; that to destroy the weeds in our social garden the best way is not to run through it the ploughshare of destruction, burying flowers and briars together, but that a careful cultivation of the good will in time produce the desired result, as the bad will gradually disappear from an uncongenial soil.

We are still occasionally reminded, by such publications as that before us, that the old age of fanaticism is not altogether done away with, notwithstanding all that has been done to enlighten human kind, from the days of witch burning to the present. There are still, it would seem, believers in the total depravity of human nature—men who think it a sufficient condemnation of any act or custom that it is a pleasure, conscientiously regarding all human inclinations as wiles of Satan, and denouncing damnation upon all who have not the same faith as themselves in infinite wrath and unquenchable brimstone. The world is burdened with too many of this sort of people. What is really very strange is, that almost universally those self-righteous beings who take such pleasure

> "In falling out with that or this,
> And finding somewhat still amiss,"

are pretended followers and advocates of a religion of love, apparently totally unaware that "dealing damnation round the land" is not the mission of a reformer whose creed recognizes love as the fulfillment of all law.

The author of this treatise congratulates himself on being the first vigorously to take up the cudgels in opposition to modern dancing, which he considers one of the greatest social evils of our day. This

> "Warder on the walls of death"

doubtless exults in the thought that he is the first to discover and decry an attack of the enemy of mankind so important as the dance. Hear him:

> "I appear as an advocate, and I shall not attempt to avoid the vehemence of advocacy. I volunteer my office on behalf of several imperilled interests, all of them valuable, and one, at least, vital. It is the cause at once of health, of economy, of the social nature, of intellectual improvement, of morality, that I defend. I undertake to implead the dance in their joint behoof as the common and equal enemy of them all." (p. 6.)

It is astonishing that this great cause, in which *everything* is at stake, had not before found an advocate worthy of it. Where are our divines

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and our philanthropists, that they have so long left this all-important work to be at last discovered and undertaken by our author? He alone, it would seem, has been sent expressly to show up and denounce this source of all evil. The early apostles and fathers had no conception of the immense importance of the subject; they preached against comparatively trivial sins, neglecting this diabolical evil, the root of all others! As to what our author treats of he does not intend to leave us in doubt.

"My readers need none of them be at any loss as to just what I mean. I mean the dance as it flourishes in the most proper and reputable circles to-day." (p. 23.)

If our "most proper and reputable circles" are so vile, there is certainly need enough of reform, and of a voice like this to cry in the wilderness. Our author discusses the dance in its relations to health, to economy, to social tendencies, to intellectual improvement, and to morals and religion. In all these respects it is highly objectionable, as he proves conclusively, at least to his own satisfaction. As the moral and religious aspects of the question are by far the most important we will confine our attention to them. Here is the bill of indictment:

"The dance, then, to say it at once, and plainly, is an immoral amusement—immoral, I mean, in itself. Of course I am not now traversing the statement with which I set out, that dancing in itself is perfectly innocent." (p. 57.)

He confesses that there is an apparent contradiction here, but he proceeds to explain his position, and to show that dancing is innocent, but the dance is immoral; that is, "in a single word, dancing is one thing, and the dance is another!" (p. 58). He admits that dancing may be perfectly harmless under certain conditions, for instance:

"I should have no objection in the world to a dance in which the only participants were children, too young to be *conscious of sex*, and necessarily *incapable of any pleasure in it*, except that of *associated and rythmical motion*." (p. 58.)

"I should have no objection to a dance in which the participants were exclusively males, of whatever age, or to one in which the participants were exclusively females, of whatever age." (p. 59.)

It is the "consciousness of sex," it seems, that makes the dance objectionable, and to be conscious of sex is, according to our author, a great sin. He would permit "brothers and sisters of one household, and the parents and grandparents" to join in the dance. He would, however, exclude "neighbor's children, intimate friends and cousins of every degree." (p. 59.) Yet even in this parlor dancing, as usually practised, there is danger. Neighbors may drop in, and cannot politely be prevented from joining in the dance, and thus the members of the happy family will surely be inveigled to destruction!

"I will not trust myself to speak of this further. My indignation waxes hotter than can well be controlled. I even seem to myself to have contracted some soil from having merely described truthfully what thousands of fellow-Christians, *ignorant of themselves*, practise without swallowing a qualm." (p. 68.)

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It is well to stop when one allows his emotions to reach such a point. We beg leave to express a doubt as to its being indignation that so moves our author, considering the evident tendency of his imaginings. "Shall there be no more cakes and ale because you are virtuous?" or shall men and women be prohibited from indulging in what is to them an innocent amusement because you cannot make it so? Shall those who can engage in the dance without having any corrupting emotions aroused be debarred from it because you cannot? Shall a "consciousness of sex" be condemned because you cannot prevent it from degenerating into gross sensuality? We are sorry for our would-be reformer, and regard him as a fit subject for missionary labor.

Lettres d'un Libre-Penseur à un Curé de Village. Par LEON RICHER, Deuxième Série. 12 mo., pp. 333. Paris: à la Grande Librairie. 1869.

Free-thinking in France has few more daring, and at the same time conscientious, representatives than the author of this volume. The success of the first series of the "Lettres à un Curé," has induced the writer to give the public a second instalment of his liberal opinions upon church and state. The discussions provoked by the former work seem to have stimulated him to take a still bolder and more advanced position, if that were possible. He says in his preface:

"Je continuerai de *ravager les consciences*, sans qu'un seul athelete de la foi m'ait barré le passage." (p. XVI.)

Both catholic and protestant religious systems are criticised as in opposition to progress. There is a freedom in his handling of these topics, which shows that neither the church nor the empire is so determined upon repressing free speech in France as many would have us believe.

The style of the work is concise and vigorous. There is something in it indicative of the discontented reformer; but generally it is calm and logical. The author tells his readers plainly what he thinks is demanded by modern civilization as respects religious systems. Thus, for example, he declares that the people of France are abandoning catholicism, and are menaced by atheism, and he thinks that in this situation it is necessary that they shall adopt a new creed, conformable to the needs and aspirations of modern society.

"Religious as well as political institutions are *pure forms*. They represent, at a given moment, the general idea of a nation. But when the idea changes, it is essential that the representative form shall be modified" (p. 13).

Our churches, the author alleges, do not improve; they are wedded to old ideas in their present attitude. In this condition of things "*L'action individuelle* est pour le moment, je crois, notre unique ressource." (p. 19.) A congress of free-thinkers has been proposed, to

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settle some of the chief questions involved in the effort at religious emancipation, but for this, our author tells us, there is lacking one little thing—liberty. Perhaps it is well; we fear that if the free-thinkers had their way they would be satisfied with no religion. Yet M. Richer is by no means an atheist, nor is he altogether a positivist, although he believes that science is more sacred than theology. While religious men hold that religion is divine and science human, he maintains that science is divine; that in religious systems there is much that is human, but in science nothing. Here is one of his propositions:

"Toute affirmation de l'ordre philosophique ou religieux qui est expressément contredite par la science,—est *fausse*." (p. 29.)

Protestanism he finds little less objectionable than catholicism; "Le protestantisme n'est plus le protestantisme." (p. 313.) That is, the position upon which Luther and Calvin based their attempts at reformation—the right of all men to make conscience their sole guide—is denied by their followers. The principle of catholicism, according to M. Richer, is the immutability of dogma and the inscrutability of matters of faith; but he thinks that protestantism is not less spiritually intolerant respecting what it regards as essential dogmas. Neither permits any individual freedom of opinion in what each chooses to regard as essential points of faith. But if any man, or sect, or synod, has a right to dictate what shall be a person's belief to any extent, there is no saying where this dictation shall end. In this respect, indeed, the catholic doctrine is more rational than the protestant; the latter claims the right to independent opinions, yet denies to the individual the privilege of disbelieving what are considered the orthodox tenets of sects.

We believe that protestants and catholics may be benefitted by carefully weighing the arguments presented in this volume in favor of absolute religious toleration. We do not regard the work as an attack upon religion, nor upon any sect in particular, but as an appeal for freedom and progress.

BELLES LETTRES.

Les Fleurs du Mal. Par CHARLES BAUDELAIRE, Précédés d'une Notice par Théophile Gautier. 12 mo. pp. 410. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1862.

Théophile Gautier, one of the finest literary artists of the day, prefaces this edition of Baudelaire's poems with a loving notice of his friend, the author, giving many interesting personal reminiscences and an appreciative criticism of his writings. Baudelaire, as Gautier confesses, modeled his poetic style, to a considerable extent, after that of Edgar A. Poe, many of whose works he translated into French. He is not altogether a Poe, however, in his verse—we think he is something

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more. There is in both the same love of beauty, as a purely intellectual thing, with an almost entire absence of moral qualities—almost a soulless beauty; there is the same love of the weird and *bizarre;* to some extent the same cynicism. Yet Baudelaire has more sympathy with humanity than Poe, and more natural feeling. The poetic philosophy of both is well expressed in the "Hymn à la Beauté" in this volume.

"Viens-tu du ciel profond ou sours-tu de l'abîme,
O Beauté? Ton regard infernal et divin,
Verse confusément le bienfait et le crime,
Et l'on peut pour cela te compares au vin.

* * * * *

"De Satan ou de Dieu, qu'importe? Ange ou Sirène,
Qu'importe, si tu rends,—fée aux yeux de velours,
Rhythme, parfum, lueur, ô mon unique reine!
L'univers moins hideux et les instants moins lourds?" (p. 116-17.)

Baudelaire is very daring, and treats of things generally considered sacred from an entirely independent point of view. In "Les Litanies de Satan" he indicates that there is something to admire even in this much-denounced personage, because the accounts we have of him attribute to him much grandeur, and many elements of beauty:

"O toi, le plus savant et le plus beau des Anges,
Dieu trahi par le sort et privé de louanges,
O Satan, prends pitié de ma longue misère!" (p. 332.)

The style of Baudelaire is not what is called classic; it is richer and contains more imagination and exuberance of fancy. It is not so simple and natural as that of Béranger; it is apt at first to impress one as obscure, and, to some extent, morbid. He is a fine costumer, and when we fully comprehend his pictures, they are apt to linger in our memory, distinct and ineffaceable. The first piece in this collection, "Benediction," is almost satanic in its indications of the course over which a love of beauty, as the author understood it, leads its votaries. "Le Serpent qui Danse" is another weird and fantastic piece of fancy:

"Que j'aime voir, chère indolente,
De ton corps si beau,
Comme une étoile vacillante,
Miroiter—le peau!" (p. 125.)

He has always a fine sense of physical beauty, and a sense sometimes almost spiritual, as in "Le Parfum."

"Lecteur, as-tu quelquefois respiré
Avec ivresse et lente gourmandise
Ce grain d'encens qui remplit une église,
Ou d'un sachet le musc invétéré?" (p. 141.)

Nature, for herself, our poet seems to care little about; when he pictures her at all he surrounds her with fantastic shapes from the realm of his weird imagination. Yet there is occasionally a natural melody of which

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one of the sweetest is the "Harmonie du Soir." There is a beautifully versified Latin poem, in the measure of the *Dies Iræ*, entitled "Franciscæ meæ Laudes:"

"Novis te cantabo chordis
O nouvelletum quod ludis
In solitudine cordis,
Esto sertis implicata,
O fœmina delicata,
Per quam solvuntur peccata." (p. 181.)

There are a series of poems under the general heading of "Le Vin," showing the effects of intoxication upon different individuals and in a variety of circumstances, as "L'Ame du Vin," "Le Vin des Chiffoniers," "Le Vin d'Assassin," etc. Death also is treated of in various aspects and conditions, as "La Mort des Amants," "La Mort des Pauvres," and "La Mort des Artistes."

Baudelaire is a poet worthy of the study of any literary artist. He does not deserve a high rank as an original poet, but is a pleasing one in his department.

The Brawnville Papers; being memorials of the Brawnville Athletic Club. Edited by Moses Coit Tyler, professor of English Literature in Michigan University. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869.

In the days of its founder, who was a man of education and taste, the imprint of this house was at least presumptive evidence of creditable literature. We are sorry to observe that this day seems to have passed, and that what claims to be the representative house of the "modern Athens" is quite as likely to issue catch-penny works as its less pretentious rivals in more vulgar cities. The name of a college professor is apt to give the general reader an impression of profundity, and elevation above ordinary criticism, but we are compelled to say, for truth's sake, to those who have this idea that it is too frequently without warrant. Those who think that the name of a professor of English literature in a western "university" on the title-page of a book is sufficient assurance of respectability in the contents, have something to learn. The great west is too great in area, and too large for its age, to have all its needs supplied satisfactorily at once. Alas! we know of quacks in science who have obtained "state" positions, and the merest smatterers who have succeeded in getting "chairs" in colleges. We know nothing of Professor Tyler's abilities as a teacher; we hope, and are willing to believe, that they are good. But while he may be a man of great attainments in learning, for aught we know, this book is certainly not a fortunate vindication of his taste in English literature.

Among the manias of the day, "physical culture" has attained a marked prominence. It has become a passion with certain persons who

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seem to think an appearance of strength and vigor, even physical, is as good as the reality—that to talk of what suggests energy is as good as to have genuine mental stamina. Taking advantage of the popular notion, a number of persons have conquered fame—or what passes for such among us—and secured considerable fortunes, with Indian clubs, dumb bells, and other calisthenic weapons. The fancy has even invaded the pulpit, and we hear much of "muscular Christianity," as the highest development of the doctrine of the non-resistent Galilean yet known. We are not called upon at this time to comment upon gymnastic theology, but we protest most earnestly against athletic literature of the sort displayed in this volume. Light or heavy gymnastics, calisthenics, movement and lifting cures, etc., may be good things, and we are certainly in favor of proper physical training; but if this is a favorable specimen of its literature, we should prefer that its glories should remain unheralded and unsung, except in advertisements of rival systems and in "treatises" of quack doctors.

The papers here collected into a volume were originally prepared for the "Herald of Health," a publication devoted to the dissemination of certain rather peculiar views of medical science; it had been better, we think, had they been allowed to sleep in the pages of the periodical for which they were written. The work is prefaced with a number of quotations from Bacon, Seneca, Emerson, *et al.* It gives an account of the endeavors made to found a gymnasium in a New England village, the arguments *pro* and *con* of those interested, and the workings of the institution. It contains much heavy argument on the subject of physical culture, but most of it is designed to be facetious. There are abundant specimens of the Yankee dialect, which, with certain writers, is of itself presumed to answer for humor, though it is really the most uncouth and humorless speech existing. There are stale jokes rehashed as original, and we find much slang, which is designed to pass for wit. A specimen or two out of pages that might be quoted will answer:

"If this odd genius were not so extremely odd a genius; if he were what Mr. A. Ward calls an 'ornary cuss,' I would not take the trouble of another attempt to draw him out of his shell." (p. 17.)

"What event in the life of clubs or of men can be of greater importance, or of more precarious fortune, than getting born? Well, since I last wrote, our club has had that experience. It has actually been and gone and got born! It *is*." (p. 85.)

We hope these are not specimens of the sort of English taught in Michigan University. Much of the volume is in verse—some intended to be humorous, some serious. First for a dash of wit:

"Alas! what did my courage break,
And all my proud ambition shake,
And tempt me learning to forsake?
It was—ah me! the stomach-ache!" (p. 97.)

Is not that brilliant? Is it not worthy of a western university professor? Oh, shade of Ticknor! Compare it with Mr. Field's own "poetry."

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It must be admitted there is some resemblance; and then be it remembered that a "fellow-feeling" sometimes makes even publishers "wondrous kind!" Our author's lyrical effusions are equally remarkable. For example, take the opening stanza of "The Song of the Gymnasts."

> "Now gymnasts strong, *lift we high* a song
> For our art and its triumphs glorious,
> That leads the van for the health of man,
> And is over ills victorious." (Ib.)

It must be an uncommonly strong gymnast who could "lift" such a song to its extraordinary height of sublimity. The clergy get some fearful hits from the club of our gymnastic professor, *e. g.*:

> "So now many a parson by greenbacks well hired
> From the Gospel's high message of happiness swerves;
> And with toil, and with prayer, and with tea-parties tired,
> Drones away at such gospel as can be inspired
> By bad air, soda-biscuit, and worry-worn nerves." (p. 173.)

There is quite a long *satirical* poem, entitled "Appollo and the Merchant of Athens," (the Modern Athens, we presume), of which two or three specimens, selected nearly at random, will serve:

> "The fact is, friend, my gov., old daddy Jove,
> Moping with Juno round the kitchen stove,
> Doles out his greenbacks with a mean attention
> To rules it would disgust his son to mention." (p. 174.)
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "I need a doctor?—yes, the one whose pills
> Would cure me of—so many unpaid bills." (p. 175.)
>
> * * * * * *
>
> "Excuse me, sir, but waiving common rule,
> I would just state that you are one —— fool!" (p. 178.)

The publishers of this book should give Prof. Tyler a commission to write a volume of verse to keep up their reputation of being the original fountain of Castalia in America. The author has appended to his work a carefully prepared index, doubtless to facilitate the labors of students in referring to choice specimens of English literature in the volume.

Stories in Verse. By HENRY ABBEY. 16mo., pp. 128. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co., Publishers. 1869.

We do not remember to have met the name of Mr. Abbey before in literature; if this is his first effort, we cheerfully concede that he has no reason to be ashamed of it. He gives his book a modest title, and does not bring forward his own personality in his verse as a subject in which the public are presumed to be interested. His stories are well constructed, and two or three of them exhibit considerable inventive power. The first story, "Blanche," reminds us somewhat of Tenny-

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son's "Maud;" it has originality, but in some of its parts comes very near being an imitation. For instance the stanzas headed "A Rival," (pp. 22–23,) will remind those acquainted with "Maud" of something very similar in that poem. "Karagme, an African," and "The Strong Spider," have some striking points. There are some passages in the volume of which any amateur might be proud.

"Violets! violets! violets!
Children of sun and of dew,
Flakes of the blue of the sky,
There is somebody calling to you
Who seems to be longing to die." (p. 2.)

"Each day he worked upon the cotton-field,
And every bell he picked had thought in it." (p. 29.)

"Now through the mighty pulses of the land
Throbbed the dark blood of war; and Sumter's guns
Were the first heart-beats of a better day." (p. 45.)

Sometimes he catches a beautiful thought, and seems loth to let it go, but stamps its image repeatedly upon his paper in varied forms.

"Syringa, naught your odor tells,
Or whispers that I cannot hear;
Speak out, and tell me where she dwells,
In perfume accents, loud and clear." (p. 4.)

"Among the breeze-rung lily bells." (p. 5.)

The foundation of this thought is borrowed from Horace Smith's lines:

"Each flowing bell that swingeth
And tolls its perfume in the passing air."

Yet we by no means accuse our author of plagiarism; he has merely borrowed a beautiful idea, as he has a perfect right to do, and has used it as an illustration under modified forms. The germ of the same idea may be found in Shelley's "Sensitive Plant," where he says:

"Music is delicate, faint, and intense,
'It was felt like an odor within the sense."

But the same fancy might be traced to Euripides or Eschylus, for modern literature is mostly a reproduction of old thoughts under new forms. Whether an author borrows intentionally, or merely happens to catch the same thought that has been captured by some preceding writer, matters little if the idea is in itself beautiful. Mr. Abbey seems to have a fine sense of the delicate charm of odors, as his pleasing stanzas entitled "Heliotrope" (p. 25,) testify.

The verse in this volume is generally smooth, and sometimes musical. Yet there are some awkward lines, as

"There was a soft, Madonna look about her eyes" (p. 95;)
"There comes no premonition now to show to me" (p. 111;)

which, being Alexandrices in the ordinary decasyllabic blank verse, are blemishes, probably the result of carelessness. In

"Among the books that I had bought myself,
I found the Bible, this to peruse
I soon essayed," (p. 117,)

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the second line is wretched; none of it is poetry. Our author too frequently permits his verse to degenerate into commonplace or something worse.

> "So men are, they do not vary much, the level of mankind,
> What one lacks the next possesses; there are faults enough in all." (p. 68)
> "I said that few could exculpate the past." (p. 85.)
> "Most human calculations end in loss,
> And every one who has a plan devised,
> Is like a foolish walker on a rope." (p. 102.)

We point out these faults for the author's benefit, hoping that he will be more careful in future if he extends his literary labors. On the whole we think his errors more than compensated by what there is really praiseworthy in the volume. The author seems to be a careful student, a clear thinker, and a conscientious literary artist. In a day which produces so much of absolute rubbish, and among a generation which has lately gone into raptures over Mr. Morris's "Jason" and "Earthly Paradise," we think that an honest word of encouragement should not be witheld from Mr. Abbey.

Aspects of Humanity, brokenly mirrored in the Ever-Swelling Currents of Human Speech. 12mo., pp. 55. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

This is intended to be a profound philosophical treatise in verse, a method of treatment which we imagine no real poet would adopt for such a subject, even had he not read what De Quincy says of the absurdity of "reasoning in verse." Philosophic poetry has become quite common of late, brought into notice and importance by the names of a few who have gained some distinction as philosophers, though they are not poets. It was said long ago, and has been repeated by Shelley and others, that nothing should be said in verse which can be equally well expressed in prose. Certainly, profound philosophy, and especially metaphysical speculation, can be much better expressed in prose then in verse. We do not hesitate to say that verse which is merely philosophic is not poetry at all—nor, in saying this, have we forgotten Pope's "Essay on Man." We believe that all lovers of poetry have as great a horror of merely didactic verse as Shelley expressed.

The verse in this work comprises not half the bulk of the volume. We have a long preface, in which the author's philosophy is explained. Then there is an appendix, in which an effort is made to fortify the verse-utterances by quotations from biblical writers, divines, philosophers and poets. If an array of distinguished names and quotations from acknowledged authorities could suffice for the purpose, our author would take high rank among poets. But he tells us that the object of these quotations is "to corroborate the import of some particular passages, as

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well as to facilitate their comprehension, and to secure the whole from the imputation of novelty."* There is certainly need enough for aid to "facilitate the comprehension" of the passages referred to; and the author has effectually succeeded in securing his work from the "imputation of novelty," or originalty—in matter at least. We are told of this work in the preface, that "its character and import may be styled, essentially and predominantly, theological." (p. 7.) The nature of these speculations, which the author himself declares are not new, may *perhaps* be inferred from the following extract:

"In the chain of simultaneous phenomena which are engaged in and constitute any instance of that intercourse between the human soul and the material world, which is exhibited in the processes which we call perception, on the one hand, and conscious action on the other, it must be obvious that any separate link of either process, except the extremely external, or impersonal, and the extremely internal, or personal, may be contemplated in two opposite aspects, from two contrary directions. Whilst the wholly external thing, or fact is, in the language of metaphysics, pure *object*, and the precipient or acting soul pure *subject*, the intervening links—that is, the modification of the organ of sense, or of conscious motion, that of the cerebral centres, and also (it is assumed) that of the precipient or acting soul itself—may be contemplated either as *objective* or *subjective* phenomena, according as they are viewed from without, analytically and as separate facts, or from within, in their natural synthesis, as necessary parts of a single whole." (p. 10.)

We hope our readers find this statement luminous. If so, perhaps they will be prepared to examine the poem for a versified exposition of the philosophy of which this purports to be an explanation. We have heard of a man so willing to be convinced that he would listen to any pious, godly person who would undertake to demonstrate that two and two make five; those who find good sense and poetry in the above will doubtless be willing to read the verses in which this metaphysical system is more fully set forth. There might be a pertinent inquiry as to the necessity of versifying what has been so clearly stated in prose, and by able writers whose thoughts our author confesses he has borrowed. But if he disclaims originality in matter, he certainly deserves credit for it in his poetic style. Read and be convinced:

"For so the *aqueous aid* descends,
No mere facility,
Imbued with food of subtle form
And sheer fertility,
Extract persistent, sages say,
Of living things of old,
By transit through the nether clay
In vernal growths *engouled*,
And garnered, as they fleet away,
Within the harvest's gold." (p. 21.)

The "aqueous aid" and "extract persistent," our readers must be informed, refer to the rain. Could the "aqueous aid" speak it would doubtless complain, like Mrs. Quickly, that it was never called so before. For original and startling expressions our author is at least equal to Shakspeare. For example:

"In *complex fusion confluent*.

* Preface, p. 12.

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* * * *

Thus FANCY robes with timely grace,
Each earnest mental toil;
Her *modes unvampt* have vital place,
To lure and not beguile." (p. 23.)

Another specimen of versified wisdom will, we hope, suffice:

"Association, sympathy—
These chiefly give true zest:
And similar its history,
However else confessed." (p. 25.)

We have been puzzled to guess what manner of man it may be who can write and publish such a book as this. He is not at least a juvenile versifier, though he must be very inexperienced. We do not doubt that he is honest, and believes that he can be of service to the world by putting the thoughts contained in this volume into verse. His prose and his philosophic researches show that he has talents which, were they rightly directed, might be made serviceable. Had we not believed this we should not have taken the trouble to notice the volume. We consider it one of the strangest "aspects of humanity" that a person of any cultivation should have undertaken such a work. The author has evidently a mania for metaphysical speculation. We think it likely that his taste has been corrupted and his ambition fired by the reading of certain modern philosophers and would-be poets, who have gained some fame by their performances. He is not over-confident of the result of his experiment, however, for he declines, at present, to give the world his name. Believing him to be honest, to be youthful, and to have been led astray by older malefactors, whose productions have been highly eulogized by the society of mutual admiration to which they happened to belong, we dismiss him with the earnest and really friendly advice to "sin no more."

BIOGRAPHY.

Portraits de Femmes Françaises du XVIII. *et du* XIX. *Siecle.* Par IMBERT DE SAINT-AMAND. Paris: F. Amgot, Libraire-Editeur. 1869.

This is a very interesting volume, giving biographical notices and criticisms of character of several of the most noted women of modern France. There are more celebrities among women in France than in any other country, whether it is because ladies there have more claims to distinction than elsewhere, or because the gallantry of the men more readily concedes to them a place among notabilities. Yet in France one hears much less than in England or America about "woman's rights."

Those whose portraits are here given are nearly all creditable speci-

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mens of French women and distinguished ladies. The list includes the Marchioness de Pompadour, Marie Antoinette, the Princess de Lamballe, Charlotte Corday, the Marchioness de Montagu, the Empress Josephine, and others. The portraits are all graphic, though generally the accounts in this volume do not add much to our knowledge of the characters treated. Of Madame de Pompadour we have an account differing in some respects from our preconceived notions of that remarkable woman. We are told that she comprehended her position:

"Madame de Pompadour avait de l'intelligence et de l'esprit, c'est dire qu'elle ne pouvait se méprendre sur la vraie nature de son rôle, et que si adulée qu'elle fût, elle sentait à chaque pas combien sa position était fausse." (p. 52.)

Of Louis XV. it is interesting to be informed that "Chose bien à observer, Louis XV. avait de la religion à sa manière," (p. 61). If this king had religion in his manner, it is doubtless safe to say that it did not penetrate below the surface. We might, perhaps, doubt the acuteness of the observer who discovered this cloak of piety.

We have a graphic picture of the "Trois Femmes de la Revolution," the Princess de Lamballe, Charlotte Corday, and the Marchioness de Montagu. One was a voluntary victim to her love for Maria Antoinette, the second sacrificed her life to save France from tyranny, the third, less remarkable, but scarcely less worthy, spent her latter years in exile and poverty. Of the Princess de Lamballe, one of the loveliest characters of that bloody period, and one whose fate has excited a great amount of well-bestowed sympathy, we are told:

"Entre le charactère et le visage de Madame de Lamballe il y avait une harmonie complète Le Prince de Ligne la jugeait en un mot: Elle est aussi bonne que jolié, disait il. * * Tout son esprit était dans son coeur." (p. 141).

Charlotte Corday appears in some respects a more heroic character, yet she does not so greatly excite our sympathy. She ranks in heroism with Joan of Arc, but does not receive the world's approval like the more womanly characters of whom history now and then takes account, who suffer without inflicting wrong. The author of this volume does not approve the assassination of Marat. He declares sententiously, "Un coup de poignard est une usurpation," (p. 147).

The account of the Empress Josephine is one of the most interesting studies in the volume. We have been told of late, by some one, that the widow of Beauharnais courted Bonaparte in a very coquettish fashion; in short, to use a fashionable colloquialism, "set her cap for him." As to the exact nature of this courtship we doubt if history will ever inform us beyond peradventure, nor do we believe that it is necessary to the happiness of mankind or for the guidance of future lovers that it should do so, though from the discussions of certain French writers one might think that few subjects could be of more importance. We have here a bit of generalizing wisdom on the subject of love, and a

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particular declaration respecting the relations of Napoleon and Josephine:

"Il est rare que deux êtres humains s'aiment d'un egal amour; la balance penche toujours d'un côté on d'un autre. Dans le début du marriage de Napoleon, c'est assurément de son côté qu'est la plus grande somme de tendresse." (p. 254.)

This declaration is fortified by extracts from Napoleon's letters to Josephine, and by circumstances claimed to be of undoubted historical accuracy. The sketch of the Marchioness de Lafayette is very interesting, and will be read by Americans with pleasure. The book is a valuable contribution to literature, and furnishes interesting studies of female characters.

HISTORY.

Histoire Générale de la Musique depuis les Temps les plus Anciens jusqu'à nos Jours. Par F. J. Fetis. Tome Premier. 8vo., pp. 527. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie. 1869.

M. Fètis, who is "Maitre de Chapelle de Roi des Belges," and director of the Royal Conservatory of Music at Brussels, some time ago published a "Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique." This work has been recognized as one of the most valuable of its kind extant. He has undertaken to prepare a complete history of music, of which this volume is the first instalment. What proportions it will finally reach the author does not inform us, but considering the ground traversed in this volume we judge that it will be a quite extensive as well as very learned work.

Following several distinguished modern *savants*, as Renan, Grimm, and Max Müller, our author takes the ground that song and language were spontaneous and instinctive revelations to humanity. He goes farther, however, than other philologists, and gives it as his opinion that "modulation of vocal sounds, based upon the accentuation of language, comprised, in the earliest times, whatever was most expressive and most intelligible in the articulation of words, because the intonations of the voice, always analagous to sentiments and the passionate movements of the soul, would naturally be understood before every other element of communication." (p. 2.)

Who was the inventor of music, would be an absurd question, yet our author entertains it so far as to point out the impossibility of answering it, and showing that spontaneous production in music preceded, by a great length of time, historical tradition.

"Par la même raison, on n'a pas à se demander si le chant des oiseaux ou des bruits naturels n'en ont pas fourni le modèle. Bizarre anomalie d'un poëte materialiste, Lucrèce méconnait la noble origine de l' art lorsqu' il dit en vérsie harmonieux, &c." (p. 4.)

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He then gives a French translation of the lines of Lucretius:

"At liquidas avium voces imitarier ore
Ante fuit multo, quam laevia carmina cantu
Concelebrare homines possent, auresque juvare, &c." *

Europeans and their descendants show the greatest aptitude for music. Savage races have the physiological conformation necessary to perceive the sensation of sound and to understand the difference in intonations, but their sentimental and intellectual operations are confined within too narrow limits by reason of their inferior cerebral conformation to enable them to attain excellence in music. They remember sounds, and have the faculty of reproducing them by the voice in singing as well as in speaking, but always imperfectly. Hence it happens that their tones always consist of a limited number of known sounds, which are rarely raised above the *quarter*, and this, with the sterility of their imaginations, causes the striking monotony observable in all the musical compositions of savage nations. Their songs are seldom modified, and have probably been the same from age to age, because progress is impossible with them. We have an instructive account of music and musical instruments among savage tribes, in Africa and with the Chinese. Among the Malay, or yellow races, the arrangement of notes to the scale is such that the semi-tones are never employed. The Chinese in theory give the octave twelve semi-tones, yet

"Il n'existe pas un air, pas une phrase de mélodie, où l'on trouve l'emploi des deux demi-tons de la gamme européene, *mi-fa* et *si-ut*, dans toute la musique de la Chine, ainsi que dans celles des antres peuples de la race jaune." (p. 57.)

The history of music seems to be a valuable aid in settling some important anthropological questions. For instance, there might be a question regarding the guarantees for the identity of the peoples who are claimed as offshoots of the white race. Leibnitz and Klaproth claimed that affinity of languages is the only test. Others have declared that proofs are furnished by analogy of conformation, physical and moral, similarity of fundamental ideas upon which repose the forms of religion, and historical traditions. M. Fétis claims that another fact not less important goes to show the identity of this race and the affiliation of all the peoples which have issued from it. This is "the agreements which exist in the conceptions of musical systems among these nations, agreements not less definite than those of language, and which are the basis of the history of that art in all its determinations and deductions." (p. 180.) Regarding the condition of musical art among the nations of Europe in barbarous times we have this interesting statement.

"Further than this, we should form an entirely false opinion regarding the first aggregations of sounds which the history of harmony presents, if we should be persuaded that they have any correspondence with what is designated by that name in modern music. If the fact of the

* *De Rerum Natura*, lib v.

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simultaneous association of sounds is worthy of our whole attention, because of the country and the age which produce it, it is by its originality that it merits our interest, for the aggregations in themselves, and, above all, their strange successions, torture the ear. This circumstance, barbarous like the time which produced it, does not constitute an art; but in the course of time, the thought from which it proceeds is seen to become the basis of a real art of harmony; it is that thought which appears to belong to the descendants of the Scythians." (p. 164.)

A considerable portion of this volume is devoted to Hebrew music, whose history presents many difficulties. "There remains of the Hebrew people," we are told, "only a sacred book, a country barren of monuments, and individuals scattered over the face of the earth without political ties, and speaking different languages." (p. 369.) A discussion of the term *selah*, found in the Old Testament, is quite interesting. A number of authorities are cited, all of whom differ in their theories respecting the use of the word. A learned German regards *selah* as an expression of jubilation equivalent to *hallelujah;* another supposes it equivalent to the Italian *da capo*, signifying that the strain is to be repeated from the beginning. The Jewish doctor David Kimchi believed that *selah* was a sign for an elevation of the voice. Others have regarded it as a direction for the instruments; still others as a musical rest. La Borde declared it to have the same signification as the Italian *smorzando*, &c. After collecting all these specimens our author declares:

"All these efforts to discover the true signification of the word *selah*, so many suppositions lightly hazarded, so much serious labor of philologists justly celebrated, have resulted, as has been seen, only in uncertainty." (p. 409).

The volume is embellished with engravings of musical instruments and with specimens of music, both of which add much to its attractiveness and value. We consider it an important contribution to musical science.

HENRY JARVIS RAYMOND.

Just as we close the last sheet of our present issue we are deeply pained to hear of the sudden and untimely death of Mr. Henry Jarvis Raymond, chief editor of the New York Times. Under different circumstances it would have afforded us a melancholy pleasure to give our impressions in full—enlivened, perhaps, by some personal reminiscences—of the useful and honorable career of Mr. Raymond. As it is, we are compelled to confine ourselves to the briefest and most hurried expression of our sorrow, reserving for a future day the more elaborate tribute of friendship and esteem to departed worth.

Mr. Raymond was for many years one of the leading journalists of this city, and he was acknowledged, even by his most jealous rivals, to be a credit to the editorial profession. His influence upon the newspaper literature of the country was very considerable, and it was exclusively salutary. He had received a classical training in his youth, and its re-

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fining effect was always perceptible both in his character and his writings. He united dignity with suavity, firmness with moderation. From his position he was almost necessarily engaged to a considerable extent in political contests; but he never sank the man in the partisan.

In conflicts induced by newspaper rivalry, the gentleman always controlled the expressions of the journalist. Possessed of a vigorous and clear intellect, his opponents ever found him an adversary who elicited their best powers; yet all were constrained to respect him for his candor, fairness, and courtesy. He was a fluent and graceful public speaker; his manner was unassuming, and his style, though chiefly conversational, was generally brilliant and forcible. But what was better than elegance of diction or logical acumen, every one felt that his utterances proceeded from honest conviction.

In private life Mr. Raymond was unobtrusive, but eminently sociable; while his conversation, though devoid of the slightest tinge of affectation, showed the effect of classical culture, and habits of earnest thought. With intimate acquaintances he was always frank and agreeable, and the impression left by personal intercourse with him was that he was worthy of all confidence and respect.

Time seemed scarcely to have commenced the work of undermining Mr. Raymond's physical constitution, while his intellectual faculties appeared to be in full vigor. But the strong man was compelled to obey the unexpected summons of the destroyer, affording another sad illustration of the feebleness of man's mortal part, even when it seems most vigorous and enduring—

"Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula."

APPENDIX.

Insurance Reports and other documents issued during the quarter ending June 16, 1869.

An ancient Brahmin has defined that portion of the public on which the charlatans and sharpers have to depend for their success as, a ruminating animal that is both deaf and blind, and almost entirely destitute of the faculty of memory, but is endowed with a faith sufficient to remove, at least a certain kind of mountains. And yet, the philosopher tells us, it is a peculiar faith—a faith not in truth but in falsehood. This is not very complimentary to the public. Perhaps the public has offended our Brahmin, and he is actuated by malice. But is his charge true? If it is it must be admitted, on reflection, that the motive which prompted him to make it is a matter of only secondary consideration.

Most persons have heard of the individual who, on being placed in the dock on the charge of robbing his neighbor's hen-roost, fancied he had fully vindicated himself when he told the judge, with an air of in-

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jured innocence, that there would not have been a word about the whole affair, only that he refused to share the hens with the person now swearing against him! The judge informed him that it was unfortunate, if true, that the witness was so greedy and vindictive, but that this did not make the crime of plundering the roost anything the less reprehensible or disgraceful; nor should it lessen the punishment.'

Unfortunately the hen man is not the only malefactor who is ready to cry out "spite," "malice," &c., when his operations are denounced; it is, perhaps, still more unfortunate that it is not alone the Hindoo public that is deaf, blind and destitute of memory, and whose faith is in the shadow rather than the substance. It is very unpleasant to say that no people in the world are more easily imposed upon than our own, but the worst of it is that it is true. Nowhere else does quackery flourish as it does with us. Who can deny that the illiterate, ignorant quack has in general a hundred patients for every one who applies to the educated, skillful physician. It is true that the latter also sometimes gets as many patients as he can well attend to, but this is the exception, not the rule. What the physician gains by long years of study and research, and the skillful application of the knowledge thus acquired, the quack gains without either study or research, by impudence and false representation.

That thousands of our people are annually put to death by the quack doctors is beyond question; but it is equally true that thousands of our people are annually robbed by quack insurers. In one department as well as the other there are men who thoroughly understand their duties and are as thoroughly honest. Indeed, it rarely happens that those who fully study their profession are otherwise than honest; in nine cases out of ten it is those that are too lazy to study that betake themselves to cheating. It is almost needless to say that this class have no love for any profession for its own sake, and that they choose, not what they think themselves best qualified for, but what will afford them most opportunity to cheat. There is no profession that affords such ample opportunities of imposing on public credulity as that of life insurance, and accordingly it is overburdened by sharpers. This ought to be no news to the public by this time, were it not that the definition of the Brahmin is but too true, since it has been demonstrated in a thousand forms, and in the most public manner, that the lowest class of "gift enterprises" are honest and reliable institutions compared to certain insurance companies.

Yet we do not agree with those who say that the profession or business of insurance is disgraced by this means. It would be quite as logical and reasonable to say that the medical profession is disgraced because there are ignorant, unprincipled persons who call themselves doctors, and pretend to cure all manner of diseases. But what intelligent or sensible man esteems the educated, skillful physician any-

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thing the less on this account? Nay, does he not value his services all the more? For the same reasons, the qualified, faithful physician never feels offended when quackery is denounced; those who are offended betray their own spuriousness by the very fact; they show that although they may have happened to get a good name among a certain class, it was not legitimately earned!

If the memory of the public were not quite as bad as the Hindoo philosopher represented, it would be needless for us to show at this time, in order to be just, that there are true underwriters as well as true physicians. We yield to none in our confidence in some physicians whom it is our privilege to know; there is no money we would pay more cheerfully than the fee of such. We would not hesitate to pay them three times as much as we would those of doubtful reputation, if, indeed, we would have the services of the latter at any price. And we have just the same feelings in regard to different classes of underwriters. To some we would pay our money with as much confidence in its safety as if we were depositing it in the National Park Bank. We should feel that what we put in the latter would as surely go to our widow, if we died to-morrow, as if we had given a check for the amount; and yet we could not have more confidence in our bank-book than in the policy of an insurance company which we know to be of the right stamp. That there are not many such is but too true; probably not more than a dozen out of a hundred and fifty. In general we regard the new brood now springing up like *fungi*, with suspicion, and we think it will be found in due time that we are right; many will discover the fact when it is too late.

But this is no reason why all that are young should be condemned. Youth, by itself, should excite no prejudice; if the parentage and associations are good, we should rather be prepossessed in favor of youth; and that there are youth of this character among our insurance companies, though in a very small ratio, we do not merely admit in general terms; we mean to record some of their names before we close, not doubting but in their case also we shall be able to remind our readers seven years hence, should we live so long, that although we make no pretensions to the prophetic gift, we have made some predictions which time has fully verified.

We have never pretended, however, to be infallible; on the contrary, we are always willing to admit that there are a thousand things of which we are ignorant. Accordingly, we have sometimes made mistakes, but never have done so in a single instance without making the *amende honorable*, as soon as we discovered we had done injustice to any one. Thus, for example, before we had the pleasure of being acquainted with the management of the Knickerbocker Life, we had been led to form an erroneous opinion of it; but we soon found that those from whom we had obtained our information were interested parties, who could not forgive the Knickerbocker officers for possessing qualities and qualifica-

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tions which they lacked themselves, namely, superior intelligence, politeness, urbanity, good humor, etc., etc. In short, we were led to believe in this manner that the president of the Knickerbocker was rude-sulky, etc.

It so happened just then that somebody knocked down Winston, of the Mutual Life, in his own office, for his offensive rudeness. Supposing that the information we had received from the secretary and president of another company was correct, it was quite natural that in commenting on the little mishap of Winston we remarked that something similar might occur at the Knickerbocker office. But we soon found that we might as justly have compared Lord Chesterfield to Tom Hyer, or Yankee Sullivan. The gentleman to whom we unintentionally did this injustice has never said one word to us on the subject, directly or indirectly; we have never known him to allude to the circumstance. This shows more on his part than we feel disposed to say, for we do not like what has even the semblance of flattery. It is not strange that the parties who thus misinformed us could never forgive the slightest criticism on themselves. This has ever been the characteristic of a small, base mind, whereas the opposite is the characteristic of an enlarged and generous mind. Yet we must not blame them too much; it is but their nature,

> "Born too low to reach to things sublime,
> 'Tis rather their misfortune than their crime!"

The student of history need not be reminded of a certain sovereign, of the Dagobert species, who, in his brutal rage, had the hand that penned a criticism on him, which was but too just, chopped off on the block with the hatchet. The same student will doubtless remember the course of the celebrated Cardinal Mazarin, who wielded the power of the greatest monarch of his time. A poor, obscure scholar, named Quellet, wrote a satire on the cardinal in the Latin language. The cardinal could have immured him in a dungeon for ever; but instead of doing him the least injury, he made him comfortable for life. As soon as he read the criticism he sent for the author, who thought his doom was sealed. The cardinal asked him mildly how he had offended him; Quellet, thus reassured, replied frankly that he had slighted him in bestowing his patronage. The cardinal made ample amends for this; and from that forth he had no friend more warmly attached to him than Quellet. Mr. Lyman never offered to make us any "amends," nor have we ever asked him. The truth is, that he had no amends to make; that was our part, since it was we who wronged him, though without intending to do so. We make this remark only because it is so much the habit at the present day to ascribe the good as well as the bad to unworthy motives. We need only add on this subject, that even Mazarin was not more successful in contributing to the greatness and glory of France, than Lyman has been, with the aid of his well chosen, able

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assistants, in placing the Knickerbocker in a position which excites the jealousy even of its most honorable and energetic rivals.

Our readers are aware that the New York Life is one of the very few companies whose character we mistook at the outset. No good could arise from our mentioning here the circumstances which led us to form a very favorable opinion of it. Suffice it to observe, that such was our impression of it once that we were very unwilling to believe it would be guilty of conduct sometimes attributed to it by its policy-holders. Even now it may be entirely worthy of all the long eulogies which it receives in certain journals, although it is said that those eulogies are prepared in its own office by a person whose exclusive business it is to do that sort of work. We have, however, one little "notice" now before us which was evidently not got up in that way; and we think our readers will hardly differ with us on this point when they read the following:

"THE IRON CLAD IN INSURANCE.—A gentleman of Alabama, who had been insured in the New York Life, and had paid his premiums regularly during a period of twelve years before our civil conflict, applied in the course of the summer after the war was over, to Mr. Morris Franklin, president of the company, for a renewal of his policy. That official blandly informed him that if, in addition to paying up all back premiums due, he would take an oath that he had *never aided or abetted the rebellion*, the policy would be renewed, not otherwise. As the applicant had been engaged on the Confederate side, this was impossible, and consequently the aggregate payments of twelve years were swamped. Incredulous people will stare when they hear of this little incident, but we are prepared to furnish names and dates for those who are curious in such matters, and if additional cases, almost identical, are desired, we can furnish them on short notice."

This we cut from the "Baltimore Underwriter," a journal devoted exclusively to insurance; but, very unlike the insurance papers in general, it is conducted by a man of education and talent, and we think we may add that he evidently combines courage and energy with those qualifications. We beg leave, however, to say a word in defence of Mr. Franklin. It is not our old friend, the president of that institution, who is to blame for the iron clad policy, and general back-slidings of the New York Life. As long as he had his own way, the company was well managed; but we verily believe that Beers and Banta would bring any company into discredit. And after both these gentlemen give their advice in turn, then comes the advice of the "chief director," Mr. Appleton. What this gentleman's advice is will doubtless be estimated at its proper value, at least by those whom he has honored by publishing their books without being requested to do so.

We were just about to conclude, on reading the above paragraph, and one or two others, that the "Underwriter" is remarkably well informed on insurance matters, when, turning to another column, we see some statements which convince us that at least in one instance it has been grossly misinformed, doubtless by some parties who wished to create a sensation, without caring much whether they make use of facts or fiction for that purpose.

If the writer of the article alluded to wanted to warn the malefac-

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tors of Hartford, and at the same time point a moral which would be useful nearer home, he had plenty of material to work upon without doing injustice to any one. He need not have gone beyond the Connecticut Mutual, or the accident concerns of Batterson & Co. By exhibiting the *modus operandi* of either of these he might secure—at least he would *deserve*—the blessings of many a widow and orphan. Had he proceeded to say that although the New York Life has been committing some awkward blunders lately, not to call those things by a worse name, it is a highly honorable, faith-inspiring company, even taking Appleton and all into account, compared to the Hartford establishments just mentioned.

But when he permits himself to condemn the Phœnix Mutual Life of that city we are reminded of those mischievous wags who occasionally run about town crying, "Stewart has failed," "the custom-house disappeared last night," etc. For our own part, we should be quite as ready to believe either of these events, or any other similar event, however improbable, as to believe that there is anything in the Phœnix Mutual or its management which the widow or the orphan has the least reason to fear; and we are convinced that this is the feeling of every unprejudiced person who is acquainted with the real character of the company.

Nay, the quiet, unostentatious manner in which the Phœnix perseveres in its good work, reminds us at this moment of some excellent thoughts we have found in a pamphlet recently issued by the New England Mutual Life. We always expect something exemplary from this source, and we are never disappointed. More than once we have warned our readers against those miracle-working companies which pretend that they combine the advantages of all other financial institutions, including savings banks, etc., and as often we have shown that honest and honorable companies distinctly disclaim any such pretensions. No company has spoken more plainly on this subject than the New England Mutual Life; and in the pamphlet now before us it renews its honest warning both to the public and to its agents. We copy a brief extract as a specimen:

"Life Insurance is sufficiently commended by the merits which it has, *without claiming those which it has not.* It is in no just sense a contract on speculation, and yet it is often confounded with enterprises which are subject to the hazards of ordinary business. Hence the concurrent clamor about "dividends," as though the natural laws which underlie the system were subject to the will of the directors of a company, and as though a man insures his life as a means of income *while living*, rather than as a protection to his family in case of his death." (p. 27.)

The writer shows at the same time that if established companies only promise what is legitimate and fair—all that those insured have a right to expect—there is no reason why they should not be able to meet their engagements, except it be their own fault. Thus, after remarking that the amount insured in this country cannot be less than *fifteen hundred millions*, he proceeds to say:

"But an important inquiry here suggests itself how is it possible for any private corporation

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to carry obligations of such enormous magnitude? It is easily answered. We know that Life Insurance has been reduced to a science of the nicest subtlety; that the chances of living and dying have been put to the wisest and most unerring mathematical tests; that gifted men have wrought it into a system. And what do we find? That (speaking of American experience) during a period of twenty-five years, embracing years of war and fatal epidemics, the funds reserved by the companies in this country to meet their liabilities, has never been less than ten times as large as any demand that could arise from ordinary mortality."

All this we cheerfully admit, but need we say that it applies only to honest companies, that mean what they say, and make no false representations? and we have already remarked how very few this class are. But it is well they should be known, and we think that persons who are desirous to distinguish the good from the bad, the legitimate from the illegitimate, those who promise everything and scarcely give anything which they can keep, and those whose word is their bond, would be considerably aided in drawing their conclusions by a careful perusal of the insurance appendix in our last (March) number. They would also wonder why there are so many quibblers and sharpers since none succeed better in the long run than those who are most strictly honest. In proof of this we will add to the good examples already given such companies as the Security Life, the Equitable Life, the Manhattan Life, the Continental Life (New York), the National Life (New York), the Charter Oak Life, the Ætna Life, &c., &c.

What all these are we have shown from official reports and from the good they have done. What scores of a different class are, what they pretend to do, what they really do, and what they fail to do, we have also shown again and again. Lately the daily papers have taken up the subject, and have fully verified statements which we made seven years ago. In a recent number of the New York Daily Times we have read a very good article on the subject. The writer sarcastically affects to believe that all the quack insurers belong to the rural districts, to the far west, or the far south, and that all New York, Boston, Hartford, and even Philadelphia companies must necessarily be sound and good. This was nearly as good a piece of irony as that in which the priests of Baal are called upon to cry aloud to their god, since he must be asleep and should be awaked. A recent number of the New York World pursues a similar course. The World is still more trenchant in its sarcasm than the Times, for the former pretends to believe that we have no bad companies nearer than England! As we happen to have the World article before us, we copy as follows:

"Life assurance companies in England are not now regarded with that complacent satisfaction which their widely heralded "advantages" would seem to deserve. While of comparatively recent origin, it is to be noted that a large number of companies have been wound up, or have ceased to do business. Under the Registration acts of 1844 and 1862, many companies were registered; of these there are but now 84 in existence, and 188 *have been wound up, not in every case to the satisfaction of the investors.* A curious table is published in a London evening paper which gives returns of the nominal capital, that subscribed for, and that paid up of some of the English companies. The disproportion existing *between the nominal capital* and *that paid up is positively startling.* Even in the case of companies that received some share of confidence, it

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is to be observed that little more than *one-tenth of the nominal capital* has been paid up. And, in not a few cases, *not a single shilling has been paid up.* Thus, in the case of the Bristol and London Company, $2,000,000 is returned as the nominal capital, and *nil* as *the paid up capital.* For investors in insurance companies, we presume a new legal maxim, *caveat investor*, may be tolerated."

Of course no such occurrences take place in the United States! All our insurers are honest and honorable men. They may fail in several other kinds of business, and be unable to pay their board or their washerwomen; but as soon as they turn their attention to insurance they are above suspicion. If any one pretends to suspect them, he must be actuated by some diabolical motive or other; if he is a journalist, it is as clear as daylight that it is because they would not advertise!

But let us suppose, for a moment, that it is only the English companies that do the swindling part of the insurance business, when did we cease to imitate our English cousins in any business whatever? Assuming that our insurance high priests of the Morgan Eadie and Batterson stamp have ceased to present the English quacks as the best models; assuming that they now confine all their admiration to the native species, what then? How many English companies of a doubtful character are operating at this moment in all our principal cities depending for success on "natives" possessed of the *Crowwell* faculty? Will some of those insurance editors, who never attack but the weak, be good enough to enlighten us on some of these points?

None who know us need be informed that we have no prejudice against any nationality whatever; we certainly have none against England or the English. But we cannot close our eyes to the fact that our good cousins send their inferior insurance policies to the Yankee market, as they send their inferior crockery, their inferior calico, their inferior beer, &c. It is for this reason, and no other, that we advise our people to deal with American companies of known stability and integrity, rather than with any quasi royal or imperial concerns. We would have our good people understand that a cut of a crown, a king, or queen on an insurance policy does not add five cents to its value. So far as we are aware, the Security Life has no cut on its policy; but we confess we should prefer it to the policy of any "royal" or "imperial" concern that has yet opened a policy shop on this side of the Atlantic.

But if some of our people must have a picture in their policy, why not something "racy of the soil;" such, for example, as that of the good old Knickerbocker, that of the honest Indian in the Manhattan, that of the bird that can soar even from its ashes in the Phœnix Mutual, that of the brave and patriotic soldier in the Continental, &c. If some must, however, have a king on their policy, let him be the king of the forest in the

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Charter Oak Life.* We are not aware that the National Life of New York has any cut in its policy except it be that of the American Eagle, but we should have as much confidence in it when duly signed and countersigned, as if it were emblazoned in the most approved *Cromwell* style with a crown, lion, unicorn, union jack, &c., &c.

Referring to the noble bird which appropriately serves as our national emblem, reminds us that the Provident Life and Investment company of Chicago, having become disgusted with the tricks practised in the accident business, has entirely metamorphosed itself and entered the field of honorable competition, exclusively as a life company, under the title of the Eagle Life. For the gratification of those who wish to see honest perseverance overcome the most serious and discouraging obstacles, we extract the following passage from a paper which is evidently well informed on the subject:

"The Eagle starts out on an entirely new tack, the old accident business having been disposed of to the Travelers of Hartford some time ago. The company is doing a legitimate life business, chiefly on the endowment plan, and wholly, we believe, on the plan of allowing seven per cent. interest on premiums paid, which must be popular. We learn they are already doing a large business. The Eagle has deposited with the state treasurer at Springfield, the amount of the net value of its policies in force, for the better security of its policy holders, something no other western company has done, Mr. Charles Holland, the secretary, is a man of purpose and power, and for the first time in his life has an unobstructed track. There is no reason why the Eagle should not move forward, and do a large and lucrative business, and we certainly wish the company well. Mr. F. M. Hawes, the actuary, has had large experience as a practical life underwriter, and is an accession of great value to the working force."

Our readers will remember that we took a lively interest in the history of the Provident Life and Investment. Our attention was first attracted to it by our acquaintance with the character of its secretary. Knowing Mr. Holland as a literary gentleman of considerable ability, and the author of at least one interesting novel, and seeing that his company was attacked by Batterson and his retainers, we made it our business to obtain all the information we could as to the merits of the case. The result was that we were convinced that Holland and his colleagues were treated pretty much as we were ourselves by the same party. It seems there is something in the accident branch of insurance that has a very demoralizing effect. Perhaps we should excuse the depravity of Batterson and his two concerns on this ground; be this as it may, we think, we should congratulate our friend Holland on having so manfully and successfully resisted the contamination.

Another gentleman, to whom similar congratulations are due, is Mr. E. C. Fisher, president of the Anchor Life, of this city. He, too, withdrew from the accident branch some six or eight months since, and established the Anchor; we use the term "established" deliberately,

* When preparing our March insurance article, the annual report of the Charter Oak had not reached us. We could not therefore say, as we can now, that its assets amounted to more than $6,000,000, and that its annual income had risen to nearly half a million, after having paid $2,000,000 for losses, and $2,000,000 more in dividends.

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for we have every reason to believe that it may already be regarded as a permanent institution.

Having sketched in our last some specimens of the new brood of companies, and shown what miracles they are to perform, if the public have only faith enough to encourage them, we think it proper to place on record an exception or two. The Commonwealth Life may be regarded as an offshoot of the Continental. This fact, by itself, would be a strong recommendation; it would at least be presumptive evidence of intelligence, energy, and integrity. But the president of the new company would inspire confidence in those who know him, altogether independently of so honorable a prestige. Mr. Pierpont is one of the very few whom we call gentlemen; he is a man of education and culture, as well as an experienced and accomplished underwriter. And it is sufficient to say of his secretary, that it is he who lately occupied the important position of actuary in the Continental Life. As it is not our habit to be lavish of words in giving our opinion of any company, good or bad, suffice it to add to this, that we have no doubt the Commonwealth will prove worthy of the parent stem.

The Empire Mutual Life claims the same parentage, and we hope it will prove equally worthy of it and creditable to itself. Mr. G. Hilton Scribner, its president, occupied until lately the position of vice-president in the Continental. There is no vacancy there now, however. Mr. Scribner has been succeeded by Mr. M. B. Wynkoop, of the well known printing house of Wynkoop & Hallenbeck. We are convinced that the directors could not have made a more judicious selection. Mr. W. is not merely one of the best and most intelligent of the master printers of New York; he is perfectly familiar with insurance; and we can testify, after an almost daily intercourse with him of nearly seven years—during which we had the satisfaction of having this journal printed by him—that he has a most excellent temper and most agreeable manners; things which it will be admitted are not altogether superfluous in an insurance office.

We had intended to devote at least a page or two, to an examination of the miracles which are to be performed by certain new companies, if they can only sell their charms fast enough, but we presume they will excuse us until the weather gets somewhat cooler. In the meantime we would say to all whom it may concern, that the miracles of the present day are rarely genuine—the insurance miracles never!

The present high temperature reminds us but too forcibly of the necessity of fire insurance—so forcibly, indeed, that we can only congratulate ourselves, and those having equal confidence in honesty, fair dealing and intelligence, that the three companies which insure all the worldly goods we possess, were never in a more prosperous condition than they are at this moment, namely, the Security, the Washington and the Hope.

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THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

NO. XXXVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1869.

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2. *Fasti Romani. The Civil and Literary Chronology of Rome and Constantinople, from the death of Augustus to the death of Justin II.* By HENRY FYNES CLINTON. London. 1845.

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5. *Histoire du Bas Empire.* LEBEAU.

6. *Histoire de l'hérésie des Iconoclastes.* MAIMBOURG.

7. *De Byzantinarum rerum Scripteribus Græcis.* HAUKINS.

In many respects the history of those extensive, fertile and beautiful regions lying between the Euphrates and the Adriatic, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Balkan mountains, is the most interesting and instructive of all histories. In those regions arose the civilization of Greece, with its paganism, its architecture, sculpture and liter-

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ature, its commerce and its military power. In them originated that noble language, so musical, so flexible, yet withal so majestic, in which the gospels and the epistles were written, and in which Paul and John preached and taught. In them arose Christianity, and there the earliest Christian churches were founded. And if we bring the long retrospect down to later times, we shall find Mohammedanism rising and flourishing there, and, like the deadly upas tree, blasting those fair scenes, and reducing them to their present degraded condition.

The subject is too extensive and complicated to be properly treated in the limited space of an article in a review. Even Gibbon's voluminous and elaborate work did not exhaust it. Since his time much has been added to our stock of information respecting it by subsequent investigators. These recent discoveries form, in themselves, a rich field of study. We intend, however, to confine our attention to the history of that portion of the regions above mentioned, which constitute the Byzantine Empire, properly so called. This will exclude the western Roman empire and the provinces of Syria, Egypt and Armenia, except in so far as a notice of them may be incidentally necessary. Careful study of this portion of history will elucidate much that is instructive as well as interesting; but it will also reveal—if any such revelation were needed—to what depths of depravity the human heart can fall. It would almost seem that the Creator had ordained that the most powerful contrasts should be manifested side by side on the same scenes. Thus the pure teaching of Christ and his apostles was coëval with the the infamies of the Roman emperors and the rulers of Judea. The asceticism of the eastern monks was the antithesis of the profligacy of the surrounding population. The patriotism of the hardy mountain tribes of Albania, Bulgaria and Armenia, shone forth by the side of the slavishness and effeminacy of the Greeks. The fiery zeal of the Saracens struck terror into the souls of the degenerate successors of Alexander and Constantine, and the dismayed inhabitants of Constantinople twice beheld their walls assailed by these fearless enthusiasts.

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The phrase "Byzantine Empire" requires definition. If we consider it as equivalent to the eastern Roman empire, we must study the history of the period which elapsed between the partition of the Roman empire by Theodosius between his sons, Honorius and Arcadius, A. D. 395, and the final subjugation of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453—a lapse of 1058 years. This is what Gibbon has done; though with regard to the Western empire, he has continued its history until the year 1500. If we exclude the period during which the emperors of Roman descent held sway, and commence the history at the beginning of the reign of Leo the Isaurian, A. D. 716, and terminate it with the accession of Isaac Comnenus in 1057, a period of only three hundred and forty-one years, but during which the Greek emperors consolidated their despotism and restored the empire to its former splendor and military glory, then we confine ourselves solely to the consideration of the history of the purely native dynasties and princes, and omit the most interesting portion of all, viz., the reigns of the Comneni, the capture of Constantinople by the Latins, and the establishment of their brief but brilliant sway, the re-establishment of the Greek empire by the great families of Ducas, Angelus, and Palœologus, the wars with the Turks, and the final succumbing of the empire to their victorious arms. This is what Mr. Finlay has done in his work above mentioned; but we disagree with him entirely as to the propriety of thus limiting the duration of the Byzantine empire.

The history seems to us to divide itself naturally into four parts or periods, as follows:—I. The Roman empire: from the subjugation of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Egypt, to the division of it into eastern and western by the Emperor Theodosius I., A. D. 395, when we take leave for a while of Italy and the west. II. The Eastern, or Roman Byzantine empire: from the accession of Arcadius, A. D. 395, to the taking of Constantinople by the Latins, A. D. 1204. III. The Latin Byzantine empire: from the last mentioned event until the expulsion of the Latins, A. D. 1261. IV. The Greek Byzantine empire: from the expulsion of the Latins to the taking of Constan-

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tinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453. We stop here, though we might add a fifth period, for the Turkish Byzantine empire: from 1453 to the present day. It results from this division of the subject that either the history is all Byzantine, or that there is none purely Byzantine. We shall therefore follow the example of Gibbon, and consider the leading features of the annals of this once famous empire from the days of Arcadius to those of Constantine Palœologus, the last of the Greek emperors; and we shall use the term "Byzantine" in this extended sense; it is, moreover, a convenient one, saves circumlocution, and is understood by the world, generally, to signify the empire of which Constantinople was the capital.

More than a thousand years of active, stirring life in the most fertile regions of the world, with capacious harbors on a seaboard of nearly five thousand miles, a central situation among the nations, a dense population, an equable climate, and almost every conceivable source of wealth! And what was the result? An amount of human suffering fearful to contemplate; the most thorough moral degradation, and the transfer of those fine regions to a fierce race of soldiers, incapable of developing their resources or of doing more than deriving a bare subsistence from them! Compare these regions as they are now with what they were in the days of Augustus Cæsar. Where then were flourishing cities are now ruins! where there were fields covered with every species of fruit, grain and cattle, and teeming with an industrious and wealthy population, are now vast desert tracts, half cultivated land, and a thinly scattered, squalid, downtrodden race of peasants and wandering herdsmen, ignorant, and ferocious in their bigotry. The once splendid Christian shrines of Antioch, Ephesus and Smyrna, have disappeared along with Christianity, and the scowling Mussulman is lord of all. No trace of the ancient Greek civilization remains. The Byzantine empire did not bequeath to the world a rich literature as Rome and Greece did, and as some modern European nations will do when they fall. With the exception of the Code, the Pandects, and the Institutes of Justinian, no work of extraordinary merit issued from the

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Greeks of that empire, although a long succession of theologians and historians maintained the semblance of a literature. No great poem, history, romance, or treatise, relieves the monotony of their productions. They added but little to the world's stock of knowledge. The invention of the compound known as "Greek fire" is one of the few advances in science to which they can lay claim; but it is questionable, whether the idea of even that was not borrowed from the Chinese. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, the physical sciences, made no progress under the Byzantine emperors; and thus we are spared the sorrow of mourning over their fall. The retrospect is a dreary one, and we will turn from what they were not to what they were. Poor Greece!

> "'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace
> Each step from splendor to disgrace;
> Enough—no foreign foe could quell
> The soul, till from itself it fell;
> Yes! self-abasement paved the way
> To villain bonds and despot sway."

Some idea of the fragile nature of the tenure by which the Byzantine emperors held their power may be formed from an analysis of the various modes by which they respectively came to their end. From Constantine the Great to Constantine Palœologus (both included) we have a succession of one hundred persons who, either as lawful emperors or empresses, or as usurpers, held sway at Constantinople. Of these, forty-one died a natural death; twenty-five were dethroned; twenty-five were murdered; five were killed in battle; six abdicated (mostly, however, on compulsion); and three died from accidents. It will be perceived that this swells the list to one hundred and five: the explanation is that some of those who abdicated were subsequently murdered, (as was the case with the emperors Maurice and Anastasius II.,) and some of those who were dethroned were afterwards treated in like manner (as was the case with the usurpers Leontius and Apsimar, and the Emperor Isaac II.) The average duration of the reigns of the Greek emperors was eleven and one-fourth years, which is far below the average of other European sovereigns; that

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of the English monarchs, from William the Conquerer to Victoria (inclusive) being twenty three years; and that of the French kings from Charlemagne to Napoleon III (inclusive) being twenty one and one-eighth years.

There were fifteen dynasties, and twenty interregna of usurpers, who left no children to succeed them, or were expelled. Of these fifteen dynasties only three kept possession of the throne for six generations, viz.: the Macedonian, the Comnenus, and the Palœologus. The Heraclian and the Isaurian lasted four generations. The Theodosian, the Sardican, the Amorian and the Pouillon endured for three. The remainder lasted only two. As a rule, these sovereigns aimed mainly at the gratification of their passions and leading propensities. They (with few exceptions) were the slaves of depraved women and intriguing ministers. Their lives were passed mostly in their palaces with favorites of both sexes, where they gave free vent to their sensuality, while their mercenaries guarded the gates and pillaged the people. Having no respect for themselves or for their families, they could obtain none from others, and so they relied upon brute force, when they could command it, to enforce obedience to their will; and when they could not, they had recourse to intrigue and assassination.

A more frightful catalogue of crimes than that contained in Gibbon's immortal work it would be difficult to find. Let any one read his account of the life of the Empress Theodora,* the wife of the Emperor Justinian I., without amazement if he can, and then picture to himself what must have been the state of the society in which such abominations as are there recorded were tolerated. This is not a solitary instance: nearly all the Byzantine empresses were abandoned women, who hesitated at no crime to gratify their desires. In no country whose history we are acquainted with, was the influence of women so potent and so uniformly exerted for evil. The annals of Italy, France, England, Germany and Spain, make mention of many very bad

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

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women, who did much mischief in their day; but they also record the actions of many great and glorious heroines and saints, who were a blessing to their generation. The annals of the Byzantine empire mention scarcely one of the latter! But they abound with the licentious adventures of the Theodoras, Martinas, Eudoxias and Zoes of the empire, and with those of men like Andronicas Comnenus, who compromised the reputation of three royal ladies, viz.: a niece of the Greek emperor, a sister of the empress, and the queen of Jerusalem.* So gross, indeed, are the actions ascribed to the women who figure in these annals, that the historian has confined the details of them to the notes to his text, and veiled them under the obscurity of a Greek or a Latin dress!

Byzantium, the ancient predecessor of Constantinople, was founded by a colony from Megara, B. C. 658. It is said to have derived its name from Byzas, the leader of the colonists, who is described, mythologically, as a son of Paseidon, which means, in common language, that he was a sailor. The city was situated on two hills, was about five and a half miles in circumference, and its acropolis stood on the site of the present seraglio. It soon became an important commercial emporium. During the Peloponnesian war it was taken alternately by the Athenians and the Spartans. It subsequently fell into the hands of the Macedonians, then of the Romans; but having espoused the cause of Nescennius Nigar against Septimus Severus, the latter took it (A. D. 198) after a siege of three years, and destroyed a considerable portion of it.

One hundred and thirty years afterwards Byzantium again suffered from the contests of rival candidates for the empire. Licinius, disputing the claim of Constantine the Great, fortified the city and occupied it with a strong force, naval and military. The destruction of this force and the capture of the city were among the most brilliant exploits of the war. The importance of its position, it being the key to Europe and Asia in those days, demanded

* *Ibid*, chap. xlviii.

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great sacrifices on both sides. "The siege of Byzantium," says Gibbon,* "which was immediately undertaken by Constantine, was attended with great labor and uncertainty. In the late civil wars, the fortifications of that place, so justly considered the key of Europe and Asia, had been repaired and strengthened; and as long as Licinius remained master of the sea, the garrison was much less exposed to the danger of famine than the army of the besiegers. The naval commanders of Constantine were summoned to his camp, and received positive orders to force the passage of the Hellespont, as the fleet of Licinius, instead of seeking and destroying their feeble enemy, continued inactive in those narrow straits, where its superiority of numbers was of little use or advantage. Crispus, the emperor's eldest son, was intrusted with the execution of this daring enterprise, which he performed with so much courage and success that he deserved the esteem, and most probably excited the jealously, of his father.

The engagement lasted two days, and in the evening of the first the contending fleets, after a considerable and mutual loss, retired into their respective harbors of Europe and Asia. The second day, about noon, a strong south wind sprang up, which carried the vessels of Crispus against the enemy, and, as the casual advantage was improved by his skillful intrepidity, he soon obtained a complete victory. One hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed, five thousand men were slain, and Amandus, the admiral of the Asiatic fleet, escaped with the utmost difficulty to the shores of Chalcedon. As soon as the Hellespont was open a plentiful convoy of provisions flowed into the camp of Constantine, who had already advanced the operations of the siege. He constructed artificial mounds of earth of an equal height with the ramparts of Byzantium. The lofty towers, which were erected on that foundation, galled the besieged with large stones and darts from the military engines, and the battering rams had shaken the walls in several places. If Licinius persisted much longer in the defence, he exposed

* *Ibid*, chap. xiv.

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himself to be involved in the ruin of the place. Before he was surrounded he prudently removed his person and treasures to Chalcedon in Asia."

Constantine became master of the empire by the taking of Byzantium. To commemorate his triumph he resolved to give a new capital to his dominions, and he selected the site and vicinity of the captured city for its locality. He himself designed the plan of it, choosing the best positions for the forum, the imperial palace, the circus, the temples and the other public buildings. He expended $125,000,000 on the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts. The cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments to beautify the new capital. The trophies of war, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods, heroes, sages, and poets of the former times were transplanted thither from all parts of the empire. Many opulent citizens of Rome and of the eastern provinces were induced to take up their abode there by grants of land and pensions; and soon a numerous population was collected and established around them. But the progress of the city hardly kept pace with the eagerness of the emperor to see it completed. The work was commenced A. D. 324, the year after the victory of Crispus, who was put to death by his father, on false accusations, A. D. 326, and to whom the unhappy Constantine subsequently erected a golden statue with the inscription, "To my son, whom I unjustly condemned."

The new city was dedicated on the 22d of May, A. D. 330, with great pomp and festivity, and an edict, engraved on a column of marble, bestowed the title of Second, or New Rome on it.* But the popular voice gave it the name of the City of Constantine (Constantinopolis), which has prevailed over every other, and still, after a lapse of fifteen centuries, perpetuates the fame of its author. He probably founded Constantinople with a view to consolidate and have more complete control over his vast empire, which

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, citing Sozomen, Ducange, and St. Augustin, chap. xvii.

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then extended from Persia on the east to the Atlantic on the west, and from Nubia on the south to Scotland on the north, thus comprising the fairest portions of western Asia, northern Africa, and southern and western Europe. It will readily be seen from an inspection of the map, how the site of the new city was better adapted than that of Rome for the capital of the empire. This was the prominent idea in the mind of Constantine, though he may also have had the sagacity to perceive the unwieldly and incoherent elements of which the Roman empire was composed, and to forsee the division of it into two or more parts, which actually took place in little more than forty years after his death. He was the founder, though, perhaps, unintentionally so, of the Byzantine empire, and he bequeathed to his sons and successors a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion. When Constantine expired, Christianity was the recognized and established faith of the Roman empire, east and west. The Byzantine empire can, therefore, lay claim to the credit of having been Christian, by profession, from its foundation to its fall.

The administrative system of Rome was modified by Constantine, and was fully carried out in the East.* But it was subjected to frequent reforms in its legislative, judicial, and political institutions, from the time of Constantine to the promulgation of the Theodosian code, A. D. 438, when the civil polity of the empire was definitively settled. One of its prominent features was the establishment of a nobility divided into three classes, and distinguished respectively as illustrious, respectable, and honorable. To one or other of these classes all the important magistrates and officers of the empire belonged; but the title of "illustrious" was conferred only on consuls, patricians, prætorian prefects, the prefects of Rome and Constantinople, the masters general of the infantry and cavalry, and the seven ministers of the palace. Strict rules of precedency were laid down, so that we find here the prototype of the feudal distinctions and aristocratic pretensions of the middle ages and of modern

* Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 3.

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times. The army was re-organized and equipped in a manner widely differing from the old Roman simplicity. Under the immediate successors of Constantine, the complete force of the military establishment was estimated at 645,000 men, and there were 583 permanent stations and garrisons throughout the empire. This vast force, being mainly composed of Scythians, Goths, Germans, Helvetians, and other hardy tribes, soon became an element of very great danger to, and ultimately subverted the Western empire.

The seven ministers of the palace deserve notice, as from their duties and opportunities of familiar intercourse with the emperor they became his associates, and acquired great influence over him. They were at the bottom of almost every intrigue and revolution in the palace and the empire. These seven consisted of the prefect of the sacred bedchamber, the master of the offices, the quæstor, the count of the sacred largesses, the count of the private estate, and the two counts of the domestics. The first of these was always a eunuch, and his duty was to attend the emperor personally, both in public and in private, to contribute to his amusements and minister to his pleasures. This artful domestic always had great influence, and many of the feeble, degenerate emperors exalted him above all the other ministers. His office corresponded with that of the modern chamberlain.

The principal minister, however, was the master of the offices, whose duties were those of a prime minister and secretary of state. He had the administration of public affairs, was supreme magistrate of the palace, received appeals and memorials, and conducted the foreign negotiations. The quæstor was the representative of the legislative power, but his functions consisted chiefly of preparing the edicts and the orations of the emperor. He occasionally acted as a judge in the imperial consistory, and was half chancellor, half secretary. The count of the sacred largesses was treasurer-general of the revenue, master of the mint, and president of the board of trade. The count of the private estate was treasurer and manager of the private property and revenues of the emperors, which were some-

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times very extensive. The two counts of the domestics had the immediate command of the Armenian guard of 3,500 men, infantry and cavalry, whose duty it was to guard the person of the emperor night and day. They were occasionally despatched into the provinces to execute with celerity the orders of their master. They were fit instruments of despotism, and they were aided by an organized band of agents or messengers, 200 or 300 in number, who were under the orders of the masters of the officers, and employed to publish edicts in the provinces, and to act as spies. At a hint from one of these wretches, a faithful and unsuspecting subject in Syria, or, perhaps, Britain, was exposed to the danger of being dragged in chains to the court at Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and property against the malicious charges of these privileged informers.* Added to this odious agency of tyranny was the use of torture to extort evidence or confessions, and this system was at times most cruelly abused, according to the caprice of the magistrate or tribunal.

Slavery, according to the Roman code, existed throughout the empire, but in the later ages the evils of it were very much mitigated. The slaves were of two kinds, viz., captives taken in war, and those who were born slaves. Great progress was made towards the abolition of slavery during the eighth and ninth centuries, and though the slave-trade was carried on with vigor, yet the discovery had already been made that free labor was more profitable than slave labor, and after that the existence of slavery was doomed. We have not space to discuss the subject here. We will merely add, that during the early centuries of the Byzantine empire there were many millions of slaves in its dominions, and a very active trade in them was carried on with distant nations—England and the northern nations particularly—on account of the superior strength and comeliness of the natives. In the later ages, during the Iconoclast controversy, the church began to set its face against slavery. Theodore Studita, abbot of the celebrated monastery of

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvii.

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Studion, founded a monastery on his own property, and emancipated all his household and agricultural slaves, establishing them as lay brethren on the farms* (about A. D. 775). He said that "a monk ought not to possess a slave, neither for his own service, nor for the service of his monastery, nor for the culture of its lands; for a slave is a man made after the image of God."†

Another great and serious evil which retarded the progress of the people, was a fertile source of oppression to them, and at times brought the empire to the very brink of dissolution, was the mode of levying the taxes. The amount assessed varied according to the avarice, extravagance, ignorance, wisdom, or caprice of the government. Thus the exactions of the Emperor Constantius have been calculated at $35,000,000 per annum, which were reduced to $10,000,000 by the humanity or the wisdom of Julian.‡ The taxes were imposed and levied by the absolute authority of the monarch, and defaulters were punished with rack, scourging, and imprisonment. They were assessed in the form of a capitation based upon landed property. An accurate census of the people, and a survey and valuation of the land of the empire was made after every indiction, which was an edict fixing the measure of tribute required from each province and district. The indiction was issued every fifteen years, written in purple ink, subscribed with the emperor's own hand, and posted up in the principal city of each diocese during two months previous to the first day of September.§ This was sometimes followed by an additional tax, called the superindiction. Upon the surveyor's report of the value and quantity of land in each province or district was based the apportionment of that province or district's share of the general taxation; and this sum having been fixed, the esti-

* Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 97.

† *Sancti Theodori Studitæ Epistolæ aliaque Scripta Dogmatica*, cited by Sismondi, *Opera Varia*, vol. v., p. 66. The best works on the subject of slavery in the Roman empire are Blair's *Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans*; Biot, *De l'Abolition de l'esclavage Ancien Precident*; Babington on *The influence of Christianity in promoting the Abolition of Slavery in Europe*; and Wallon's *Histoire de l'Esclavage dans l'Antiquité*.

‡ *Decline and Fall*, chap. xvii. § *Ibid.*

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mate of the number of capita or heads in such province or district was given in, the sum apportioned was divided by that number, and thus the liability of each person was ascertained. As such an assessment entirely left out of consideration the ability of the taxpayer to pay the sum assessed, it is clear that the most flagrant injustice must have been perpetrated. The poor were ruined and the rich escaped. Such a system occasioned the depopulation of whole provinces.

The era of Constantine was that of the great Arian controversy, which distracted the whole Christian world. Constantinople became the stronghold of Arianism. Constantine was present at the great council of Nice, in Bithynia, A. D. 325, wherein the Nicene creed was framed, the doctrine of the Trinity was defined, and Arius was banished. The Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, became a zealous Christian, and the emperor himself was lauded to the skies for his services to Christianity. On this point Niebuhr remarks that "His motives in establishing the Christian religion appear to have been very strange. Whatever religion was in his head must have been a confused mixture. On his coins he has the *sol invictus* (unconquered sun): he worships pagan deities, consults the *haruspices* (professors of divination), holds heathen superstitions, and yet he shuts up the temples and builds churches. As president of the Nicene council, we can only look upon him with disgust: he was himself no Christian, and would never be baptized until he was at the point of death. He had taken up the Christian faith as a superstition, which he mingled with his other superstitions. When, therefore, eastern writers speak of him as *isapostelos* (equal to an apostle), they do not know what they are saying, and to call him a saint is a profanation of the term."* Constantine died an Arian, receiving baptism from Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia, A. D. 337.

His three sons, Constantine II., Constantius, and Constans, divided the empire between themselves, Constantine taking

* *Lectures on Roman History*, vol. iii., p. 303.

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the eastern portion. They speedily quarrelled and sought to deprive each other of his share. Constantine invaded Italy, where he was slain. Constans perished in a revolt in Gaul, and Constantius became sole emperor. He gave way to all kinds of excesses, and died near Tarsus, A. D. 361, on his way to encounter his kinsman, Julian, whom, however, he named his successor. The brief but brilliant reign of Julian (surnamed "the apostate," from his having renounced Christianity) was distinguished for universal toleration, the revocation of the edicts against idolatory, the closing of the Christian schools, and the attempt to rebuild the city and temple of Jerusalem in order to prove the falsity of prophesy. He was the ablest and most accomplished man of his time, but fell in battle with the Persians after a short reign of twenty months. His successor, Jovian, died after a reign of eight months, and the empire was left without a head for ten days.

At length Valentinian, the son of Count Gratian, a native of Cibalio in Pannonia, and who had held important commands under Jovian, was elected emperor. He divided the empire with his brother Valens, to whom he gave the east. Never was "the one man power" in greater force than at this period. Here we see not merely a kingdom given away, but one-half of the civilized world handed over from one brother to another, apparently without a dissenting voice being raised. The Western empire was fast hastening to decay, and sinking under the continued irruptions of the northern barbarians, the imbecility of its rulers, and the effeminacy of its people. In the east, Valens had to contend with a most formidable revolt, which nearly cost him his throne. He was a zealous Arian, and he persecuted the orthodox Christians with great cruelty, but he soon had something else to think of. In the year 376 the Huns, a people more ferocious than any that had yet appeared, attacked the north-eastern provinces of the empire, and, crossing the Don and the sea of Azof in innumerable hordes, swept the territories of the Goths and Visigoths of their inhabitants. Joined by the Alans and other barbarous tribes whom they had conquered, they drove all before them. The

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Goths were forced into the Roman provinces, Athanarie, their king, fortified himself on the Pruth, and his people obtained leave of the emperor to settle in Thrace. It is computed that a million of persons settled in that province. At the same time Arianism was implanted among them by their bishop, Ulphilas, who edited the Gothic alphabet, and translated the scriptures into their language, Valens, attempting to extort tribute from them, provoked a revolt which threatened the very existence of the empire. He met them near Adrianople, was defeated and wounded; he was carried to a neighboring cottage, but the enemy pursued him and set fire to the cottage, and he was burned to death, A. D. 378. His successor, Theodosius the great, converted the Goths into friends, and thus raised a bulwark in the north against the Huns. On his death he divided the empire between his sons, Honorius and Arcadius (A. D. 395), and the east and the west were never afterwards united.

The system of governing by women and favorites, which was, throughout, the curse of the empire, began with the feeble emperor Arcadius, who, having been persuaded to marry the beautiful Eudoxia, became a mere tool in the hands of his wife and of his grand chamberlain, Eutropius, an infamous wretch, who so excited the indignation of the people and of the Goths that the emperor was compelled to put him to death. The fearless preaching of Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, against corrupt practices in church and court, raised another turmult. Eudoxia, combining against him with Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, and other hostile bishops, planned his destruction. A synod was convened at Chalcedon to condemn him, and he was summoned to attend it. He refused to do so, and was arrested; but the people of Constantinople, with whom Chrysostom was very popular, fell upon the bishops and their Egyptian guards and massacred them without mercy. The terrified Eudoxia reinstated Chrysostom (A. D. 404); but she called a council of eastern prelates, who decreed his deposition; a body of troops arrested him, after a furious contest with the people, who set fire to the cathedral, the senate house, and other buildings; and he was con-

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veyed to Lesser Armenia, where he died in exile (A. D. 408). The religious contests between the Orthodox and the Arians and other sects formed a marked feature in the history of the empire. Constantine the great had remodelled the hierarchy of the church according to the civil form. There were four preëminent bishops or patriarchs, viz., those of Rome, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, who derived their importance from that of the great cities over whose church they presided. They were rivals, and laid claim to equal authority; but as the wealth and influence of Antioch and Alexandria declined, so the authority of their bishops declined, and finally disappeared. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the empire was divided into provinces, districts, and churches; and the supervision of these was confided, respectively, to "Exarchs" (who had jurisdiction over several provinces); "Metropolitans" (who governed one province each); archbishops (who had charge of a district); and bishops (who ruled over one or more churches). The administration of the affairs of the church was divided into external and internal. The former related to the discipline, possessions, and privileges of the church, and was assumed by the emperor. The latter related to controversies, worship, offices of the priests, etc., and was committed to bishops and councils. This arrangement had a vital influence upon the subsequent progress of the empire, and upon its relations with the west, as will be seen hereafter.

On the death of Arcadius and Eudoxia, the empire fell into the hands of the prefect Anthenais; for their son, the Emperor Theodosius II., was an infant. He achieved the expulsion of the Huns from Thrace, and fortified Constantinople. But his rule was cut short by Pulcharia, the youthful sister of Theodosius, who, at the age of sixteen, assumed the reins of government (A. D. 412). This extraordinary woman governed the empire forty years. She and her two sisters, Arcadia and Marina, vowed perpetual celibacy. The imperial palace was converted into a monastery, from which all males, except the clergy, were excluded. She and her ladies formed a religious community, renounced the vanities of dress, and lived on spare diet, fasting and praying

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incessantly. The emperor, a weak-minded youth, passed his time in frivolous amusements, and took no part in state affairs. He married Anthenais, the daughter of Leontius, the Anthenian philosopher, who, on her marriage, renounced paganism and was baptized by the name of Eudoxia. She was so indiscreet as to aspire to the government of the empire, but the pious Pulcharia put to death some and banished others of her adherents, and Eudoxia herself was exiled to Jerusalem, where she died.

Shortly after this the empire suffered from a visitation which nearly destroyed it. The terrible Attila, at the head of an immense horde of Huns, appeared on the northern frontier, and on various pretexts extorted money from the feeble Theodosius. Goaded at last to resistance, the emperor refused to comply with his demands. Thereupon Attila swept through Illyria and desolated with fire and sword the whole country between the Euxine and the Adriatic (A. D. 441), and Theodosius was glad to shut himself up within the walls of Constantinople. The Huns, having extorted from him all they could, departed to exercise their barbarities upon the west, and thus the Eastern empire once more held up its head. The death of Theodosius and of Pulcharia, who, notwithstanding her vow of perpetual celibacy, had married the senator Marcian, brought the Theodosian dynasty to an end; it had held sway for three generations. The election of Leo, the Thracian, a military tribune who had been the late emperor's steward of the household, introduced another short-lived dynasty.

Leo I. was a man of great firmness and prudence, and his administration showed that there was still much energy left in the empire. He made great efforts to save the falling empire of the west from the Vandals. He sent one army to Tripoli, and subdued that province; and another and still larger force to drive them out of Carthage. This army consisted of 100,000 men, and was accompanied by a fleet of 1136 ships, and, had the expedition been conducted by an officer of courage and skill, it might have changed the current of Roman history, and that of the world; but it failed miserably, owing to the cowardice of its leader, Basiliscus,

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the brother of the Empress Verina, the wife of Leo (A. D. 468,) and this failure entailed a loss of $26,000,000. After this the Vandals had it all their own way in Africa and Italy. Leo did not live to witness the extinction of the Western empire by Odoæcer (A. D. 476,) for he died two years previously, leaving the empire to his grandson, Leo II. Italy fell a prey to the Astrogoths and Vandals, and thenceforward the Eastern empire had enough to do in maintaining itself against the foes who encompassed it: the Persians on the east, the Huns, Astrogoths and Alans on the north and west, the Vandals in the south, and intestine discords everywhere. Leo II. survived his accession but a few months, and thereupon ensued a contest between the patrician Zeno, on the one hand, and the Empress Verina and her brother Basiliscus on the other, for the throne. It resulted in favor of Zeno, in consequence of the aid he received from Theodoric, king of the Astrogoths, who, when all was done, suddenly turned upon him, and devastated the country to the very gates of Constantinople. Zeno, however, persuaded the barbarian to turn his arms upon Italy, and thus saved the empire. The misery of the inhabitants of Thrace from such scourges as Attila and Theodoric cannot be described. The country was nearly depopulated and converted into a desert; the weakness of the empire was a curse to its inhabitants. Zeno died A. D. 491, and his widow, Ariadne, giving her hand to Anastasius, an aged domestic of the palace, raised the latter to the throne amid the acclamations of the people.

What sort of people they were who thus hailed the accession of Anastasius, may be learned from the history of the circus factions at Constantinople during his reign. The scenes which took place there almost exceed belief, and no better proof of the degeneracy of the Romans and Greeks of that age is needed than the perusal of the accounts of the tumults and violence perpetrated by these disorderly parties, handed down to us by the native historians, Marcellinus, Procopius, Evagrius, and John of Malala, cited by Gibbon.* There were originally four factions, distinguished

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

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respectively by the colors, red, white, blue, and green; but the first two subsequently became insignificant, and the riotous youth and patrons of the circus or hippodrome of Constantinople became adherents of the blues or the greens. Religious (!) zeal fanned the flames of party-rivalry. The blues were zealously devoted to the cause of orthodoxy; while the greens were well affected toward the Arians, the Nestorians and other heretics. Under the reign of Anastasius the popular frenzy broke forth in violence and bloodshed; and the greens, who had treacherously concealed stones and daggers under baskets of fruit, massacred, at a solemn festival, three thousand of their blue adversaries; the hippodrome was burnt and great damage was done to the city by both parties; the blues destroyed the statues of Anastasius, who was of the green faction (A. D. 491).

These riots, though suppressed for a time, were renewed with still greater fury during the following reigns of Justin I. and Justinian I., especially during that of the latter, when the rioters overawed the palace, the senate, and the capital. Justinian sided with the blues, who, rendered insolent by his patronage, assumed the dress of barbarians, and wore their hair after the fashion of the Huns. In the day-time they concealed their two-edged poniards, but in the night they assembled armed and perpetrated all sorts of outrages. "Their adversaries of the green faction," says Gibbon, "or even inoffensive citizens, were stripped and often murdered by these nocturnal robbers, and it became dangerous to wear any gold buttons or girdles, or to appear at a late hour in the streets of a peaceful capital. A daring spirit, rising with impunity, proceeded to violate the safeguard of private houses; and fire was employed to facilitate the attack, or to conceal the crimes of these factious rioters. No place was safe or sacred from their depredations; to gratify either avarice or revenge they profusely spilt the blood of the innocent; churches and altars were polluted by atrocious murders; and it was the boast of the assassins that their dexterity could always inflict a mortal wound with a single stroke of their dagger. The dissolute youth of Constantinople adopted the livery of disorder; the laws were silent, and the bonds of society were relaxed;

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creditors were compelled to resign their obligations; judges to reverse their sentence; masters to enfranchise their slaves; fathers to supply the extravagance of their children; noble matrons were prostituted to the lust of their servants; beautiful boys were torn from the arms of their parents; and wives, unless they preferred a voluntary death, were ravished in the presence of their husbands. The despair of the greens, who were persecuted by their enemies and deserted by the magistrate, assumed the privilege of defence, perhaps of retalliation; but those who survived the combat were dragged to execution, and the unhappy fugitives, escaping to woods and caverns, preyed without mercy on the society whence they were expelled. Those ministers of justice who had courage to punish the crimes, and to brave the resentment of the blues, became the victims of their indiscreet zeal. A prefect of Constantinople fled for refuge to the Holy Sepulchre, a count of the East was ignominiously whipped, and a governor of Cilicia was hanged, by the order of Theodora, on the tomb of two assassins whom he had condemned for the murder of his groom, and a daring attack on his own life."*

For five years did Justinian tolerate this state of things. At length, at the celebration of the festival of the ides of January, in the hippodrome, in the fifth year of his reign (A. D. 532,) a most terrific contest took place between the factions. It lasted five days, during which the city was a scene of fire and bloodshed; the prisons were forced, the public buildings were burnt, half the city was in flames; men, women, and children fought against the barbarous mercenaries who were let loose among them, and immense slaughter ensued. All who could escape fled to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and the city was abandoned to the factions, whose watchword, "Nika" (or vanquish), has given a name to this memorable sedition. Justinian shut himself up in his palace, and would have escaped secretly but for the courage of Theodora, who exhorted him to stand his ground. A well-disciplined body of troops, under Belisarius and Mundas, was silently

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. xl.

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brought into the city; the rioters, taken by surprise, were hemmed in, and 30,000 of them were put to the sword, and twenty illustrious patricians. were executed. The hippodrome was closed, and the tumults were suppressed for a time. But after a few years Justinian revived the games of the circus, and with them the factions; and they troubled him throughout his reign.

The era of Justinian is, nevertheless, a great one in the history of the Byzantine Empire. That prince reigned over sixty-four provinces and 935 cities. His Asiatic dominions were populous and prosperous. The cultivation of silk was introduced from the far east, and commerce was encouraged. The taxes, however, were heavy, and levied with merciless severity, for, though Justinian was profuse in his expenditure, he was avaricious and exacting, and he himself shared in many cruel monopolies. He restored the public buildings of Constantinople which had been destroyed, and was the founder of the cathedral of St. Sophia. He erected churches and other public buildings in all parts of the empire; fortified Constantinople and the empire from the Euxine to the Persian frontier, and subdued the Isaurians. But he suppressed the schools of Athens and the consulship of Rome. The splendor of his reign, however, is mainly due to his revision and codification of the laws, and the publication of his Code, Pandects, and Institutes, which are the foundation of the civil law of modern Europe; to the introduction of the Christian era; and to the brilliant military exploits of his generals, Belisarius and Norses, in Italy and Africa, which for a while revived the fame of the Roman arms, by the wresting of Rome from the barbarians. Their successors, however, proved evanescent, and we need not concern ourselves further with them.

The final separation of the Eastern church from the Western took place during the reign of Zeno (A. D. 484), and though many attempts were subsequently made to renew the communion between them, the breach was never healed —has not been healed to this day. The most fatal divisions had been caused by Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, who taught that the divine and the human natures in Christ

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were entirely distinct, and that the term "mother of Christ" ought to be applied to the Virgin Mary instead of that of "mother of God." For this he was anathematized by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, deposed and exiled. But the success of his teaching had been prodigious; all the eastern provinces of the empire embraced it. His doctrines were adopted by the Persian Christians with ardor, and they were carried into Armenia, Tartary, and China, where they flourished for many ages. But they excited fury in Europe and Africa, and led to much strife. The doctrine of Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople, that there was but one nature in Christ, viz., that of the "incarnate word," added fuel to the dissensions. Councils of bishops were held to settle the disputes, but they only increased the difficulties. The emperors interfered, and Zeno, in 482, issued his Henoticon, or one nature dogma, to be subscribed by the contending parties; those who refused to do so were displaced.

Anastasius, who succeeded Zeno, was denounced by the Goths as an Arian and a heretic. Their leader, Vitalian, who professed orthodoxy, marched with an army of Huns and Goths to Constantinople, carrying desolation with him, and forced Anastasius to sue for pardon. This religious war cost the lives of 65,000 persons, but it reinstated two orthodox bishops in their sees (A. D. 514.) Numberless sects and heresies sprung up in the Greek church, notwithstanding the orthodoxy of Justinian and his edicts against them. They contributed to the demoralization of the church as well as of the laity, and the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria ceased to have weight. The patriarch of Constantinople gradually assumed supreme control of the Eastern church, and, in the year 587, assumed the title of œcumenical or universal patriarch, an act which widened the breach with the Roman church. But heathenism disappeared from the empire.

The system of electing the emperors by the military tribunes was productive of great instability and disaster, and that of the nomination of his successor by the reigning monarch was not less so. The choice was rarely made on account of the merit and capacity of the person chosen,

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otherwise such men as Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas, the successors of Justinian, would not have arisen from obscurity to the throne. The reign of the latter tyrant brought incalculable misery on the people; the Persians overran Asia Minor, and the Avars Thrace. The empire was nearly torn to pieces, and there was a reign of terror at Constantinople, but the deposition and execution of Phocas by Heraclius, son of the exarch of Africa, changed the fate of affairs. Certainly, nothing could have been more deplorable than the condition of the empire at that time. The Persians were masters of Antioch, Edessa, Apamea, Cesarea, and Damascus, and, aided by the Jews, they took Jerusalem by assault (A. D. 614), putting 60,000 Christians to the sword, and burning all the churches and other edifices raised by Christian emperors and empresses, princes and potentates. The Avars were ravaging the European provinces, so that the dominions of Heraclius were reduced to the city of Constantinople, a few strips of Greece, Italy and Africa and a few cities on the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea. He was seriously meditating the transfer of his residence to Carthage, and had actually removed his treasures from the palace to his ships, when the patriarch led him to the altar of St. Sophia, and extorted from him an oath that he would live and die with the people whom God had entrusted to his care. One would think that the hand of God was in this, for Heraclius, roused to exertion by the dangers that surrounded him, in a few years drove the Persians back into their own country, compelled them to make terms, and regained all the cities and territories they had taken from him.* He returned to Constantinople, and found it besieged by the Avars. But his victorious army and fleet soon drove them off, and restored peace to the empire.

Heraclius divided the empire into themes, or military districts, garrisoned by legions. This arrangement was re-organized subsequently by Leo III., and endured as long as the Byzantine government did. The number of these themes varied at different times. In the tenth century

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xlvi.

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there were sixteen in the Asiatic portion of the empire, and twelve in the European.* The ecclesiastical divisions of the empire in the time of Leo, were, 52 metropolitan dioceses, subdivided into 649 suffragan bishoprics, and 13 archbishoprics in which the prelates were independent, but without suffragans. There were, moreover, 34 titular archbishops.† This numerous hierachy, however, could not put a stop to or conciliate the schismatics and heretics who promulgated theories respecting the two natures in Christ; and the controversy raged as fiercely as in the time of Zeno.

But a great cloud was impending over the empire from the side of Arabia. Mohammed, from small beginnings, had organized a religious system which in time produced swarms of fanatics, who counted their lives cheap if their swords could make converts to the new faith. Vain were all the efforts of Heraclius to stem the tide of Saracen conquest. City after city fell, and Heraclius, after a gallant fight of several days near the river Yermuk, saw his army cut to pieces (A. D. 637), and himself a fugitive. All Egypt and Syria were taken from him, and he made his way back to Constantinople, and shut himself up in his palace, seeking forgetfulness of his misfortunes by turning his thoughts to religious controversy, especially the Monothelite. The successes of Heraclius were incompetent to redeem the empire from decay. The Saracens advanced to the very gates of Constantinople and laid siege to the city (A. D. 668); but the besieged resisted bravely, and, by the aid of the famous Greek fire, completely discomfited their adversaries. The Saracens made peace, and the empire had rest for a time from its foreign foes; but its internal troubles increased. A series of violent changes deposed emperor after emperor, until at last Leo, the Isaurian, was elected to the throne (A. D. 717).

The accession of this great man marks an epoch in Byzantine history. He rose from obscurity, being the son of a grazier who migrated from Isauria into Thrace. He entered

* Finlay, *Byzantine Empire*, p. 14. † *Ibid*, p. 15.

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the army in the guards of Justinian and distinguished himself on every occasion. His first act as emperor was to repel a second attempt made by the Saracens on Constantinople. The wisdom and firmness of his administration restored prosperity to the empire; but his zeal against the worship of images produced very serious disturbances. In 726 he issued an edict prohibiting the use of images in churches. The people, excited by the clergy, rose up in rebellion, and were suppressed with bloodshed. The flame of discord spread throughout the whole Christian world. The emperor deposed the patriarch, and commanded that all images should be burnt, and that various punishments should be inflicted upon those who worshipped them. The church and the empire were split into two parties, the *Iconslatræ*, or image worshippers, and the *Iconoclastæ*, or image breakers.* Councils were held both in the east and the west, some approving, others denouncing, the worship of images. While Leo, and his successors Constantine V. and Leo IV., held sway (A. D. 717—780), the Iconoclasts were supreme. But on the accession of the Empress Irene, who poisoned her husband, Leo IV., the tables were turned. She at once assembled a council at Nice, in Bithynia (A. D. 786) wherein the decrees of former emperors and councils were abrogated, the worship of images and of the cross was re-established, and penalties were imposed upon those who maintained that worship was due to God only. The Emperor Charlemagne, however, in opposition to Pope Adrian, convened a council, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, of three hundred bishops, which forbade the worship of images.† In the east the struggles of the Iconoclasts were renewed on the deposition of Irene (A. D. 802), and continued for forty years. They were finally suppressed, and image worship was definitively established in the Greek church by the council of Constantinople, convened by the Empress Theodora, A. D. 842. The Greeks celebrated their victory, after a contest of 120 years,

* Schlosser, *Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser*, 2d part, chap. i, p. 156—177. Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History*, part 2, chap. iii. Gieseler's *Church History*, vol. 2, div. 1—part 1.

† Mosheim, *Ibid.*

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by consecrating an anniversary to it, which they named "the Feast of Orthodoxy."*

A succession of weak and depraved princes paved the way for Basil the Macedonian, who, notwithstanding the crimes by which he obtained the throne, (A. D. 867,) was one of the ablest rulers that ever governed the empire. He restored prosperity to it by regulating the finances and taxes, and by rigid economy. Being an excellent soldier he led his armies to victory against the Saracens and the rebellious religionists called Paulicians. He placed the military power of the empire on an improved footing; embellished his principal cities with public buildings and churches, and caused the Institutes and Code of Justinian to be revised and translated from Latin into Greek, and published under the title of "The Basilica." During his reign the empire recovered its *prestige* and vitality. But alas for those nations whose prosperity depends upon one man! After his death (A. D. 886), through an accident while hunting, the affairs of the empire fell into confusion, owing to the incompetence and profligacy of his successors. Most of them perished or were deposed by violence. The military abilities of Nicephorus Phocas, Zohn Zimisces, and Basil II. for a while postponed the crisis, but it could not be avoided. The people, debased by superstition and encouraged in profligacy of every description by the example of their rulers, had become thoroughly demoralized. The only flourishing portion of the empire at this period was the Morea, which had forty flourishing cities and manufactures of linens, woollens, and silks. The Macedonian dynasty expired with the Empress Theodora, A. D. 1056. The feeble Michael VI. had to make way for Isaac Comnenus (1057,) who shortly after handed his crown over to Constantine Ducas, a man of great ability, but more anxious for the interests of his family than for those of the empire.

This is an important period in the history of the gradually disappearing empire. The sway of the kindred families of Comnenus, Ducas, and Angelus, lasted 147 years. During that period the Greeks witnessed the establishment of the

* *Ibid.*

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Turco-Seljuhian kingdom of Roum, which bereft them of the greater part of their Asiatic dominions. Then followed the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Turks. The Greeks played a very subordinate part in these expeditions. They were, in fact, secretly hostile to them, and acted with perfidy towards the Latin Christians. Alexius Comnenus, indeed, levied a force of 70,000 Greeks, Turks, Bulgarians, and others, to oppose the Normans in Illyria, but was defeated, and he escaped with difficulty (1081). The sagacity of Alexius I., however, enabled him to avoid complications with the crusaders, and the evil day was postponed until the close of the twelfth century, mainly through the military talents of the emperors John and Manuel Comnenus. The latter, indeed, was as distinguished for strength and prowess as his contemporary, Richard Cœur de Lion. Manuel died in 1180.

Horrible confusion ensued at his death, owing to the infancy of his son and successor, Alexius II., and the weakness of the regent, the Empress Maria. The effects of more than 120 years of peace and order were destroyed in a few months. Murder and deposition became the rule among the occupants of the throne. The empire was assailed on all sides. The Venetians took possession of many islands and of Dalmatia. Bulgaria became an independent kingdom. The Turks held Asia Minor, and the Saracens Syria and Africa. Alexius Angelus, a nephew of the Emperor Alexius III., escaped to Sicily, and induced the French and the Venetians to espouse his cause. On the 17th July, 1203, after a few days' siege, Constantinople was taken by assault, and Alexius was placed on the Byzantine throne. The population of the city at that time exceeded a million of persons. But Alexius failed in fulfiling his engagements with his Latin allies, and attempts were made by the Greeks to dethrone him. Finally the Latins returned, besieged and took the city, and gave it up to plunder (9th April, 1204). Baldwin, count of Flanders, was made emperor of Constantinople and Thrace, Macedonia was erected into a kingdom and given to Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. The Venetians took the Morea and the Archipelago. Theodore Lascaris, nephew of the de-

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throned Alexius, established a kingdom in Bithynia, and soon appropriated to himself a considerable portion of Asia Minor, while David and Alexius Comnenus, seizing on Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia, founded the empire of Trebizond.

In this manner disappeared the Byzantine empire, leaving behind it but few recollections for which mankind may be grateful. The duration of the Latin empire was brief. The gallant Baldwin fell into the hands of the Bulgarians and was put to death. His brother Henry, his brother-in-law, Peter de Courtenay, and his grandsons, Robert and Baldwin, did all that mortal valor could do to sustain their empire, but in vain. Their surrounding enemies were too powerful for them. In 1261 the Greeks surprised and took Constantinople, and restored the Greek empire. The advantages of a strongly fortified city as a *point d'appui* was never more fully exemplified than in the case of Constantinople. The Byzantine emperors early perceived this and sought to make their capital impregnable. But for this the empire would have been swept away a countless number of times. And it was this which enabled it to linger on yet 192 years as the head of a body whose limbs were lopped off. For six generations did the heroic dynasty of the Palæologi maintain the semblance of an empire, while the Turks were gradually encircling them, and detaching province after province. At length, after a siege of fifty-three days, the Turkish sultan, Mahomet II., took Constantinople by assault, the emperor, Constantine XII., dying gallantly in the breach, as became the last of the Cæsars. The standard of the prophet was planted on the cathedral of St. Sophia, and the Eastern empire, after a duration of 1058 years, become a thing of the past.

Art. II.—1. *Pseudoxia Epidemica; or, vulgar and common errors.* By Sir Thomas Browne. 1646.

2. *The Phantom World; or, philosophy of spirits, apparitions, &c.* By Augustine Calmet; edited by Rev. Henry Christmas. London, 1850.

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3. *La Sorciere: the witch of the Middle Ages.* From the French of J. MICHELET. Translated by L. J. TROTTER. London. 1863.

4. *Phantasmala; or, illusions and fanaticisms.* By R. R. MADDEN. London. 1857.

To attempt an enumeration of the false judgments of men would be an endless task. Popular opinion is oftener wrong than right, contrary to the axiom which, in various forms, is reiterated by flatterers of the people; and the interfusion of error is not merely in matters relating to public men and measures, but to affairs of common life, and such as are essential to individual comfort and well-being. It was harshly, yet truly, said by Bacon, that the wrong opinions of men did not come altogether from want of understanding, nor from their aversion to having a fixed belief imposed upon them, but from their love of what is false! Of this there are various illustrations. Fiction pleases rather than the rigid truth of history. In fact history is itself never wholly true; there is a proneness to exaggeration which affects the author in common with the reader; there are partialities and dislikes to the dead as well as to the living. Great actors in the affairs of the world, in periods long past, have still their partizans and enemies—admirers and detractors—and an author, by long study of a favorite subject, is attracted by some conspicuous personage, as if by the very mesmerism of his presence, or is stirred by admiration of a people into an enthusiasm in the narrative of their achievements, as he might be in the relation of contemporaneous events, which it is well known are always seen in a false perspective. Such peculiar views of great writers are transfused into elementary works, and become stereotyped as true history, remaining unquestioned till other critics of equal acumen expose their fallacies.*

* Scipio Africanus has, under the searching criticism of Niebuhr, been shorn of much of the glory that has in all time attached to his name, and from being the greatest of the Romans has been cast down (according to the formula of the censors in taking away rank "*dejici gradu*") to the condition of a petulant patrician, boastful of his achievements, but who accomplished nothing for the lasting benefit of his country, except by his early military successes; and even these attributed in large measure to immense advantages over his enemies, and a not over scrupu-

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Who have generally been the living objects of popular idolatry? Military success is immediately followed by public admiration; but the profound and upright statesman or patriot, who almost invariably must oppose, to some extent, the ambitions and prejudices of a people, have often been postponed in reputation to another generation. "Have I said something wrong?" was the pithy rebuke of Phocion, when greeted with unwonted applause by Athenian Ecclesia. Cato, the younger, returning from a proconsulship in Asia, was met by a deputation from one of the cities; but they only inquired when Demetrius, the freedman of Pompey, might be expected. Contemporary popularity is not usually attained without arts and devices inconsistent with true greatness. An imposing presence, affability with the common people, exaggerated professions of favor to every one, even if, by repeated experience, shown to be false—in fact, downright duplicity, known to be such, if only made plausible by blandness of manner, and, more than all, gross flattery of the common people, or the inflation of national pride—these are the ordinary means by which men attain temporary greatness. Henry VIII. of England, though a tyrant, was popular, by reason of his facility of access, and, also, because the people were proud of his defiance of the great Roman hierarchy. Charles II., though he disgraced the nation by his profligacy and betrayal of the country to its enemies, nevertheless, by his good nature and readiness to promise all that was asked, was a favorite of the people. Robespierre, in the midst of slaughter by the guillotine, kept up by himself, retained to the last the leadership of the populace, by his habitual expression of sympathy for *le pauvre peuple.*

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lous method of warfare, as in the overthrow of Hasdrubal and Syphan by a night attack, in contravention of a truce which had not expired. On the other hand, his great rival, Hannibal, is elevated from the reputation of a fierce and cruel barbarian, handed down to us by false Roman annals, to a distinction, both civil and military, unsurpassed by any chief of antiquity.

Julius Cæsar has had varying alternations in regard of the world—in general, however, he has been the subject of denunciations, as the destroyer of the freedom of Rome; but in our own time he has been set up as the greatest of mankind, not only in executive ability, but in sagacious judgment of the exigencies of his country and profound forecast of the form of government best adapted thereto. Such is the vivid pictorial sketch by De Quincey and the more elaborate vindication by the Emperor Napoleon.

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Again, poetry suits better the natural taste of men than prosaic reality, and there is a perpetual tendency to elevate the common things of life into an unreal splendor. Especially is this true in the early period of a nation's history, as we see in the Greek *prosopopœia;* the exaltation of inanimate objects into sentient beings, and of unreasoning animals into rational creatures with the use of language; as, also, in the Arabian fictions, in which the supernatural is familiarly intermingled with daily life. So is it, also, with individual childhood; there is, at that period, a ready belief of the marvellous; there is even a craving for it. The ghost stories of the nursery owe their origin to infantile credulity, and the easy gratification which can be provided by an inventive mind, which is not uncommon in the humble attendants of children. The same susceptibility is retained, to some extent, in maturer years, among the uneducated. Traditions of incredible events are cherished with an undoubting faith, and superstitions are gathered up in household memories, not always of dark omen, or if so, not uncongenial to the mind in its frequently recurring sombre experiences, but often of a bright hue, giving color to what Wordsworth says:

> "Yet how forlorn, should ye depart,
> Ye superstitions of the heart,
> How poor were human life."

We may, indeed, presume that this inherent trait of our nature was bestowed for some ultimate good. It ceases not with childhood, nor with the period of the early ignorance of a people; advance in knowledge, and maturer vigor of the understanding, are attended by a higher aspiration and a larger range of imagination.*

The true theory of the office of imagination, we think, is like that of the education of a child. It cannot have been

* Isaac Taylor refers the pleasures and pains of imagination to the blending of the corporeal and spiritual, of which the latter alone would not be susceptible, and that they serve to prepare the finite for the presence of the infinite. "Those feelings of awe and ecstacy, and that adoration in which a latent dread or terror imparts intensity to the happier feelings of affection, may be necessary as well to the keeping of finite minds in the place that he owes them, as to enable them to sustain the immediate presence of absolute perfection."—*Phys. Theor. of a Future Life.*

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designed that any emotion which is founded in error should be permanent, or that any faculty should be cultivated by experiences having no sound basis. Truth is the proper aim of a rational being; but as the child has to go through a process of getting knowledge, by continued effort, but subject to many mistakes, which must be gradually got rid of, so in our more advanced state, we are still under the like discipline. The business of life is to get true knowledge; but spiritual culture proceeds from low beginning; moral and intellectual capacity must be acquired by experience and effort.

In a more practical phase of life, in the daily routine of affairs, we see the same preference for the unreal. In social intercourse we have little liking for the mere matter-of-fact man, who deals only in rigid assertions that can be proved, or in meagre truisms from which is excluded all novelty, as if every thing was unworthy of notice that is not strictly substantiated, or in oracular utterances of just so much as belongs to the subject under discussion, and nothing more. Of this sort are men whose whole thought is absorbed in a particular pursuit, and who have no interest in anything outside of it. It is, indeed, a trait eminently of all who are intensely engaged in money-making for its own sake, without the intermixture of other liberalizing incidents.*

The lawyer is led into a large observation of men, and finds something congenial in the presentation of human character in history, biographies, etc., etc., while in the logical reasoning, which is called for in legal discussions, there is an affinity with theological and psychological argument. The physician is drawn to the investigation of natural science, the theologian to mental and moral philosophy, and even the artizan seeks relief from mechanical labor by some agreeable occupation of mind, too often,

* Mill speaks contemptuously of the rabid pursuit of wealth, as if it contained all the elements of human happiness. "The struggling to get on, the trampling, elbowing and treading on each other's heels," he says, "is not the most desirable lot, nor anything but the disagreeable symptoms of one of the phases of industrial progress." Americans he holds up as the most extravagant in this wild hurrying after unreal prosperity. "The life of one sex is devoted to dollar hunting and of the other to breeding dollar hunters."—*Pol. Econ.*, b. 4., c. 6.

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indeed, of the convivial kind, and involving something of the grossness of vice, but more generally in light reading and conversation. Yet, all of these may give themselves up wholly to their one avocation, and thus become narrow-minded and incapable of general sympathy with others in their business or private life.

Whatever may be the cause, whether a limited range of thought, or barrenness of ideas on every subject, the man of few words imposes constraint, and is an unwelcome companion, while we are attracted by a flow of conversation even with extravagance of comparison, if there be mimetic art; nay, we are often pleased even with what we know to be untrue; conversation, in fact, is largely made up of exaggerated thought and expression. We have to make considerable allowance for this false tone; but there is a dark shade, viz.: that we yield too ready credence to what we know, or have reason to suspect, to be unworthy of belief.

Sir Walter Scott relates that he was never awed or abashed but in the presence of one man—the duke of Wellington; and he explains it by saying that "he beheld in him a great soldier and a great statesman, the greatest of each;" but his biographer more justly attributes it to the duke's utter want or defect of imagination, so that he was incapable of appreciating that which formed the charm of Scott's conversation and writings.*

But, recurring to the original proposition, viz.: the fact that what we deem to be knowledge is, in large measure, erroneous, we find an explanation as well as proof thereof in the fact that the knowledge of a large part of mankind is derived mostly from conversation. Even those who read books get fixed ideas less from that source than from popular opinion. It must be a mind of more than ordinary discrimination and active thought, that can be independent of what is current in the world. Oral tradition, especially in early years, makes a stronger impression than what is read in books. Even when we have been accustomed in some degree to think, and can discover error in any of those opinions, their influence still

* Lockhart's *Life of Scott.*

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remains. We act upon them by habit as if we believed them to be true. But oftener we fail of subjecting them to such measure of scrutiny as to be able to detect error.

Religious belief is especially of this character. What we are taught in early life will, it is likely, be our standard of truth for all time. Even transfer to a society where other opinions prevail will seldom eradicate what has been thus impressed; so that, after various intercourse with the world, and even being reputed to have adopted new ideas, the early habit is seen to return when the secondary influence is suspended, as, by retirement from active life, or from accustomed association. Napoleon died professing the Roman Catholic faith, notwithstanding he had a great part of his life expressed bold and even skeptical opinions, and dealt contemptously with the catholic hierarchy. In like manner it is now well substantiated, though formerly doubted, that Charles II. of England, who lived from his youth in shameless profligacy, and undisguised contempt of religion, found relief in his last moments from extreme unction by a catholic priest.

Similar to this is what we sometimes see of a man returning in advanced life to a provincial mode of speech, which, in the vigor of manhood, he had been able, by sedulous attention, and by intercourse with society, to avoid, as is related of Lord Roslyn,* that in his later years he relapsed into the Scotch idiom.

It is an incident of the traditional, that is, knowledge not derived from books, that it is never exact. What we hear from another is necessarily imperfect; nor do we think with the same precision about what is told to us, that we do of what we read. Bentham has noticed a self deception in supposing we understand what we are in the habit of talking about, when, perhaps, our ideas may be quite undefined and vague.†

* Mr. Wedderburn.

† Bentham expresses it thus: "What we are continually talking of, merely from our having been continually talking of it, we imagine we understand. So close a union has habit connected between words and things, that we take one for the other. When an unusual word presents itself we challenge it—we examine it ourselves to see whether we have a clear idea to annex to it—but when a word that we are familiar with comes across us, we let it pass under favor of an old acquaintance."

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A strong mind, having intercourse with active, intelligent and popular men, has more influence on society by conversation than by writing; and the imprssion made by a popular book is indirect. It must, in the first instance, be favorably judged by a few who think for themselves, and by them the impression is imparted to others. A popularity acquired in any other mode, will inevitably be short-lived. Opinions are thus adopted at second-hand; and without this intermediate aid of criticism and discussion in familiar intercourse, an author's influence would be inconsiderable. It is true there is seldom profound discussion in social life—so, neither is profound knowledge acquired from any source by the greater number of men—but some powerful mind, having the gifts, not often combined, of reading with discrimination and of conversing in a familiar, but instructive, method, will give tone to many others. Sentiments derived from books are thus made common, without their origin being always known, and books themselves are introduced, and become known, by the estimate in which they are held by master minds. But after all, the knowledge actually derived from them is imperfect, and perhaps, in general, even as to books of reputation, what is known is little more than what has been said of them in conversation, or written about them in a familiar way.

In following out the results of the imperfect mode of acquiring knowledge, and of the proclivity to receive what is traditional with but slight scrutiny, we shall refer rather to classes or general forms of belief, than to particular instances. Magic, witchcraft, sorcery, conjuration, are terms, which, until a very recent period, not only expressed what was believed by the common people, but were to be found in statutes and reports of legal proceedings, even in the most civilized countries of Europe. By statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. of England, witchcraft and sorcery were declared to be felony without benefit of clergy; by another statute, in the reign of James I., invoking an evil spirit, taking up dead bodies to be used in witchcraft or sorcery, injuring anybody by infernal acts, or attempting by sorcery to discover hidden treasure, or to restore stolen goods, or provoke unlawful love,

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was made punishable by death; and these statutes were in force till the middle of the last century, (9th, George II.,) while in France sorcery and witchcraft are still included (or were till very recently) among crimes subject to prosecution. The repeal of the English statutes did not, however, abrogate popular belief of the practices that had been denounced. Blackstone himself, after a review of the arguments for and against such belief, concludes that there has been witchcraft, though he could not give credit to any particular modern instance of it!*

A continuing faith therein, or at least a credulity which is easily practised upon, appears from penal laws, both in England and our own country, against pretending to use witchcraft, tell fortunes, or discover stolen goods by skill in occult science and the like. It is still common to believe in dreams and other omens, and there are, in every community, those who profess to foretell future events from various prognostics. Most frequently these superstitions relate to signs of death or of some impending calamity, as what is called the death watch, which is now known to be an insect exercising its natural voice; so, also, wandering lights (*ignes fatui*) which are phosphorescent gases, and as these are generated in the neighborhood of marshes, graveyards, dilapidated or deserted houses, they are naturally associated with something preternatural. A very common idea prevails that such appearances indicate the locality of murder or other foul deed, traditions of which are everywhere to be found.

Prophecy is a religious phase of the same sort of superstition, and the gift has been claimed in every age of the world, and has always obtained, to some extent, the credence of the ignorant. It is in some great public distress, as when the plague prevailed in London, (1665) or in extraordinary civil commotions, as the crusades, the reformation in the 16th century, and the French revolution in the 18th, that pretenders to prophetic knowlege have usually appeared.†

* 4 *Black's Com.*, 60.

† During the century of the Crusades (the thirteenth,) it was common to make disposition of property in contemplation of the approaching end of the world. The first array of the populace for the retaking of the Holy Sepulchre was led

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In our own time it has been mainly devoted to the old familiar subject of the approaching end of the world, or, rather, it is the interpretation of the prophecies in the Apocalypse; still, in the very interpretation, a prescience akin to the original vision is virtually assumed. Predictions of this sort have always been common; and a belief is entertained by many at this day that the time is at hand when the world is to be destroyed, and even the year has a number of times been fixed, but found to be premature!*

The belief in miracles performed by saints at the shrines erected to them, has, in protestant countries, been done away, and yet religious imposture still prevails to an extent not generally understood—pretenders to a divine commission have still power over the minds of a large number. Mormonism is gaining proselytes in our own country and in Europe. It is difficult to determine how far these have been persuaded into actual belief of the pretensions of the founder, (Joe Smith) or of his successor (Brigham Young); it is most likely that the social system of the Mormons has had the chief attraction. Multiplicity of wives is strangely fascinating to the lower class, especially females, and communism of labor has also a deceptive attraction, which is dispelled only by the utter disappointment of actual experience. It is startling to see what numbers, not merely of the unmarried, but of entire families, are drawn into such a lawless community from the midst of our people, and from England, Germany, and other parts of Europe.†

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by a monk, whose preaching attracted several hundred thousand people of the lowest order, who trusted themselves to his spiritual guidance, without any provision whatever for their physical wants.

The bold discussions of Luther and other reformers in the sixteenth century were followed by agitations which unsettled the popular mind, and prepared ready belief for the grossest impostures. The French revolution was prolific of interpretations of prophecy, in which all that remained unfulfilled of the Apocalypse was applied to events then occurring.

*The sect of Millerites is the latest in this century; but the time fixed for the end of the world has been more than once postponed.

There is also another form of prophetical illusion, viz.: the expectation of the second coming of Christ upon earth, without its destruction. Some of those who hold it to be near at hand believe that nothing more is to be done for the evangelizing of the world until the advent of Christ himself.

†The doctrine of spiritual wives is not limited to the Mormons. There is a large, and it is said increasing society in this country and in England, who profess to be bound by no law but that of *spiritual affinity*. It is known by the

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The gift of tongues, which is claimed by the followers of Mr. Irving, can hardly be classed with the forms of imposture, but rather of misguided faith. Advantage will, of course, be taken of weak but sincere believers, by hypocritical pretenders; but this idea of miraculous gifts has not been unusual in times of great religious enthusiasm. The prophets of Zwickan, who professed to speak from the *inspiration of the Spirit*, overawed and almost convinced the mild Melancthon, and did not wholly lose their hold of the people, even when rebuked by the coarse arguments and harsh epithets dealt against them by Luther. A similiar claim was made by Fox and some of his followers in the early days of Quakerism. Fox, when brought before the magistrate for violation of the laws against irregular preaching, imitated the language of the old Jewish prophets. One of his followers went before Cromwell, and rent his hat, saying that thus should God take the government from him and his house; a female appeared in Whitehall chapel, during service, in a perfectly nude state. Naylor seems to have set himself up as a Christ, and was addressed in letters, which were produced on his trial, from Hannah Stranger and other deluded fanatics, as the Prince of Peace, the Sun of Righteousness, the Chief among ten thousand, and the like.*

The Anabaptists, following up the agitation occasioned in the minds of men by the preaching of Luther, threw off all restraint. Munger and others set up independence of all human laws, claiming to be directed only by spiritual revelation. Bockhold, a tailor, who became the leader of the populace, after they had overthrown all civil authority in the city of Munster, was an antitype of what we have seen in our own day among the Mormons. He married eleven wives, selecting

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designation of "*Free Love*," which seems to be all that is left of what was originally an excess of religious zeal; at least, it is related that a religious sanction was given to such ideas in the great revival which commenced in 1832. Many ministers of different denominations were at that time led into erratic views and practices—but still retaining an irregular religious fervor—which was partaken of by their first followers; but all this gradually merged in a grosser form of licentiousness. The society is now composed almost wholly of those who give themselves up to a naturally immoral tendency, and have no other religious faith than a dilution of Swedenborg's visions.

* See Neal. *His. of the Puritans.*

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them at his pleasure from even the highest class; and, among other frantic performances, would run stark naked through the city, leaping and dancing in imitation of David. At Amsterdam, where he had sent emissaries to stir up the people, a number of them, male and female, in the excitement of their exercises, denuded themselves in public of all clothing, and, when arrested and brought before magistrates for disorderly conduct, defended themselves as being "*the naked truth.*" (!)

The occult science which prevailed among the Jews, and in the middle ages was believed in throughout all Christian countries, has not been wholly superseded. There have been, even at a recent period, those who have pretended to discoveries of elixirs for the prolongation of life or restoration of youth, and the like, and Cagliastro was as much believed in the last century as was Paracelsus two hundred years before.* We have not astrologers who calculate a man's life by observation of the stars, at nativity, but many traditions are interwoven with popular belief which are traceable to old superstitions, such as a special regard to certain *numbers* or *days*. What is the quarantine of vessels coming from a port where there is an infectious disease, but a legendary reference to the forty days' fast of our Saviour? What is the common idea that the whole human system is wholly changed in seven years, but a remnant of superstition as to that particular number—seven days in the week, seven sabbaths from the passover to pentecost, seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene, and the like? In fact, the symbolic idea of numbers prevailed also with the Greeks, and Pythagoras maintained a special significance of the number seven; this he did by reference to the seven chords in music, the seven pleiades, seven vowels, also, certain parts of animal bodies which it was supposed were changed in seven years—and

* Cagliastro (whose real name was Giuseppi Balsamo) was a native of Palermo in Sicily. He appeared at different courts, but became especially noted at Paris in the reign of Louis XVI., and was implicated in the famous scandal of diamonds obtained from Cardinal Rohan, ostensibly for Queen Marie Antoinette, who was personated by Madame De La Motte. He pretended to have an elixir for the extension of life, also a composition to produce love, and various other contrivances, which at the time were believed in by a great number of people.

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this may have been the real origin of the modern doctrine of a total change of the human body in that period.*

Why is Friday accounted an unlucky day upon which to commence a journey? Why has the execution of criminals, by long usage, been uniformly assigned to that day? And yet it is a singular perversion that while Good Friday is celebrate as the day when an offering was made for the sins of men, every Friday of the year should have been desecrated by the vulgar English appelation of *hangman's day*. The belief formerly prevalent that gold was a sovereign medicine, was founded upon the idea that it must be efficacious in proportion as it was precious; but it was objected by some that it was inseparable, that is, not diminished when taken, but excluded in the same quantity as received, therefore could have imparted nothing. To which objection Sir Thomas Browne answered that glass of antimony would communicate to water purging and vomiting power, but after reiterated infusions remained the same in weight†, and it is added that an antimonial cup made of regulus of antimony was formerly used, into which wine being poured was antimonized, and also that pills of antimony were, by some, made use of a second time, after having been administered once, and passed through the patient.

So, until a recent period, amulets were used as a charm against disease; nor are they yet altogether superseded. Even Boyle, who dispelled, by exact scientific reasoning, many popular errors, still vouched as a cure for hemorrhage the wearing of moss from a dead man's skull!

Some popular errors have grown out of misapprehension of what has been delivered by learned men, or sometimes from their inadvertencies, as that the horse, the deer, the

* Pythagoras also attributed a mystical meaning to the number *eight*, and had a fanciful theory that the universe was constructed upon the principle of the musical octave. Thus the sun, earth, moon and five planets, the sun being supposed to be placed in the centre, the others at certain distances according to a law of music, making in their revolutions the harmony of the spheres. However visionary this may appear, Pythagoras is not rated as a mere mystic; he had the true idea of the astronomical system, that is, of the revolution of the heavenly bodies, and his theory of the significance of numbers has had a hold of the human mind which continues to some extent to the present day.

† *Pseudoxia Epidemica.*

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pigeon and some others, have no gall; the origin of which is, that there is no gall bladder, as in the human organism; and Aristotle, with an inaccurate generality, uses the word χολη for the gall bladder and the gall; but the fact is that all these animals have that secretion, but by a somewhat varying arrangement. In the horse there is a large expansion of a part of the hepatic duct, forming a sort of reservoir and admitting of a more free flow of bile into the duodenum, which produces more frequent excretion. In the deer gall is found in the entrails, probably is secreted there; the excrements of the pigeon show the same thing in a large proportion; in fact the pigeon or dove may be called hot-livered, as shown by its amatory propensities, which disproves the correctness of Shakespear's expression, "pigeon-livered and lack-gall."*

The vast array of spectral apparitions belong to all ages and countries. Always and everywhere they have, to a large extent, been the subject of popular tradition and faith; nor has it been merely among the ignorant that the stories of ghosts have had credence, but even minds of high culture have been unable wholly to divest themselves of a secret dread of supernatural visitors in the solitude of midnight; nor is it the weakly and faint-hearted only who have testified to such visitations; the strong-nerved and courageous have also had a like experience, as Brutus at Philippi, Luther at the Wartburgh, and other celebrities in ghostly history.

An overwrought condition of the mind, whether of painful anxiety or of despair, may account for deceptions of the senses, as when in dreams images crowd the mind with apparent reality. Association also has much to do with it; the bed in

* To say that the pigeon had no gall (Sir Thomas Brown remarks,) was a tropical expression denoting that it had no anger, but has been construed anatomically. But it might with equal, or even greater, propriety have been said that it had no heart, according to the Latin scriptures. (Hos. vii., 10.) "*Factus est Ephraiem sicut columba seducta non habens cor.*" (Eng. ver., "Ephraim is like a silly dove without heart.") So it might be supposed to be of a fierce temper by misrepresentation of Jer. xxv., 38: "*Facta est terra in desolationem a facie irae columbae.*" (Eng. ver., "Their land is desolate because of the fierceness of the oppressor,") and Jer. xlvi., 16, "*Revertamur ad terram nativitatis nostrae, a facie gladii columbae*" (Eng. ver., "Let us go again to the land of our nativity, from the oppressing sword.") In which passages the dove is used as the symbol of the Babylonians from their queen Semiramis and inscribed on their standards.

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which we have seen a friend expire, the chamber which has been shrouded in death, even the burial place where the body has been deposited, will recall the form of the deceased. A very sensitive, nervous organism will even by thought alone reproduce the familiar face and figure, and it has been supposed that most of the cases of reported spectres are attributable to some morbid state of the senses, or preternatural action of the mind. This, however, would be a narrow basis upon which to account for the infinitely various cases that have been reported. It seems more probable that some at present unknown affinity with the spirit world may yet be developed. A sensible writer has remarked that the facts in respect to apparitions are not sufficiently authenticated to establish a scientific theory, yet that the reports are not without value. "The multitude of the cases narrated, their constant recurrence in all times and places, their extreme similarity in all sorts of local and temporary circumstances * * * continue to indicate the great common underground of some vast and complicated order of neglected and misunderstood phenomena."*

Until, however, there shall be some new elucidation, tending to the development of a scientific principle involved in this class of cases, we must set them down among *popular illusions*, with only the distinctive trait of being nearer universal than any other deception of the human mind.

It is worthy of observation that spectral appearances have always been associated with lonely places, with darkness and other incidents repugnant to the living. This natural proclivity of the imagination was made by Plato the basis of a singular theory; that spirits which were in an impure state at death, retaining something of the body, wander about as shadowy phantoms among tombs, seeking to be reunited to a corporeal nature, and that this is finally accomplished by union with the bodies of animals having like habits with those to which such souls had given themselves in life.† So in all times the graveyard has been deemed peculiarly haunt-

* "Ghosts and Ghost Seers," from *North British Review.*

† Plato's *Phaedo.*

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èd by ghosts. A deserted house is also subject to popular stories of spectral visitation, especially if some deed of violence has been committed there, or suspected to have been; and a chamber which has long been unoccupied will in like manner be the dread of domestics in a family.

If reason had any influence over the mind in respect to the supernatural, a question would arise why spirits having, as is always supposed, the power of free motion, should choose for resort places that were repugnant to them when in the body; this question could be solved only by assuming that it was not by choice, but imposed as a penalty; or, on Plato's hypothesis, that the soul is after death given over to the control of whatever was impure and loathsome in its nature. Again, the popular idea as to those who have communication with the spirits of the dead, witches, necromancers, &c., associates them with repulsive forms and expression, showing that every thing connected with the supernatural is assigned to *wicked* spirits as being their peculiar domain; and many poor creatures have incurred the penalty of witchcraft or sorcery merely by reason of haggish, shrivelled or disease-stricken form and features.

Mesmerism and clairvoyance are modern forms of magic. The theory is that one mind may have power over another so as to supersede the natural volition of the latter and impose the will of the former, whereby the subject of this superimposed will is made to think and act wholly by its direction. An advance beyond this is when the mesmerizer produces what is called a *magnetic sleep*, in which the subject is withdrawn from external impressions, becomes insensible to outward applications, and such as would at other times be painful, but is endowed with supernatural vision, can see through interposing obstructions, and even has a view of the interior of the human organism. Nor is this vision limited to a present object, but upon having his attention directed to a person who is not present, the sleeper will have a like vision in respect to him. This has given rise to consultation of clairvoyants by or for the sick, and some physicians are in the habit of sending patients to them, of whose ailments they are in doubt. A still further advance is made when

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instead of occasional illumination under the immediate application of mesmeretic power, it becomes a permanent condition, so that at any time by self-concentration there will be a supernatural perception.

It is also related that in some persons it is intuitive and not the result of manipulation and practice. Thus a French physician recently deceased,* who was celebrated for his discernment of the locality and nature of diseases, declared upon his death bed that he owed it to the power of clairvoyance, whereby he had actual vision of the inner organism of his patients, and could thus perceive the precise condition of the part affected; that he could also see within himself, and he stated how far his disease had progressed and how long he had to live, which prediction was fulfilled! Such is the report of the case, how well authenticated we cannot vouch.

Although the originator of this method of supernaturalism, or rather of the theory of a similitude of magnetism in the human system, was pronounced a charlatan by a committee of very distinguished men in 1784,† and for a considerable time the belief in the theory was limited for the most part to that class who have ever been the subjects of imposture; yet more recently the present phase of the system has been sustained, in part at least, by some men of scientific distinction.

Clairvoyance may, therefore, be considered as having been elevated to something more than mere practice upon the credulity of men. The theory is not wholly new. Bacon refers to something like it, and although rejecting the pre-

* Armand Trousseau.

† The committee was appointed by the Medical Faculty of Paris. Dr. Franklin and Lavoisier were members of it. The experiments were exhibited, not by Mesmer himself, but by his acolyte, D. Eslon, who was, however, fully conversant with the subject. In 1831 a report was made by another committee, appointed in like manner by the same Faculty, which sustained the claim that mesmerism had a scientific basis, but it had then become essentially different in its aspect from what it was represented to be on the first occasion, the magnetic sleep and clairvoyance having in the mean time been brought out by Puysegur, and the whole subject elaborately illustrated by Deleize.

In England, Dr. Braid has pursued the investigation and established, as he supposes, a science to which he gives the name of *neurypnology*, the magnetic sleep being denominated *hypnotism*. His deductions are within a more limited range than the French and German speculations, and are confirmed as entirely reliable by Dr. Carpenter, who is a good authority in physiology.

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tentions of Paracelsus and others, who "exalted the power of imagination so as to make it one with the power of miracle working faith;" he rather favors the idea that, like contagion or passage from body to body, there may be transmissions from spirit to spirit without the mediation of the senses.

A cautious thinker will, however, call to mind that pretended miracles and feats of magic have been exhibited in every age, and been supported by an amount of testimony which it is not easy to overcome, yet all in their turn have faded out from the minds of men under the caustic erosion of practical sense. New charlataneries have successively appeared; the old been gradually forgotten or discarded. That a similar result awaits this modern development in the ceaseless pursuit of the supernatural, we think, may be safely predicted. Its fundamental principle, if sustainable, would subvert the moral government of the world. A possible tyranny of one mind over others, not by persuasion, by weight of argument, or by attraction of sympathy, but by brute force—the will of the stronger overpowering that of the weaker—is abhorrent to our moral nature.

The various methods by which influence is ordinarily obtained over the minds of men, are consistent with individual freedom, and so far as there may, in any instance, appear unusual domination, it is still the moral power of superior traits of human character; sometimes the heroic verging, perhaps, on ferocity in its excess of energy;* but oftener, and chiefly, the benign. We yield with admiring docility to the precepts or admonitions of one who exhibits in his life a kind regard for his fellow men, and an entire people may be led where goodness is combined with great endowment, whether in action or in thought.

But the magnetic hypothesis would give over the delicate,

* But even those who have called forth admiration by great achievement have attached their followers and inspired a self-sacrificing devotion by more amiable phases of disposition. Napoleon was the idol of his soldiers, not solely by reason of his victories, but in a large measure by his personal attention to the lowest in rank and provident care for their wants. This was, indeed, greatly magnified in their estimation by his exhibition of tremendous power in action, as the combination is so rare.

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the sensitive, the intellectual, to the low-lived practices of coarse and sensual minds.* The will of an evil nature is in our poor humanity stronger than that of the good. It is more lawless, and therefore unrestrained. What there is in us of good has need to be cherished by divine precept, nay, even by a divine example.

Phrenology is not so repulsive to our natural feeling of independence, but when followed out in exact detail it establishes a fatalism which is singularly attractive to unreasoning minds. Most men are quite ready to be relieved of responsibility for what is wrong in their habit of life, in other words, they are willing to continue in an evil course without effort against it and to seek justification or apology in an imagined predestination by the very institution of their nature. They would resent duress by human agency, but yield complacently to the hypothesis that they were constituted as they are by a higher power and cannot act otherwise than as was thus prescribed.

To such men phrenology comes with natural persuasiveness; it furnishes precisely what is wanted in palliation of moral obliquity. It also attracts such as have a proclivity to a show of worldly wisdom in opposition to the higher forms of moral and religious truth. There is a satisfaction to a man's pride in the display of a pseudo knowledge, acquired without study or scholarly education, which can be used with apparent effect against old and generally received opinions. Whether this be a sufficient explanation or whatever may be the cause, it is observable that phrenology has chiefly attracted the low-minded, some by the flattery of having external developments, that, according to that philosophy, indicate remarkable gifts, others by the gravitation to a fatalism which justifies all their short-comings.

It might seem surprising that so great a thinker as Comte should have given any countenance to a theory so base in principle, and having so little of the intellectual. But the general tendency of his views was materialistic, and there

* Dumas' "Memoirs of a Physician," which was designed as a delineation of Cagliastro, furnishes a vivid illustration of the revolting consequences that might be expected, if there was any basis for this pretended science.

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was, too, something in the hypothesis of Gall that the human faculties are developed by exercise and wasted by inactivity. But as to the exterior projection of these faculties upon the superfices of the head constituting a map whereon may be seen all that is contained within the cranium; the idea was, *a priori*, an absurdity and could only be established by absolute demonstration, instead of which the proofs which have been essayed have been wholly abortive.

ART. III.—1. *Researches into the Physical History of Mankind.* By J. C. PRITCHARD. London.

2. *Histoire critique de l'etablissement de Colonies Greques.* Par RAOUL-ROCHETTE. Paris.

3. *Origine des Pelasges.* GEINOS. Paris.

4. *Die Etrusker.* (*The Etruscans.*) C. O. MÜLLER. Berlin.

5. *History of Roman Literature.* DUNLAP. London.

6. *Geschichte der Rom. Literatur.* (*Hist. of Roman Literature.*) J. C. F. BÄHR. Berlin.

The science of geology has given to the world glimpses of the animal kingdom in ages far remote from the creation of man. Huge beasts and huger reptiles lived and moved and worked out the wonders of creation at a time when man, according to Darwin, was yet in the progressive stage. But the crust of the earth had hidden their bony structures from curious and speculative eyes for so long a time that pious men doubted if it was orthodox to believe in them at all. Cuvier had indeed pronounced, from a careful inspection of a fossil, that it was not only such an one as did not exist on the earth at present, but that it was competent for science to arrange and classify all these outlaws, and to determine the epoch at which they flourished. But who was Cuvier? very justly demanded the timid righteous; who was this audacious Frenchman who dared to establish data that would controvert the writings of Moses? Was it not possible that Satan had formed these bones of malice prepense in a rationalistic and infidel age, in order that the souls of Christian men might be led into lasting destruction?

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Unfortunately for the gentlemen whose piety united Cuvier, Satan and geology in so strange a combination, the era of steam locomotion was close at hand. Cuttings and tunnellings were made through venerable hills and immemorial banks, in every possible direction. Now, it not unfrequently happens that in the quiet English villages which were invaded by the "navvies," the only men of education are the doctor and the clergyman. To the sameness of parochial existence the new science, backed up by the fossils which the navvies were selling by bushel baskets, offered a charming relaxation, which they were not slow to seize upon. Hence came the curious fact that half the most ardent and practical geologists were either clergymen or doctors—men who were undeniably sound as rocks from any taint of infidelity, and not to be put down or silenced by any wild shrieks from timid brethren. These men, to whom the geologic hammer had become an institution, fought the battles of the young science with such honesty of purpose and vigor, that they carried their point, and reconciled the world at large to a system which started out by declaring that the earth was very, very old, and that the wonders of creation were neither wrought in six days, nor in the order related in Genesis.

On this point orthodoxy declared itself satisfied, but on the subject which we are about to discuss orthodoxy is still very restive. Having admitted that the earth was very old, it ought also to be admitted that man's existence on the earth is much more ancient than has generally been supposed. The chronology of the church has given to us as the present date, 5872, founding it on the idea that Christ came into the world in the year 4004. Now, if the more ancient Hebrew numerals were well understood, which they are not, there would still be an error in taking this date as it stands, and for this reason: that the number *chahel*, or forty, in Semitic languages, means an indefinite number. Thus the Arabs call Persepolis *chahel menior*, the forty pillars, and in Hindustani *chalis rissale*, forty squadrons, means an immense multitude of cavalry. Moreover the number forty is repeated over and over again in the Old Testament, and appears to have a mystic and occult meaning. Now, in the number 4004 we have the mystic word repeated forwards and backwards, which is a truly Oriental ar-

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rangement, as in the word for God, Al-la. There is really no reason whatever for adopting the present chronology as biblical, or even as the legitimate result of biblical dates, for it is neither the one, nor the other. It is the simple result of a misappreciation of the word forty, even as again and again the word which implied dynasty has been translated generation. Orthodoxy must permit the world to doubt the infallibility of the translators, whilst it venerates the sacred word itself. And therefore, in the discussion of those subjects which we have termed the fossils of history, it must plainly be understood that we claim a far higher antiquity for man than has been accorded to him by Moses.

There are, in the history of the world, several races that appear to us indirectly, and, as it were, in a fossilized condition. Of such is the Pelasgic and, in a less degree, the Etruscan. Of the former we know nothing, save through Greek poetry and Greek legends. The Pelasgians were, according to them, a race of people stained with strange crimes, worshiping the Saturnian deities, and ignoring utterly or offering partial and maimed rites to Zeus and his accompanying great divinities. They dealt in magical charms and incantations; they were objects of dread and horror, they were served at table by ghosts whom they raised from the silence of the tomb. Their cities were terrible; the adventurous merchant who ventured to visit them in search of gain marched through long sombre streets, adorned with huge mysterious piles, in honor of beings never mentioned among the pure and guileless Ionians. He met priests clad in long flowing garments of strange cut and texture, who passed through the throng muttering prayers that sounded far too like incantations to be holy or beneficent. Throughout the nights lurid fires burned on secret altars, strange and awful sounds were heard in fitful rollings, stranger feasts were eaten, at which the fare was loathsome to the chaste Ionic mind. Animals prowled around who had human eyes and human sagacity, and, it was thought, had sometime been men. There were even legends of fair women who enticed strangers to amorous dalliance, and then turned them into bestial shapes. The very seamen of those Pelasgic cities of Asia Minor were not as other sailors, frank and open

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in their bearing. Their faces were sullen and downcast, and they preferred foul weather to fair, and were most at home amid the fogs of the Ægean Sea.* Whence came those fogs? In the Tyrrhene blue waters there were none, but the Ægean had numerous Pelasgic poets, and their enchantments produced those fogs and tempests by which they hoped to keep the sea and its commerce to themselves. Nay, they were not honest merchantmen, they were pirates, and attacked all vessels which they met on the seas. For these and other acts of impiety, but more especially for the manner in which they treated strangers, and outraged the laws of hospitality, sacred to the mighty Zeus himself, they were driven as wanderers over land and sea, and their chief cities, and more especially Troy, destroyed utterly. No sooner did they make a settlement and begin to prosper than the divine vengeance came down upon them, and drove them to other fields and pastures new. For this reason they were called *Pelargoi*, which means storks, being, as Dionysus absurdly remarks, like to that bird which is continually wandering.†

It is certain, in the first place, that no bird is more constant to the place it has chosen for rearing its young than the stork. It is also certain that the stork was a sacred bird with a high reputation for piety, and, in the third place, it is certain that pelasgoi does not originate from pelargoi, which word is undoubtedderivable from pelagos the ocean, the stork being a bird which, after the fledging of his young, always flew seaward. Therefore pelargoi would mean sea birds, and not wanderers. But it is evident to the candid reader that if pelasgoi meant only wanderers, or storks, or sea lovers, it would only have been a Greek nick-name—a cognomen. Because the English call their neighbors Jean Crapaud, it by no means follows that they call themselves so. So history demands not what the Greeks called this race, hated by the gods, but what name they gave themselves; and we are sorry to say that no one, as yet, has replied to the demand. But men have arisen who have disposed very conclusively of the name Pelasgi, and, according to their hypotheses, the name never belonged to the race to whom it

* *Origine des Pelasges*, pp. 140–160.

† *Horæ Pelasgeæ*, p. 120.

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is now given, but was misapplied by Dionysus, who traced its meaning from pelargoi—storks.*

To trace out the confused thread which we find in fossilized conditions, we must first disabuse our minds of the pictures which the Greeks drew of this unknown people. The great poem of the Hellenic nation represents the desperate struggle between the races, and in the glowing hexameters of Homer, and the glorious description of Hector, we may find a truer and more generous portraiture of the so-called Pelasgians. It will be noticed that Greek and Trojan speak a language which, if not identical, is easily intelligible on both hands. The weapons are the same, but there is a tendency on the part of the Trojan to use the bow, a weapon accounted cowardly by the Hellenic chivalry. There is also internal evidence that in architecture the Trojan surpassed the Greek, more especially in the fortifications which surrounded the city, and in the palaces of the nobility. The Greeks account for this by supposing that Neptune and Apollo built those famous walls. Both are maritine nations, and yield supremacy to none save the far-sailing Tyrrhian barks, whose sails and purple standards penetrated to every sea. But still even in Homer the charge of impiety to the gods is maintained, and in spite of the partiality of some of the Olympians, the fate of the city has been definitely determined. Troy must fall on account of the impiety of its inhabitants. It will be owned that in the pages of the Iliad the great Pelasgic people appear in much more favorable colors than elsewhere. But is it evident that the Hellenic kings and tribes were unaminous on the point of their expulsion. They were determined to drive them far away from any point where they could enter into competition with themselves. Accordingly the remnant seeks refuge in Italy, and lays the foundation of ancient Rome. Now in this legend of Æneas and his companions, it is rational to suppose, lies some truth. Probably this race, evidently cognate to the Greeks, and skillful mariners, had already planted colonies in that quarter, and what can be more likely than that after the burning of their chief city they should take their galleys and flee to their prospering col-

* Dion. Hal., i., 35. Müller, *Geschichte der hellenischen Stamme.*, p. 100.

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onies. But the language they spoke was so akin to the Greeks that historians of that country continually confound the two, and call the Trojan settlements *Magna Græcia*. There might have been, there certainly were some, Hellenic colonies in Italy, but the great majority were Pelasgian. But why were they so called? And what was the blunder that Dionysus committed in his history?

There was a race which existed at that time in Italy which called itself by the proud name of Ra-Senna, and was known commonly as Etruscan. That race, also an historic fossil, has had so great an influence upon the world, that much information has been gleaned about it. But though in the pages of Roman history we find enough to convince us that this people was Khamitic, there is not a single word to tell us whence the Ra-Senna came, at what time, or under what circumstances. All this is dark and unknown. But as the man who lives in gloomy caverns by long use has enabled himself to see clearly in the dim obscurity, so the patient toiler in the mines of history is enabled to distinguish and to note objects indecypherable to other eyes. Juvenal tells us that they wrote from right to left, and that they were much given to fortune-telling, and the sale of philters and charms, and that all the astrologers and professors of mysterious knowledge in his day were Etruscan. They alone divined the fortunes of the future from the intestines of the victims and the livers of the sacred birds, and to them the education of the youth destined to sacred professions was always entrusted. From other sources we find that they conquered the Pelasgic colonies, and that they were hardy seamen and adventurous merchants, and that they cleared the seas of the Pelasgian navies, which were devoted to piracy. They excelled in gold work, and also in pottery; their vases of early date being peculiar in design and altogether original in ornamentation. After they conquered a race so akin to the Greeks their pottery and their gold working became more like the Hellenic workmanship, and less original.* In these later times, the subjects on the vases were generally taken from the Iliad, but in the former and the purer Etruscan the subjects were original, with this peculiarity: that the figures were in black

* Gilbert, *Les Prémiers habitants de la Grece*, pp. 100–4.

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and red, or white and red; but that the red figures always typified the Etrurians themselves.*

Now, this boasting of themselves as red men would lead us at once to the Edomites or Adamites, seeing that the literal meaning of Edom or Adam is *red people*. In the earlier Egyptian paintings in relief the same idea is manifested; the kings and warriors being painted a lively red, whilst their enemies are sometimes white, sometimes light red, sometimes black. There exists, too, in the British museum, a fresco painting where the four kinds of men are represented. The red (Egyptian), the light (Ionian), the light red (Assyrian), and the black (Ethiopian.) Now, putting aside any preconceived ideas we might have had on the subject from a false interpretation of biblical truths, we shall see that this idea of the red man was Khamitic. What were the Khamitic nations? Well, the Phœnicians were Khamitic; and the Egyptians were Khamitic; and the people who dwelt along the Red sea, and in the land of Edom, and in Palestina proper (before the irruption of the Jews) were all Khamitic.

But this word Palestina is a singular one, and its derivation is necessary before we go further. It would seem, according to Bunsen and Champollion's translation of the hieroglyphic writings, that *Paleshth* (Palestinians) was the generic name by which the Khamitic peoples were known. But Palestinoi and Palestoi are the words by which the Greeks and Romans described the dwellers in the above named regions who were not Jews. Paleshth is also the name given by the hieroglyphics to the fierce Hyksos, who have also been called Palestinians. Now, as the world is not, as yet, perfect master of Phœnician and Egyptian literature, and as Etruscan letters are still a sealed mystery, we do not know *what* Paleshth means, but we do know *who* it means. And in Latin it is written Palestini, Palatini, Palesti and Palati.† Now, from Palesti or Palati to Pelasgoi is not a far step, seeing that the Greeks invariably Hellenized every word that fell into their clutches. Thus Xenophon makes Daruish into Darius, and Pasargardæ into Persepolis. Pelasgoi then would mean the race who conquered, and the name, by an error, would be given to the conquered, and would be used

* Dunlop, *Hist. Rom. Lit.*, vol. i., p. 26, *et seq.*
† Schöll, *Hist. de litt. Rom.*, vol. i., Intro. p. 4.

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to designate them even before they met with the Etruscans. It is plain that the Etruscans must have meant at first the Tuscan people who were subdued by these invading Paleshth. Now, Tuscan or Etruscan, Oscan, Cascan, Priscan, all belong to a race which was not Pelasgic in either sense. Yet, by an error, the name adhered to the conquerors, and, by a similar error, the name of the conquerers fell upon the victims who came from the distant Pergamos. But, for even a more striking example, we can take England, where the haughty Norman barons called themselves English, though the word was Saxon, and intimated a descent from the Angelisch or Angli, and to-day the same English call themselves Britons, though truly they should be called Anglo-Saxo-Normans. But though, if these facts be conceded, Pelasgi should be mentioned only in connection with the Ad-om—red men—the misfortune is, that unless we invent a name for the colonists from Asia Minor we shall be at some loss to express our meaning. Let us, therefore, call them Tyrrhenians, since they always lived in the vicinity of the Tyrrhenian sea.

Now, how comes it that this people should be so greatly at variance with the Greeks, and yet should speak a similar language? If we, moreover, examine into the mythology, we become very much dissatisfied with the idea that Zeus and Saturn are different divinities. The stories told of both are so exactly similar, the concealment of birth, the substitution of a stone, the war against the father and the brothers who ruled the sea and hill, that we are forced to believe, not that one religion superseded another, but that, in reality, they were two representations of the same thing. Let us suppose that there existed a tribe somewhere in the heart of Asia Minor, the original parent of both Greek and Tyrrhenian. Other hordes press upon them, and part emigrate and fall under the tutelage and instruction of the Phœnician people, the Sidonians being at that time paramount.*

Afterwards the whole tribe migrate and build cities in juxtaposition with their brethren, receiving instruction from, and acknowledging the supremacy of Tyre. The Phœnician religion was cosmic, but the Greeks did not love abstract ideas, and always personified them. And, as the idol-

* Müller, *Die Etrusker.*

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ator cannot separate the symbol from the divinity, so the Hellenic poets failed to discern the abstract idea behind the impersonification. So the two squabbled over the same truth, just because they were unable to read the secret meaning of the religious myths. And we, whose history narrates the exploits of Gustavus Vasa, the protestant hero, and of sundry catholic heroes, can realize how dreadful a hatred would originate between the colonists and the mother tribe. The original colonists got beaten, very probably because the Ionians obtained the assistance of Tyre, which was the guiding spirit of the clime and age. And this may probably account for the fact of our tracing no name to them except Pelasgian, which was not theirs; for the strong probability is that they called themselves Ionians; and this, moreover, is supported by the fact that they had frequent communications with the Egyptians at a time when the Ionians proper had not appeared on the stage of history.

In one of the frescoes before mentioned is a deputation from the Uinni, which has undoubted reference to the Ionians. And at that time no authentic Ionian colonies had made their appearance on the sea coast of Asia Minor. The traditions that the Greeks received their lore from the Egyptians is very doubtful; for it will be remarked that this people, coming from the interior, must have fallen into the hands of a maritime people, because they became in a short time maritime. But the Egyptians had no fleet, hated and despised the sea and all that belonged to it, so that all legends about Egyptian teachings must be received with caution. More than that, the Greeks got their letters from the Phœnicians, and not from the Egyptians, whose highest form of writing, the anaglyph, was yet not so advanced as the true system of letters, representing sounds and combinations of sounds. If it were not foreign to the scope of this article, we would quote Bunsen to show that the Egyptian gods were nothing but the *Eabiri* of Phœnicia, and that the form under which the Greeks and Romans and Tyrrhenian-Ionians worshipped them, shows conclusively that they did not get their knowledge from Egypt, where they had the very vaguest conception of their original great gods, and, indeed, superseded them in time by a worship in which the hand of Obi and of Fetische is a little too discernible.*

* Schöll, vol. iii., p. 5.

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The Tyrrhenian-Ionians then fled to Italy, and fell under the power of the conquering Paleshth. But not all of them; some tribes, especially those of Magna Græcia, maintained their independence. They, moreover, are said by tradition to have laid the foundation of glorious Rome. Now, a little careful examination will show that this is no vague rumor, but an actual fact, and we may say that the descendants of the wanderers from Asia Minor in the course of time took as hearty and as vigorous a vengeance upon the descendants of their persecutors as imagination could wish. Nay, more, the posterity of Achilles and of Agamemnon became the lackeys and the toad-eaters of the posterity of Hector and of Dardanus. The sentence, "*Græculus esuriens*," is a sufficient offset for the flames of Troy, and the poetic Nemesis acknowledges herself amply satisfied with the degradation of the proud and pitiless Hellenes.

We are perfectly well aware that this has to be proved, and that the world will not accept as proof quotations from the Æneid. Nor do we propose to offer them. Our chief authority will be Niebuhr, and a little more to the purpose than Virgil's from Homer and from Ennius. And in taking the Latin language as the basis of our argument, we do that which is irrefragable; for language cannot lie. If we meet words in the Latin which are identical with the Greek, we know at once that there must have been some connection with the Greek; but if no possible proof can be urged of any such connection, then the alternative is that the words are indigenous. But that proves also that those indigenous inhabitants, from whom the words came, must have been, if not Greek, which they decidedly were not, then Tyrrhenic-Ionian; for they, and they alone, spoke the same language as the Greeks.*

We do not wish it to be understood that we assert they spoke the same language; but it was cognate to it, and intelligible to the children of Hellas. But if in the same Latin language we find unquestionable traces of German and Gaelic, by the self same argument we are forced to admit that part of the indigenous Romans must have been Gaelic and Teutonic.

* Dunlop, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.*

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If the words *pater*, *mater*, *vos*, *vomer*, *ops*, all prove that the Tyrrhenic-Ionians formed part of the Roman race, then the words *manlius*, *furia*, and, hundreds more speak for the German, and the words *vir*, *gallus*, etc., for the Gaelic elements. So we may conclude from the language that our friends of Troy did, through time, get their revenges upon their cruel foes.

But proof also could be adduced from the method of fighting, which was identical, at first, with that adopted by the Greeks, and known as the phalanx, and we must admit that the same method of fighting was in vogue with the Gaels, and down to 1745 was used by the Highlanders of Scotland. It is simply the charge in column, the noblest and best armed being in front, and the baser class and badly armed in rear. Many historians have enlarged upon the difference between the Roman legion and the Greek phalanx; but they seem to have overlooked the fact that until the Etruscan kings had changed the array into a triple line, there was no difference. Then, indeed, when the proud Paleshth had inaugurated a radical change in their armament and battle line, and had instituted a system of earthworks and strict military discipline, the Roman Eagle began to soar, and her scream was heard afar among the nations of the earth; for it was to the teaching of the Paleshth, to his glorious intermarriages with them, that the Celsi Rhamnes owed their supremacy.

Through those intermarriages it came about that the cheek of the legionary was olive, and his hair coal-black, and his nose like the beak of an eagle, and his eye dark and ardent. Such complexions came neither from the fair-haired Teuton, nor the ruddy Gaul, nor from the blue-eyed, white-skinned Ionian. The Paleshth had been there. His complexion and blood can be traced throughout the modern people of the Mediterranean, as the Arab stallion can be seen in our blooded stock. And in the unreliable histories of Rome which are used in schools, and which appear to be gleanings from Cornelius Nepos and Eutropius, nothing stands out so surely as that the Tarquins were Etruscan princes.*

Unfortunately, the true records of early Roman history were

* Nammacheri, *Comment. de litt. Rom.*, p. 120.

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destroyed at the time of the Gaelic invasion under Brennus, and in later times the Romans industriously perverted history, so that they should seem to have been always victorious. But through all the discrepancies and lies and rubbish that are given to studious youth as early Roman history, we cannot mistake one fact, and that is, that both Romulus and Numa Pompilius must be excluded as mythic. We are gravely told that Romulus divided the Romans into three tribes, when it is evident, upon the very face of history as it were, that those tribes belonged to different nations, and coalesced at different epochs. Nay, more, Romulus and Remus are the same word precisely, like Jack and Johnnie. Remus (the *r* being aspirated) is the son of Rhea, a goddess, the *bona dea*, ancient protecting deity of Rome, and worshipped with mysterious and unknown rites. The first tribe is called Rhamnes, and evidently owes its name to this Remus, from whom the whole clan was descended, and he took his name from a divinity whom he claimed as his mother. The second tribe is called Tities, we are told, after Agnus Tatius, king of Quirioum, a Sabine town inhabited by the Quirites, and situated on the hill Quirinalis. In after times the word Quirites meant at first the poorer classes of the city, and at last was used indifferently for all Roman citizens who belonged to the city. The third tribe was called Luceres, the word being derivable from *lucerno*, Etruscan word for noble, and inhabited the Cœlian hill, so called from Cœles Vipenna, a Etruscan general who was expelled from Vei, and took refuge in the rising city.* It is clear, however, that though Romulus was a myth, and Remus died ages before Rome was thought of, yet the first tribe, the Celsi Rhamnes, were truly of Tyrrheni-Ionian origin. They represented the Greek element in the language. The Sabine origin of the second tribe must also be admitted, and they were Gaelic. But the third tribe was Etruscan, was Paleshth, beyond the shadow of a doubt. The third and fourth kings may have been native, their names imply it—Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius. One name smacks of the Greek element, the other reveals the fact that some of the nations ending in

* Müller, *Die Etrusker.*

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cus had joined Rome, for the name simply implies the warlike Ancan, or the Ancan protected by Mars. But the next name is Servius Tullius. Now Servius does not mean servile, by any means, but is a corruption of Sero-uios, son of the evening, to which a kindred word will be found in the Hebrew *zeruiab*, which bears precisely the same interpretation. We therefore claim Servius as an Etruscan king. The glorious record of those princes, what they did for Rome, their drainings, their buildings, their conquests over surrounding nations and angry warlike tribes, hating the idea of owning supremacy to another people, their attention to the arts and sciences, the changes they introduced into the existing religion—all these things would be pleasant to speak of, but would lead us away from the main branch of our subject. We shall therefore think it sufficient to say that the Tyrrhenian-Ionians gave the first tribe to Rome, but that its civilization and its military genius came from the Etruscans. To some extent, then, we have placed our fossils in their proper position. The whole truth can never, however, be known until the secret of Etruscan writing is solved, and the clue will be found in ancient Phœnicia.

There is another historic fossil which is found occasionally in Italy, more especially in the islands, and in the south. Huge ruins, walls of gigantic rock are found there, seemingly without a plan, and without any attempt at architecture. The ancients who surveyed with wonder the masses of stone piled up in a manner seemingly above human strength, and in wild, savage, solitary places, imagined that these walls were built for pastime by the Cyclops, the one-eyed blacksmith of Vulcan, and called them Cyclopean. But when men who were familiar with Stonehenge, and other Druidic *cromlechs*, began to travel in those regions, they at once detected their Keltic nature. Yet history had given no intimation of this race having inhabited any part of southern Europe. There were the fossil evidences in the sight of all men. Cæsar, a shrewd man, had seen the Druidical sacrifices, and had ridden past many a cromlech, when the fires burned brightly, and the victims shrieked for mercy, and the armed men stood around the ring of stone, with uplifted javelins and glaring eyes. And

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he had seen the Cyclopean walls of Italy, and had, perhaps, listened to some fantastic myth of the forges of Ætna. But no glimpse of the truth glanced over that acute mind, nor did any Roman ever suspect that the barbarians of Gaul had once ruled over the sunny lands of the Mediterranean.

Taking up the Keltic as a fossil race, though that is incorrect, since a pretty vigorous tribe of it is still existing, we find that an intimate connection existed between the Kelt and the Gael. The languages were so near akin, that though they were not identical, the Scottish Highlander who spoke Gaelic partially understood the Irish Kern who spoke Erse. But at that early time of which we speak, namely, the period of the conquest of Italy by the Etruscan Paleshth, it must be believed that the Kelts occupied a considerable portion of England. For the Britons were a Gaelic race unquestionably, and crossed over to England from that part of France now known as Brittany. Brith means "ruler," and is undoubtedly Gaelic, the chief potentate of Gaul in Cæsar's time bearing the title of Vergobretus—Vir-go-breth—the man for ruler. The similarity between the Ersic dialect of the Keltic and the Gaelic will be at once understood by comparing the above sentence with the famous Irish battle cry "*Erin go bragh.*"

At the period when all the Brethons were in Bretagne and other parts of France, England was occupied by Kelts. But when the Etruscan Paleshth drove the Gaels from Italy, the same process drove the Kelts from England, the pressure of Gaelic tribes driving part of the Brethons into England, the others remaining in Bretagne as before, the expelled Kelts taking shelter in that part of England which is guarded by the Severn; for the high banks, breadth and rapid current of this river have at all times made it a valuable defence to a fleeing nation. It is fair to suppose that the Gael drove the Kelt out of Italy under similar circumstances, but the question is, did he meet any race there in Italy when he first emigrated? Regarding his race as the earliest emigrants of the Aryans, is there anything in history, are there any fossil remains, any broken architecture, which may reveal to us the pre-existence of some race inhabiting Italy prior to its occupation by the builders of the Cyclopean cromlechs? To this we are obliged to answer, no.

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Yet there is much reason to suppose that at the time when the Keltish emigration took place Europe was peopled. The question then resolves itself into two: first, what was the race which inhabited Europe? secondly, is there any reason to suppose that Italy would not be inhabited by that same people? Much of our answer will be conjectural, but founded on historic fossils, and if we call the attention of others to the subject, we shall not have written in vain. We believe they were Turanian, and for the following reasons:

The Kelt, the bright forerunner of the emigrant nations who have made Europe so famous, and have founded America and Australia, was not indeed very far advanced in civilization even as compared with coeval nations. But he had reached a point where comfort commences, a sense of delicacy, and a love of intellectual display. His religion, the Druidic, like every other Aryan religion, had been influenced by the Phœnicians to some extent; for the practice of sacrificing human victims, which unfortunately formed a considerable portion of the Druidic rites, may be at once pronounced as alien to Aryan traditions, and akin to the dark and forbidding rites practised by both Shem and Ham. Within those gloomy circles of stone, known as cromlechs, the pile was reared on which the shrieking victims were fastened with metallic, sometimes golden chains. In one particular spot of that ring the stones were piled higher than elsewhere, and this spot was attainable by steps consecrated to the priesthood. Here, in his glittering robes of white, and holding the mystletoe and the sacred sickle, the high priest, attended by two neophytes, superintended the terrible solemnity. At the openings stood the warriors of the tribes, their huge moustaches falling on their breasts, and their long yellow hair matted and elfish. Their glittering weapons guarded every avenue of escape, and if some victim, roused to frenzy, had burst from the acolytes and the pile, he would have died upon the serried spears. But few ever perished thus, for all believed that such a death would lead to fearful tortures in the next world. The Druidic hymns which appear in the old Irish literature would indicate that the mortal who so offended would become the prey of those terrible witches from whom the Druids and the brave

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Keltic warriors had won the island. In the exploits of Fin McCoul and the Fenian chivalry who formed his court, we constantly come upon adventures of dashing young braves who, protected by Druidic spells, confront these fearful beings and conquer them. One in particular records the adventures of three brothers, soldiers of Fin McCoul, and famous for bravery and athletic feats, who rescued the young child of a nobleman which had been stolen by a witch. This awful hag, whose face was so loathsome that men died even to look on it, lived on a tower of steel which floated on Lough Neagh, and revolved with fearful rapidity, moving with exactitude, wherever the skinny hand of the witch pointed. These brothers are successful, but are pursued by the hag, upon which the third brother stations himself in the stern of the boat, stretches out his hands, and utters Druidic charms. The witch, by her arts, has caused a thick fog to steal over the waters, but as the intrepid youth repeats the spell, lightnings come from the tips of his fingers, and disperse the gloom. The second brother hurls a hammer, which strikes the turret down under the waves, and the third, guided by the lightnings from his brother's fingers, shoots an arrow at the swimming hag, who immediately disappears in a pool of blood!*

No doubt the warriors and the women and children of the old times in Ireland listened to this hymn with much interest, and, if the Fates had so willed it, the story might have become as popular as Jack the Giant Killer, and other narratives beloved of children. There is no mystic meaning to it; no lesson of deep import is concealed under its sentences; and the plain import is, that the Keltish warrior, protected by Druidic favor, is equal to any emergency and any foe. This is sufficiently clear, but still there is a dark spot, not indeed through the intention of the narrator, but because he touches on a chord, which, though sounding at his time, has now ceased to vibrate. The supernatural enemies of the Keltic people must have been real in their imagination, or the hymn would not have been written.

* Schlösser, *Univers. Uebersicht der Geschichte der alten Welt.* Thierry, *Hist. de Gaull.*; *vide* also, Pritchard's *Eastern Origin of Celtic Nations.*

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The belief in witches who could raise fogs, and had horrible powers, could turn themselves into wild beasts of prey, could ride through the cold moonlit air, and throw diseases upon cattle by a side glance of a lurid eye, is not confined by any means to the ancient Irish, but will be found an article of household faith in all the Aryan homesteads. Even in Greece, in the story of Medea, we recognize a trace of the same thing, and find that the Greeks imputed just those arts to the conquered Pelasgians as the Druid poet speaks of. And here is a curious fact, that in all the Aryan mythologies there is a reference to a contest between their gods and others whom history does not know. The Scandinavians, as far back as can be known, worshipped Thor and his companions. Who then is Loki, who inhabits Utgardi; and the necromantic beings who form his court? In the contests of Krisbna, an incarnation of Brahma, with demons and ferocious animals, history admits at once the explanation that it has reference to the conquest of Turanian India by the white race who worshipped Brahma.

If this be admitted as a correct interpretation for Hindostan, why may not the idea be applied to Scandinavia? In this way Loki would represent not only a god inimical to Thor, but also a race who worshipped him, and were expelled or exterminated by the Scandinavians. That race, indeed, remains, a Turanian one, called the Finns, and it is singular how the superstition about their wicked powers survives. All Russians hold that the Finns have mysterious control over the winds and snows, and also believe that they have alliance with the wolves, and can turn into a lupine or become human at pleasure. Many a story in Russia is founded upon this popular creed: how young men fell in love with beautiful damsels with flashing grey eyes, who snared them into the forests or lonely plains and gave them up to wolves, sharing in the horrid repast, and licking their lovely lips, besmeared with the gore of their lovers; how this had been repeated until the village had been alarmed, had asked questions, had consulted learned authority, and had discovered that the aforesaid damsels were descended from the Finns. Nor is there a sailor of the old school

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who has been to Archangel who would ship with a Finn if he could avoid it, or would hesitate to murder him if anything unusual happened on the voyage.

But this belief about the wolves is also found in Germany and in France, the wehr-wolf and the loup-gawn being also staple articles in feuilletons and romances, and even more popular than the Slavonic idea of vampires. We do not say that there is here sufficient material to prove the fact, but there is enough to make it a fair subject of inquiry, whether all these countries, where such a contest of gods is recorded, were not inhabited by Turanian tribes prior to Aryan emigration. We honestly believe there is enough to warrant such an opinion.

We cheerfully admit that there are some works which are pure efforts of the imagination, and that he who attemps to force any meaning beyond the surface one, is misled by his hobby. But when we find a common tradition such as that of witches, and wehr-wolves, we have some warrant for supposing that imagination had something to work upon. Let it be imagined that there was in Ireland at the time of the Keltic emigration there, a tribe of Turanians, who held a form of belief similar to that possessed by the Finns no later than the beginning of the eighteenth century, and we begin to understand the force of the Druidic hymn. The Turanians were still in existence, hovering about the hilly regions within whose bosom the lakes are to be found. The legend, then, represents a contest between Turanians and Kelts, the former being as notorious for kidnapping children as their descendants whom we know as gypsies. They never maltreat them, and the probability is that they steal them, believing that the gypsy race will be improved by an admixture with one stronger and braver. Such was, perhaps, the policy of the ancient Turanians, who had probably a further idea that the Aryan gods would be less unkind to them, if in their midst were Aryan children whom they loved and would protect. They held them, in short, as hostages for the good behavior of the Druidic divinities.*

* See O'Curry's *MS. Materials;* also the *Book of Lecain.; Chronicum Scotorum*, &c., &c.

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We see, then, that a careful examination of history shows us that we can never hope to touch the ground or to reach the Antochthones, the indigenous children of the soil. As in geology layer is heaped upon layer, burying little proofs of the lapse of time, and chronicling, as it were, the cycles for our benefit, so in the story of humanity we find race beneath race deep as we may go down. And in arriving at the Turanian Finns as the possessors of Europe in the days gone by, we have shown a strong probability that the Turanian race inhabited Italy. But here a cloud comes over the broken and fragmentary path of traditionary history, and we are compelled to admit that we can go no further with them, unless, indeed, we could identify the earliest inhabitants of the Palafittes with the Finnish peoples. A kindly nature has preserved for the intelligent observation of man the wonderful dwellings on the lakes of Switzerland and the neighboring countries of France and Italy. The researches of skilled archæologists have divided these vestiges into three epochs—stone, bronze and iron. The last is unquestionably Helvetic, and has no very ancient date, probably after the defeat by Cæsar of the canton at Bibracte. The second is as indubitably Keltic; but the first is very dubious. In one place, at least, from the presence of reindeer remains in great abundance, we have a right to conjecture the presence of the Turanian Finns; but how shall we account for the absence of such remains in others? It would seem as if the Finns from the earliest times had domesticated the reindeer, and this belief is corroborated by the discovery of reindeer fossils in the palafittes of one lake. But these men of the stone epoch who had *no* reindeer, who were they? May we, without trenching upon the fabulous, believe in a race of men prior to the Turanian, whom, when he arrived in Europe, he either ousted, or, as he was undoubtedly cannibalistic, perhaps ate. What sort of a man this earliest dweller on the lake was, we may conjecture from the fossils that have been so wonderfully preserved. With the exception of fewer domesticated animals, it is hard to say that the Finns were more advanced in civilization than their victims; but they, feeding on the flesh of the reindeer, had perhaps more enduring

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strength than the hunters and fishers of whom we speak, and to whose identity we have no clue. All that we can at present know of them, must be learned from the relics they have left in the ooze of the lakes.*

Their rude weapons, made generally of flint, sometimes of bone, and occasionally of porphyry, would stamp them as being superior to the Digger Indians of this continent. They were fishermen evidently, probably capturing their prey with the bow and arrow, the flint-heads of the latter being found in large quantities. We may, therefore, without much violence, class them as having reached that stage of civilization which was found among the Esquimaux, making the necessary allowance for those inventions which are forced upon the inhabitants of extremely cold climates.

Their huts were peculiar, reminding us irresistibly of the beaver, both in the choice of the site and in the style of building. They chose apparently a high bank, whose walls were washed by a still lake. Underneath this they erected piles in the water, on which they reared a hut of mud and timber, which was exactly similar to the homes of the beavers that once swarmed in the northern part of our country. On the rude flooring, generally of beaten earth, roots, fish bones, flint, arrow heads, bone and stone axes have been found in profusion, and but for these it would be difficult to believe that proud and haughty man had once grovelled in so animal and base a condition. The only possible method of exit or entrance was by the water, as is the case with beavers, a state of things that would seem incomprehensible were it not for the ascertained change in the temperature. This has been brought about by causes foreign to the subject, yet it may be considered as proved that once the temperature of the lake of Geneva was as comfortably warm as the mild waves that dance upon the sands of Tahiti and Owhyhee. We may therefore conclude that this people possessed no domestic animals except, perhaps, a dog, who would have plunged into the water and swum home with him without any hesitation or dissatisfaction. But this absence of domestic animals at once

* *De Antiq. et Orig. Cantab.*

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makes us determine that the race under consideration was not Noahic, since all those descended from him, whom historians call the father of the white races, were well provided with flocks and herds before they left the lands between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, the Tigris and Euphrates. This we know by the sacred writings in the possession of these peoples. It is indeed a humiliating reflection, that so far back as authentic history goes there is mention of every domestic animal that is present with us at the present day, and from that day to this we have not added a single one to the list. A bird or two we have conquered, notably the turkey, but no animal, that is to say, no beast. Here, however, is a race that has none. It is, therefore, a legitimate conclusion that it was not Noahic, and we believe that good grounds could be given to show that they were akin to the present Esquimaux.

History does not record that the Kelt and this race ever met, but Geneva is certainly too close to Italy not to have been visited by the Aryan emigrants, the time they swarmed into pleasant Italy. And it is allowable to indulge some little play of fancy, and to endeavor to depict the first astounding meeting between these beaver-like men and the Keltic tribes. When we take up a modern history, we are informed in its pages that Ireland in former times was inhabited by a race of savages plunged in the darkest ignorance, and who were distinguished for their ferocious bravery and restless desire of fighting. And this description is given of the Kelt after unnumbered centuries of progress. We may imagine, then, what he was when he paddled in his coracle over the waters of the lake of Geneva, and rushed into the huts which the inhabitants vacated by plunging into the water and diving like fowl. In some they remained perhaps from sickness, perhaps stupefied by terror, perhaps impelled by a curiosity similar to what may be seen among wild animals who have never seen man. To them the Kelt must have seemed a demi-god, a being as wonderful as Columbus appeared to the simple people of Hayti. With equal curiosity the offshoot of the Aryans looked upon these wild yet simple people. On the one side was the

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oldest nation of the earth, on the other the youngest. In one the germ of progress was but feeble, and could not aspire to much. In the other, it was far more capable, and, by subsequent union with the Teutonic, has reared its head proudly among the peoples of the earth. But, as in the present day, the law that an inferior civilization must perish before a superior, proved its truth, and, while the Kelt speaks in our senates, commands in our armies, and leads our battle ships through the gauntlet of fire, the very existence of those earliest dwellers on the lake has only just floated up from the bottom of the still waters. Yet they stood face to face at the moment of which we write, so far back in the past that chronology takes to its heels and flies in terror from the accumulated centuries. Here we pause. We have reached a limit to our power of investigation, and are compelled to say reluctantly that fossil history for us ceases with the palafittes of the stone era. Yet we do not despair. The days were when our crusading ancestors looked with dull amazement upon the pyramids, the dumb histories of Egyptian dynasties. Yet to-day Champollion and others read their papyri with ease and fluency. May we not, then, indulge in a fond anticipation of some coming scholar who shall unravel the mystery of the Etruscan character, and in so doing shed a ray of extraordinary light upon what are vainly termed pre-historic times?

ART. IV.—1. *Lives of the Queens of Scotland.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Vols. III., IV., V., and VI. New York, 1854.

2. *Critical Examination of the supposed letters of Mary Queen of Scots, to James, earl of Bothwell.* By WALTER GOODALL, keeper of the archives at Edinburgh. Edinburgh.

3. *An inquiry, historical and critical, into the evidence against Mary Queen of Scots, and an examination of the histories of Dr. Robertson and Mr. Hume, with respect to that evidence.* By WM. TYTLER, vice-president of the society of Scottish antiquaries. Edinburgh.

4. *Life of Mary Queen of Scots.* By DONALD MCLEOD. New York, 1857.

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A TRUE historian should never allow his prejudices to sway his mind in judging events, or appreciating the character of individuals. Yet, so much is man under the influence of religious or political bias, that impartiality is the rarest quality of a writer. In all history perhaps no one has been the object of such contradictory opinions as the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots. She lived in a period of such bigotry, when factions tore Scotland into shreds, and when "treasons, stratagems and spoils" were the order of the day, as they always are in times of abrupt changes in national habits, that writers of equal respectability and learning have alternately painted her, now as the murderess of her husband, Darnley, and the adulteress of Bothwell; and again as a model of purity, and a martyr to her religious convictions. Not only men of the historical standing of Robertson and Hume, but popular writers like Dickens, Thackeray and Schiller, have pronounced severe judgments on Mary.

It would be wrong to say that bigotry had warped the appreciation of all those writers; for some of them are men of marked liberality; and the most ardent champions of Mary's reputation, are of a creed different from her own. Miss Strickland, Mr. Goodall, Mr. Tytler, and Mr. McLeod, if they were to yield to the influence of religious prejudice, would be the opponents instead of the defenders of the Queen of Scots. We have carefully read their works, as well as the statements of Mary's enemies, and we have tried to be impartial in forming an estimate of her character, and of the value of the testimony brought against her. The reader will judge for himself, after reading this article, whether our belief that Mary was innocent of the crimes laid to her charge is well founded or not.

Thomas Salmon, royal geographer to the English court, a man in other respects very much prejudiced against Mary, wrote in 1760: "The king of Scots," (Mary's husband, Darnley,) "was murdered by the contrivance of the earls of Murray and Bothwell; and Murray, to throw the odium of it on the queen, persuaded her to marry Bothwell; after which, Murray and the lords took her prisoner and com-

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pelled her to resign her crown to her son." Salmon thus bluntly acquits her of the charge of murder, though he says nothing of the charge of adultery. Can it be that the beautiful and accomplished queen, the heroine of so much poetry and romance, whose sad history has brought tears to many a fair eye, and the frown of indignation to many a manly brow, is sullied by crimes which should excite horror and disgust? We shall examine the proofs brought against her and the rebutting testimony of her defenders.

The learned Bayle, who was impartial even to scepticism, has made an observation on the history of Mary Stuart which we cite with pleasure. "One of two things must have been the case: either that they who forced that princess out of her kingdom, were the greatest villains in nature; or that she was the most infamous of women. These are two scales of a balance equally poised; you cannot load the one without lightening the other precisely to the same degree. In the same manner whatever serves to acquit the queen aggravates the guilt of her enemies in the same proportion; and whatever serves to load the queen extenuates their crime in a like degree."*

Who was Mary's judge? Her mortal enemy, queen Elizabeth of England, who had every interest in working her ruin. According to the theory of the catholic party in England, Elizabeth had no right to the crown of England. Her own father, Henry VIII., and the English parliament had declared her illegitimate, and ordered the crown to be left to Edward VI. On the death of Henry the parliament rescinded its former act, and called Mary Tudor, daughter of Katherine of Arragon, to the throne, and after her Elizabeth,

* The philosopher becomes still more decisive than this, as he proceeds. He shows that the attacks on the Queen's reputation were just so many apologies for the cruel treatment to which she was subjected. "Il est donc certain," he says, "que les satires de Buchanan étoient une *apologie* de sa faction; et qu'à mesure qu' elles étoient plus sanglantes, elles justifioient davantage ceux qui avoient chassé Marie Stuart."—(*Dict. Hist.*, Art. Buchanan.) In his article on obscenities he alludes to the same subject, remarking that notwithstanding the unmanly, base conduct of Buchanan in so vilely traducing the character of his former friend and benefactress, he was held in happy remembrance by the Presbyterians. "Buchanan, qui publia un ouvrage sur les impudicitez de Marie Reine d' Ecosse, est un homme de bienheuvrense mémoire parmi tous les Presbyteriens. Cependant c' étoit un ouvrage qui *sallissoit horriblement l'imagination.*"—*Dict. Historique*, Art. *Eclaircissement sur les obscenitez.*

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daughter of Anne Boleyn. But as the Catholic party never admitted the validity of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was looked upon by them as a usurper. Mary Stuart, the great granddaughter of Henry, was therefore the legitimate heir to the throne of England. After her marriage to the dauphin of France, Mary took for her device the crowns of France and Scotland, with the motto *Aliamque moratur*. At a joust held in the Place Royale, in Paris, on the 6th of July, 1559, Mary was ushered to her seat by the heralds with the cry of "*Place! place! pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*" And the people shouted "*Vive la Reine d'Angleterre.*" Elizabeth never forgave this. She hated Mary as a political rival, as well as a superior in beauty, grace and accomplishments. All historians admit that queen Elizabeth was a prejudiced judge in the case of the Queen of Scots.

Who were the accusers of Mary? First, her own bastard brother, the earl of Murray, a sullen, crafty, heartless ambitious and unscrupulous politician. Dr. Robertson thus describes his character: "His ambition was immoderate, and events happened which offered to him vast prospects, and led him to actions inconsistent with the duty of a subject. His treatment of the queen, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful. The dependence of Elizabeth, under which he brought Scotland, was disgraceful to the nation. He deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness unworthy a man of honor."* Crawford, a cotemporary writer, says that Murray "used his sanctity and a show of religion as a cloak to his crimes.†

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* Robertson, vol. i., p. 513. Oct. edit.

† These witnesses to Murray's character are not more prejudiced against him than the poet Aytoun, who thus describes him in the poem of "Bothwell:"

"Get thee," (says Bothwell to the devil) "across the howling seas,
And bend o'er Murray's bed,
For there the falsest villain lies
That ever Scotland bred.
False to his faith, a wedded priest;
Still falser to the crown;
False to the blood that in his veins
Made bastardy renown;
False to his sister whom he swore
To guard and shield from harm;

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An end was put to Murray's life of infamy by assassination. When regent of Scotland, he turned the wife of James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, naked and at midnight, out of her house, exposed to the cold of a gloomy night in the open fields, by which inhuman treatment she lost her senses. For this act he was shot dead by her outraged husband. Murray plotted against his sister with Queen Elizabeth even as early as her return from France to Scotland; for Camden, in his annals, writes: "James the bastard, having returned from France to England, gave advice, underhand, to intercept her, both for Elizabeth's security and the interest of religion."*

The other chief accusers of Mary were the earl of Morton, Secretary Maitland or Lethington and George Buchanan. Morton was beheaded in June 2, 1581, for being one of Darnley's murderers; for the very crime of which he accused Queen Mary. Just before his execution he made a confession, acknowledging his guilt and complicity with Bothwell. Of Morton, Crawford writes: "By innumerable crimes he attained to the height of power. *Murder became habitual to him!*" Lethington put an end to his own existence, after a life of duplicity, treachery and Macchiævellian diplomacy. We find most writers on the events of these times agree in the above representations of the character of Mary's accusers.

But the worst of her enemies was George Buchanan, author of "A Detection of the actions of Mary queen of Scots, concerning the murder of her husband (Darnley), and her conspiracy, adultery, and pretended marriage with Earl Bothwell, and a defence of the true lords, maintainers of the

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The head of many a felon plot,
But never once the arm.
What tie so holy that his hand
Hath snapped it not in twain?
What oath so sacred but he broke
For selfish end or gain?
A verier knave ne'er stepped the earth
Since this wide world began;
And yet—he bandies texts with Knox
And walks a pious man!"

* Tytler, vol. i., p. 355.

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king's majesty's action and authority. London. 1721." This Buchanan was her teacher of Latin in France. He was one of the most accomplished scholars of the age. In the conspiracy of the old Queen Catharine de Medecis to imprison the young king of France, Mary's husband, Buchanan was implicated. He was sentenced to death, but saved with great difficulty by his mistress. His ingratitude has not been surpassed in history. Buchanan's book is the storehouse of all the calumnies against Mary. It is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and was written by command of Mary's enemies, the lords of the privy council of the regent Murray. Thus attests Cecil, secretary of state: "The said Mr. George Buchanan was privy to the proceedings of the lords of the king's secret council (of whom were Murray, Morton, Lindsay and Maitland), and the book was written by him, *not of himself*, nor in his own name, but according to the instructions given to him by common conference of the lords of the privy council of Scotland; by him only for his learning penned, but by them the matter ministered, and allowed and exhibited by them, as matter that they have offered and do continue in offering, to stand and justify before our sovereign lady (Elizabeth)."*

This book was written in Latin, French, Scottish, and English, and widely circulated throughout Europe. It is coarse and filthy. The author, who, in France, considered her an angel,† the saviour of his life and the maker of his fortunes; who never breathes a syllable against her until her marriage with Darnley, makes her the most consummate hypocrite, the most shameless prostitute, and the most blood-thirsty woman that ever lived!

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* Strickland, p. 74.

† Buchanan wrote an epithalamium on the marriage of the dauphin of France, to Mary. Here is an extract: addressing the dauphin, the poet says:

"If matchless beauty your nice fancy move,
Behold an object worthy of your love;
How loftily her stately front doth rise,
What gentle lightning flashes from her eyes,
What awful majesty her carriage bears,
Maturely grave even in her tender years.

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We shall soon show that this atheist* was guilty of infamous forgery to please the enemies of Mary who hired him to do their base work. Here, then, we have a most prejudiced judge and unscrupulous witnesses against the Queen of Scots. Now contrast her character with that of her traducers. She possessed an exalted mind and a warm heart; was honest and unsuspicious. She had maintained an unblemished reputation from childhood until her marriage with Hepburn, earl of Bothwell. Not only Brantome and Prince Labanoff, her panegyrists, praise her for her virtues; even her enemies cannot repress their admiration. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador in France, and Queen Elizabeth's spy, writes of Mary immediately after the death of her first husband, the young king of France: "She hath showed, and so continueth, that she is both of great wisdom for her years," (she was left a widow at eighteen) "*modesty*, and also of great judgment in the wise handling of herself and her matters, which, increasing in her with years, cannot but turn to her commendation, reputation, honor, and great benefit to her and her country."

It required the whole influence of her family to prevent her from becoming a nun at Rheims, and taking solemn vows after the death of Francis. Both Catherine de Medicis her enemy, and Throckmorton, the English spy, repeatedly record her unusual gravity, dignity and wisdom while she lived at the French court, and thus refute the calumny of her detractors that she was guilty of levity there. They give no reason for the charge save that the court was frivolous, and that she must have been so.† Mary, although a

Thus outwardly adorned, *her sacred mind*,
In purest qualities comes not behind;
Her nature has the seeds of virtue sown,
By moral precepts to perfection grown;
Her wisdom doth all vicious weeds control
Such power has right instruction on the soul." &c., &c.
McLeod Appendix A.

* Mary wrote from Tutbury to the French ambassador, De la Mothe Fenelon, Nov. 22, 1571:

"I had begged for a priest to administer to me the holy sacrament, and to help me relieve my conscience in this sad condition of mine; and they who carried my letter brought me instead of consolation the *defamatory book of the atheist*, George Buchanan."—Labanoff, *Lettres, instructions et memoires de Marie Stuart*, vol. 12, p. 5.

† McLeod, ch. vii., p. 76.

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devoted atholic, was no bigot. Her "Act of religious toleration" was the first ever passed in Europe, which Bothwell afterwards caused to be revoked, so as to make non-conformity with the religion of John Knox a penal offence, and thus gain the good will of the "congregation."* On her arrival from France in Scotland, she said to Throckmorton, "I mean to constrain no one of my subjects (in religious matters), and I trust they will have no support to constrain me." She proclaimed the establishment of the new religion which she found in Scotland, and declared her resolution to punish any one who should disturb it, but claimed for herself liberty of conscience and the right to exercise the duties of her own creed.† Her first council consisted of seven protestants to five catholics.‡

Although Robertson sometimes speaks harshly of Mary, because in his time it would have been offensive to most of his readers to have done otherwise, his well known portraiture of her is in general correct: "The turbulence of the times, the rancor of party rage, and the medium of prejudice or partiality, through which every object in those periods was beheld, render it difficult to form a fair opinion of the character of Mary. Her personal accomplishments and the graces which distinguished her as a woman, are admitted by all parties; respecting these, therefore, there can be no dispute. Her stature rose to the majestic, her form was elegant, and her hands and arms distinguished for their delicacy and beauty. Her hair was black, though in the fashion of the times, she frequently adorned herself in borrowed locks, and of various colors. Her eyes were dark gray, and her complexion remarkably fine. She walked, danced, and rode with equal grace. She possessed a taste for music; she played upon the lute with skill, and sang melodiously. Towards the conclusion of her life, she began to grow corpulent, while confinement and bad accommodation brought upon her a rheumatic disorder, which deprived her of the use of her limbs. Her manners were affable and insinuating, dignified and sprightly. She spoke eloquently,

* *Ibid*, p. 69. † *Ib.*, p. 90. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 94.

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and wrote with ease and elegance. Her temper was warm, and her heart affectionate. Her nature was frank and indisposed to suspicion. Her piety was fervent and sincere; her talents, if not of the highest, were undoubtedly of a superior order; and the resolution and courage which she manifested at her death are truly worthy of admiration. A long series of successive sorrows bespeak, with few exceptions, some imprudence in the sufferer; the misfortunes of Mary, both in degree and duration, exceeded the common measure of human calamities, and even render the distresses of fiction comparatively faint. The vicissitudes of her life have afforded a fine and fruitful subject for the tragic muse. No man, says Brantome, ever beheld her without admiration and love; no one will read her history without pity and sorrow."*

Such is the character of the Queen of Scots, even from the pen of an enemy. Robertson as well as Hume plunges her *unnaturally* and precipitately into the greatest crimes, and yet agree that she suddenly recovered herself and resumed her wonted virtue and dignity. "This princess," writes Hume, "recovering, by means of her misfortunes and her own natural good sense, from that delirium in which she seems to have been thrown during her attachment to Bothwell, behaved *with such modesty, judgment* and even dignity, that every one who approached her was charmed with her demeanor, and her friends were enabled on some plausible grounds to deny the reality of those crimes which had been imputed to her."†

After Mary's arrival in Scotland, we find historians agree on the following facts: that she married her handsome cousin, Henry Darnley, who was four years younger than herself, she being then twenty-four. She was, at first, thus urged to marriage, hypocritically, by Elizabeth of England, and by Murray, who, however, opposed her when they heard that she had made her choice. Elizabeth knew that Mary's child would be heir to the throne of England, and Murray was in league with Elizabeth, and neither desired such an heir. Mary at length, yielding to the importunity of her

*Robertson, p. 273. † Vol. 4, p. 622.

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own court, chose Darnley as her spouse. He was of royal blood, a brilliant knight in a parlor, but vain, foolish and hopelessly dissipated. She was ignorant of his failings when she married him, and she loved him fondly and passionately. But he proved her ruin. He began by making Murray his deadly enemy, and his lewdness, debauchery and brutality finally, alienated the queen's affections from him. "He was addicted to great intemperance in his pleasures; was passionately fond of his hounds and hawks, grossly licentious and much given to drinking!"* "His words to all men against whom he conceiveth any displeasure, how unjust soever it is, be so proud and spiteful, that rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he whom, not long since, we have seen and known as the Lord Darnley. He looketh now for reverence to be given him, and some there be that think him little worthy of it."† This boy king soon made Bothwell and the Hamiltons his enemies as well as Murray. Yet, Mary continued to love him. "She hath given over to him her whole will," says Randolph, "to be ruled and guided as himself best liketh."‡ Darnley, not satisfied with insulting the great nobles, turned his spite against poor David Riccio, the queen's secretary. This faithful servant had refused to accompany Darnley to houses of ill-repute, or to join in his drunken revels.§ Riccio had also revealed a plot concocted between Darnley and the rebel lords, by which it was resolved to imprison the queen and give Darnley, who was ambitious of power, the entire government of the kingdom. Rizzio or Riccio became hateful to the king and the traitors, so he was murdered at the queen's feet, Darnley being one of the chief assassins.

The charge of an amour with Rizzio is made by George Buchanan alone, in his libel on the queen. No respectable historian believes this calumny. Miss Strickland describes Rizzio as "a man of no beauty at all, or outward shape, for he was misshapen, evil favored and very black; but for his

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* Henry Glassford Bell, *Life of Mary Queen of Scots.* 1840.
† Randolph's testimony. Strickland, iv., p. 158.
‡ *Ib.*, iv., 210. § Strickland, iv., 210.

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fidelity, wisdom, prudence, virtue and other good parts and qualities of his mind, he was richly adorned."* If there had been the least ground for accusation against Mary, in relation to Rizzio, Murray and Morton would not have omitted it in arraigning her before Elizabeth. Buchanan describes Rizzio as a *monster of ugliness!* Who will believe that the beautiful Queen of Scots, for whose hand monarchs contended, could have chosen such a paramour? Mr. Hume, usually unfriendly to Mary, thinks the story of an amour with Rizzio improbable. Blackwood, an author, who knew Rizzio, says he was *old and ugly*: "*David Rizzio homme assez agé, laid, morue et malplaisant.*"† Dr. Robertson, also unfriendly to Mary, does not believe the foul slander of Buchanan. He writes: "The silence of Randolph, the English resident, a man abundantly ready to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once insinuate that her confidence in Rizzio concealed any thing criminal, is in itself a sufficient vindication of her innocence."‡ The tale rests on the bare assertion of her paid calumniator, Buchanan, who, in this, as in his other statements regarding the queen, is perfectly unreliable, as we shall more fully show in what follows. The true story is, that Rizzio was a man of ability, skilled in the arts and letters, and possessing that talent for statesmanship which characterizes the Italian nation. The queen trusted him, followed his counsels, and was thus able to counteract the machinations of her enemies. They saw this, and urged her silly husband, Darnley, to get him out of the way, so that he might, by unbounded influence over the candid, loving nature of the queen, usurp all the powers of a king, without possessing the right or the talent to govern. No respectable authority now believes the story of Buchanan concerning the queen and Rizzio.

Nor are the other charges against her of any weight. A sufficient answer to them all is, that although tried for murder and adultery before Queen Elizabeth, her most bitter enemy, and in spite of all the cunning and forgery of her

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* *Queens of Scotland*, iii., 306, note. † *Ib.*, p. 274. ‡ *Ib.*, vol. i., p. 305.

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wicked accusers, Murray, Morton and Maitland, she was acquitted. Elizabeth declared: "We find no cause of evil opinion against our good sister."* Yet, she allows the libel of Buchanan to be circulated against her innocent victim, because, to use her own words, "they will serve to good effect to disgrace her, which must be done before other purposes can be obtained."† The "purpose" to be obtained, was the murder of Mary, who was the great hope of the legitimist party in England and Scotland. Why should historians continue to accuse Mary when the author of all the calumnies against her recanted them himself? Bevill Higgons, in his "Short View of English History, London, 1736," says, that Buchanan revoked all his accusations against Mary on his death bed; and Camden, in his annals, writes that Buchanan "wished he might have wiped out all he writ against Mary Queen of Scots with his blood."‡ But the whole history of the accusations against her prove her to have been the victim of an infamous conspiracy.

The first proof alleged against Mary are the letters said to have been written to Bothwell before Darnley's murder. They are known in history as the "silver-gilt casket letters." The earl of Morton first produced those letters, and said on his honor that they were found with George Dalgleish, one of Bothwell's servants, who had brought them out of the castle of Edinburgh. Both Murray and Morton affirmed on their honor that the letters were in the handwriting of the queen. They asserted this in their secret council in the regent's parliament in Scotland, and before Queen Elizabeth and her council in England. They were produced at York and Westminster to the English council, and compared with other letters of Mary to prove the identity of the handwriting. Moreover, several incidents mentioned in the letters themselves, such as a conversation between the king and Queen Mary at Glasgow, are affirmed, upon oath, to be true, by Crawford, one of the earl of Lennox's vassals.

These letters, supposed to be written after Darnley had

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* Bell ii., p. 171. Tytler, ii., 398, 400. † Bell,i i., 171. ‡ McLeod, p. 212.

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caused the murder of Rizzio, the queen's secretary, and began to treat his beautiful and accomplished wife with brutality, are full of protestations of love to Bothwell, and have in them some expressions which could only be used by lovers whose affection was more than Platonic. In the first of these letters, Mary is made to write such phrases as the following: "I crave no other thing than that we may be as husband and wife to each other." "The devil separates us, but may God join us forever, for we are the most faithful couple that were ever united." "I am *naked* and going to sleep, and yet I cease not to write all this paper. A curse upon this foul fellow" (her husband, Darnley,) "who gives me such trouble; for without him I would have far more pleasant subjects to discourse upon."* Other expressions in this letter would offend modest ears, if copied. Darnley had fallen into contempt by his own depraved conduct. On the 10th of February, 1567, his house was blown up with gunpowder and his body found dead. The letters fastened the suspicion of foul play on his wife, Mary.

But how did she answer the charge? She denied that the handwriting was hers, and asserted the letters to be forged by her accusers, Murray, Morton and Lethington; and offered to prove her assertion.† The mere affirmation of Morton that the letters were genuine must be mistrusted, since he was one of her accusers. He would not allow Dalgleish, with whom they were said to be found, to be examined judicially regarding them. He feared an exposure of the forgery. The affirmation of Murray and Morton as to their authenticity is, to say the least, of no more weight than Mary's denial. Most of the nobility of Scotland declared that the letters were forged. Nor

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* Cited, Appendix, Tytler's *Inquiry*, &c., p. 82.

† When a copy of the accusations made by Murray was delivered to the Queen of Scots' commissioners, the Bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, they asserted that "Murray and his associates had invented the charges for maintaynance of their own treasons; and that when the cause should be farther tryed, it would be proved that some of them which be now the accusers were the inventors, and privy to the making of bonds and writings for the conspiracy of the death of the Lord Darnley, the queen's husband."—Goodall, vol. ii., p. 209.

Queen Mary made a request to Queen Elizabeth of a similar nature. But Mary was refused a chance to prove her own innocence, or the guilt of her accusers.—Goodall, vol. ii., p. 220.

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could the similarity of the handwriting be considered a certain proof. It was easy to counterfeit her penmanship. Mary, in her defence, asserted that her accusers had often counterfeited her handwriting; and Crawford, in his *Memoirs*,* relates, as a well known fact, that Lethington, her secretary, had often practised this vile fraud; and Crawford was a cotemporary author.

It is true that several circumstances related in the letters seem to confirm their claims to authenticity. But who does not know that experienced forgers would be sure to make their work look as plausible as possible? Moreover, the letters, as exhibited by Murray, had no dates, or name of place where they were written. The subscriptions, seals and addresses were wanting. No judge or jury would admit such evidence as proof of guilt.

The only way for Murray to make good his accusation against his sister was by producing Hubert or "French Paris," as he was called, and Dalgleish, both servants of Bothwell. Hubert is mentioned by name in the letters as the bearer of them from the queen to Bothwell. This servant is said to have made a confession, of which we shall speak hereafter. Hubert might have sworn that he got the letters from the queen's own hand; Dalgleish, that he found them in the earl's repository, in the castle of Edinburgh. Yet Murray never dared to allow these men to give their testimony in court. The authenticity of the letters rest, therefore, on his bare assertion.†

Besides, when the letters are produced before the secret council they are subscribed by Mary's own hand; on their second appearance, before Regent Murray's parliament, the subscription is omitted! These facts both Hume and Robertson admit as proved by the council and parliament registers.

Mary, the moment she heard of the letters, earnestly begged to be allowed to see the originals, and to receive copies of them. As already remarked, she offered to prove them

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* Page 100.

† Mr. Hume, in the second edition of his history, thought fit to omit his arguments in support of so glaring a forgery as that of Hubert's confession. Yet this pretended confession has been used as one of the strongest arguments against Mary's innocence.

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forgeries. Both requests were refused. The letters were given back to her accusers, and to the end of her life she could never get a sight of the originals, or even attested copies of them.

Thus even Hume and Robertson admit the letters, of which only copies now exist, to be palpable translations from the Scotch and Latin of George Buchanan, who, as has been already shown, was hired to calumniate her. Who would believe such evidence against one known to have been a highly educated, pious and virtuous woman?

Besides the letters, there were love sonnets, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell before Darnley's murder. In these sonnets Mary is made to speak like an unfaithful wife more than like a true queen. The verses are in French. One of them is thus entitled: "*Certane French Sonnettes*, written be the Queene of Scottis to Bothwel before hir marriage to him, and while her husband levit, &c." It runs as follows:

"O Dieux ayez de moi compassion!
Et m'enseignez quelle preuve certain
Je puis donner, qui ne luy semble vain,
De mon amour et ferme affection.
Helas! n'est-il *pas jà en possession*
Du corps, du cœur, qui ne refuse paine,
Ny deshoneur en la vie incertaine,
Offence de parents, ny pire affliction?
Pour luy tous mes amis j'estime moins que rien,
J'ay hazardé pour luy nom et *conscience;*
Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer,
Je veux mourir pour luy avancer.
Que reste il plus pour prouver ma constance?
Entre ses amis, et en son plein pouvoir,
Je mets mon filz, mon honeur, et ma vie;
Mon pais, mes subjettes, mon ame assubjectee.—
Pour luy aussi je jette manite larmes
Premier *quand il se fist de ce corps possesseur.*"*

* Mr. Tytler, vice-president of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, thus translates the sonnet:

"Ye Gods, have compassion on me!
And show what certain proof
I may give, which may not seem to him in vain,
Of my love and first affection.
Alas! is he not already in *possession*
Of my body, and heart, which refuses neither pain,
Nor dishonor in life,

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No respectable woman would write in this style, not to mention such a noble lady as the Queen of Scots. Brantome, speaking of these love verses, justly remarks: "They are too gross and inelegant to be the work of her brain."* They bear in their character the proofs of forgery. Rousard, who had often seen and extolled the beauty of Mary's compositions, agrees with Brantome. The same objections hold good against these sonnets as against the letters, for both were found in the same box, and produced under the same circumstances, by the same plotters, for the same purpose. There is, therefore, no proof of the authenticity of the letters or sonnets; but all evidence, external and internal, is for admitting them to be forgeries of Murray, Morton and Lethington, to ruin the queen.

Another evidence against Mary is the confession of Nicholas Hubert, commonly called "French Paris," servant to the earl of Bothwell, and mentioned by name in the letters, as the bearer of them from the queen to the earl. His confession of August 10, 1569, expressly charges her with being in the knowledge of the king's murder. This is the most direct evidence against Mary. A few remarks, however, will show that it is valueless.

In June, 1567, Bothwell fled from Scotland. His servants, Dalgleish, Hay, Hepburn and Powrie were condemned and executed as accessory to Darnley's murder; yet, with their dying breath, they vindicated the queen from all participation in their crime. This is attested by nineteen of the peers of the realm, and by eight bishops and eight abbots.†

The French Paris was carried from Edinburgh, the or-

Offence of relations, or the worst of affliction?
For him I have no regard to friends,
For him I risk both my fame and conscience;
I will die to promote him.
What other proofs, then, can I give of my constancy?
Into his hands, and in his power,
I have thrown my son, my honor, and my life,
My kingdom, my subjects, my subjected soul,
For him I poured out many tears,
First when he took possession of my body," &c.

* Elle composait de vers, dont je n'ay veu aucun de beaux et très bien faits, et nullement resemblant à ceux qu'on lui a mis sus avoir fait sur l'amour du comte de Bothwel. *Ils sont trop grossiers et mal polis pour être sortis d'elle.*"—Brantome, vol. i.

† All these facts are proved in the work of Mr. Goodall.

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dinary seat of justice, to a remote prison in St. Andrew's, the place of residence of the earl of Murray, where he lay for about two years. It was in Dalgleish's custody that Morton affirmed the box with the letters to have been found; yet when Dalgleish was examined, Morton declined to interrogate him about the box. The same policy was used towards Paris. After his fellow servants had been tried and hanged, he was kept alive in a lonely prison under the power of the unscrupulous Murray, who might force him by torture to belie his royal mistress. When Mary publicly accused Murray of forging the letters and offered to prove the forgery by the letters themselves, he ran off with the box and letters to Scotland. Mary complained of this to Queen Elizabeth in these words: "You allowed them to depart the realm, not abiding to hear the defence of my innocence, nor the trial and proof of their detectioun, which was offerit to prove them guilty of the samen crime." To this Elizabeth replied: "That the earl of Murray has promised to return again."* Seven months after this Paris was hanged, in August, 1569. Murray went to Scotland to forge another proof of the queen's guilt, since the letters were not sufficient. This is the plain inference from his shuffling character and conduct. He should have sent Paris to London to be examined. On the contrary, he hides the witness. The crafty earl does not dare to produce him even before his own privy council at Edinburgh. The most important witness against Mary was clandestinely executed without fair trial by the earl of Murray, and then, several months afterwards, a confession, purporting to have been made by Paris, without any proofs of its genuineness, is sent to London against Queen Mary! No one informs the queen of this fact. She or her friends never saw or heard of this confession. Who could believe such testimony?

There are two supposed confessions of Paris, one of the 9th; the other of the 10th of August, 1569. The first is still in the Cotton library. In it Bothwell is charged with the murder; but nothing is said of the queen or the letters. The other charges the queen as accessory to the whole plot. Of this con-

* Goodal, vol. 2, p. 312. Robertson, Dissertation, p. 17.

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fession there exists a copy, attested by Alexander Hay, clerk to Murray's privy council. Now both Crawford and Lesly, the bishop of Ross, cotemporary authors, declared that Paris, at his execution, had publicly given the lie to any pretended confession, by solemnly denying the fact.* All Scotland knew this; and though Lesly proclaimed it aloud, and put it in print, no one of the queen's accusers dared to gainsay him. Lesly was Queen Mary's ambassador to Elizabeth.

What causes further doubt, as to the authenticity of this confession, is the conduct of Buchanan in his book entitled, *A Detection of the doings of Queen Mary.* This dishonored and ungrateful writer omits nothing that could blacken Mary's name. Yet he leaves out the confession of Paris, though it would have been the strongest argument against her. Buchanan's book appeared in 1571, two year's after the supposed confession. Here, then, we have the most vindictive and unscrupulous of the writers against Mary, who published several later editions of his work; who had seen Lesly's defence of the queen, and knew all about Paris' execution, and who even tells us that Paris was the confidant between Bothwell and Mary, never saying a word regarding the most direct and damaging evidence against her! Would Buchanan have omitted this proof, if he had any hope of making it available in his efforts to blacken his sovereign's character? Impartial justice compels us, therefore, to deny the authenticity of this confession of Hubert and consider it a forgery of Murray, Morton and Lethington, as the letters undoubtedly were.

Everything in connection with these letters proves them to have been forgeries. They were said, by Mary's accusers, to have been captured with Dalgleish, on June 20, 1567; yet no one mentions them till July 24 of the same year. Would Mary's enemies allow such a damning piece of evidence against her to remain a whole month unused? Throckmorton, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, July 24, 1567, is the first to speak of them. On December 4, six months afterwards, they are described in an act of Murray's council as "diverse her privie letters, written and *subscribed* with her own hand and sent by

* Crawford's *Memoirs*, p. 127.

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her to James earl of Bothwell."* But the word subscribed is withdrawn on the 15th, and it is merely said "wholly written in her own hand."† At first, the casket is said to contain but one letter; for Murray, writing to the Spanish ambassador, says: "There was even in existence *a letter* of three sheets of paper, written by her with her own hand to Bothwell, in which she urged him to put in execution the plan concerted between them for the death of Darnley. He (Murray) *had not indeed seen the letter*, but he knew the fact from *one* who had read the original."‡ From one the number increased to three, seven, and then eight, and after fifteen months, the sonnets made their appearance! What a wonderful "casket" was this which gave out documents as they were wanted!§ Mary's accusers had the letters June 20th, 1567, according to their assertions. These letters would have shown that her marriage with Bothwell was voluntary and of her own seeking, yet, on the 26th of June, they accuse Bothwell of "intercepting her majesty, carrying her *forcibly* away, holding her as his prisoner, *compelling* her to marry him, and keeping her under restraint." How could all this be true if she was Bothwell's paramour even before Darnley's murder, as the forged letters would make us believe? Could her accusers have trusted the letters when they accused Bothwell? Again, the conspirators, in answering the inquiries of Throckmorton on behalf of Elizabeth, say: "That she was carried off by force by Bothwell; *her person violated;* and that she was kept surrounded with a continual guard of harquebusiers as well day as night."‖ She could not, then, have been the willing paramour of Bothwell; and the letters must be lies and forgeries of her enemies. Murray and Morton pledged their honor that these letters were written in French by Queen Mary's own hand. As French originals they were presented to the English commissioners, and explained by George Buchanan. In fact they would have been written in French if written by Mary at all; for it was the language with which she was best acquainted, and the one which she would naturally

* Strickland, v., p. 324. Tytler, i., p. 85. † *Ibid*, i., 87.
‡ See "Lingard's England," vol. vi., p. 81. § Tytler, i., p. 91.
‖ Strickland, v., p. 324.

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use in a love correspondence. Yet a perusal of the letters shows that they were written in broad Scotch, and then translated into Latin, and from Latin into French.*

They are full of Scotch idioms, which both Latin and French translators have blundered over. Take examples from the first or second letter: "Ye have sair going to see seik folk;" that is: "It is sore or unpleasant to visit sick folks." The Latin translator, taking the long *s* in "sair" for an *f*, reads it "fair," and translates, "*Bella hujusmodi hominum visitatio.*" The Frenchman copies: "Voyla une belle visitation de *telles* gens." "I am going to seek my rest till to-morrow, when I shall end my *by bylle*," a Scotch term for any writing. But the Latinist makes it "ut tum *mea biblia finiam;*" and the French translator, "afin que je finisse ici ma *bible;*" when I shall end my bible! "I am vikit (i. e., weary) and going to sleep." The copyist evidently mistook the word and wrote it *nakit;* hence the Latin has it: "*Ego nudata sum;*" and the French: "*Je suis toute nue;*" *I am naked!* A wonderful love of this handsome queen for an old one-eyed soldier which could make her write him love letters as she sat up stark naked in the night of a Scotch January! Robertson, by admitting the letters to be translations from the Scotch, refuses to believe Murray and Morton, who pledged their honor that they were written by Mary in French. We already showed that her prejudiced judge, Elizabeth, refused to acknowledge the testimony of these forgeries.†

So much then for the "silver-gilt casket letters." But we ask what motive could Mary have to murder Darnley? She loved him in the early days of their marriage life and became reconciled to him towards its close. "All honor that may be attributed unto any man by his wife, he (Darnley) hath it wholly and fully. All praise that may be spoken of him he lacketh it not from herself. All dignities that she can indue him with are already given and granted. No man pleaseth her that contenteth not him, and what may I say more? She hath given over to him her whole will."‡ True, the dissipated

* Tytler, i., p. 188; ii., p. 386.
† Robertson, *App. Diss. on King Henry's Murder.* Tytler, ii., 398–400.
‡ Testimony of Randolph, *apud.* Strickland, iv., p. 210.

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king, by his brutal conduct, afterwards alienated her affections from him; still when he showed signs of repentance, and when he lay ill of a loathsome disease, she nursed him tenderly and fondly as a good wife. When Murray and Maitland urged her to get divorced from Darnley, she positively refused. She told them Darnley was young and might change for the better; at any rate that she would never do anything that could cast a stain on her honor or conscience; and this at a time when Du Croc, the French ambassador, described the king as "incurably bad."* When he was stricken down with the small-pox, she hastened to his bedside, nursed him tenderly, and when he was able to be removed from Glasgow, had him carried to Edinburgh in her own litter, brought for the purpose. She "gave him her hand and the faith of her body that she would love him as well as ever."† One day, while lodged in Kirk of the Fields, but a few days before his murder, "she clasped him in her arms and kissed him over and over again; and told him that the shadows had passed away from between their hearts."‡ On the night of the 9th of February, she spent several hours with Darnley in loving conversation, "drew from her fore finger a ring and placed it upon his, and kissed him a tenderest good bye."§ Both Knox and Buchanan admit the attentions which she showed her husband after their reconciliation, during his illness and just before his murder. On the 9th of February, 1567, Darnley was blown up at his own house, in Kirk of the Fields, outside the wall of Edinburgh. True history lays the blame on Murray, Morton, Lethington, and Bothwell, and certainly not on Mary. That Murray and Bothwell, with others, were the real murderers of Darnley, all evidence demonstrates. Even as early as July 1, 1565, before Mary's union with Darnley, Murray formed a conspiracy to murder him. The design of the conspirators was to seize the queen and Lord Darnley at the Kirk of Beith, on their return from Perth, and to imprison the queen in the castle of Lochleven, and put Darnley to death. Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's minister at Edinburgh, was deeply engaged in the plot. In his

* Strickland, v., 53. † Strickland, v., p. 112. ‡ *Ibid.*, v. 138; McLeod, p. 174. § McLeod, p. 175.

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letter of June 3d of that year, he writes to Cecil: "People have small joy in this their new master, and find nothing *but that God must find him a short end, or them a miserable life.* The dangers of these he now hateth are great; but they find some support that *what he intendeth to others may light upon himself.*" In another letter of July 2, he writes again to Cecil: "*With my Lord of Murray I have lately spoken.* He is grieved to see the extreme follies in his sovereign; he lamenteth the state of the country, that tendeth to utter ruin; *he feareth* that the nobility shall be forced to assemble themselves together to do her honor and reverence, as they are in duty bound; but, at the same time, to provide for the state, that it do not utterly perish. The duke (Bothwell), the earl of Argyle, and he (Murray) concur in this device; many others are like to join them in the same. What will ensue let wise men judge."* Other letters from this ambassador prove that there was a design to make away with Darnley.

In December, 1566, Murray, Morton, Huntly, Bothwell, Argyle, Maitland and others signed a bond drawn up by Sir James Balfour. The bond was in this wise: "That inasmuch as it was thought expedient and most profitable for the commonwealth, by the whole nobility and lords underscribed, that such a young fool and proud tyrant" (Darnley) "should not bear rule over them; and that for divers causes, therefore, that they all had concluded that he should be put off by one way or other, and whosoever should take the deed in hand or do it, they should defend and fortify it as themselves, for it should be by every one of their own reckoned and holden done by themselves."† Two months after, Darnley was murdered. Can any impartial mind hesitate longer regarding the murderers? Mary, on February 12, offers a reward of £2,000, and an annual pension for their discovery, and free pardon to any accomplice who will reveal it.‡ What, in fact, could induce Mary to murder Darnley to marry Bothwell? Bothwell had but one good trait in his character. He was never false to his country—

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* *Apud.* Tytler: *Inquiry into the evidence against Mary Queen of Scots*, p. 212.

† Aytoun, p. 219—note. ‡ Labanoff, ii., 8.

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"Free from one damning gilt at least,
His soul had ever been;
He did not sell his country's rights,
Nor fawn on England's queen!"*

There is nothing in Mary's history that would create the smallest suspicion of her entertaining a predilection for Bothwell. She imprisoned him for plotting to murder Lord James Murray in the early part of her reign. Bothwell escaped from the dungeon and fled from Scotland for two years. He afterwards plotted to abduct her and compel her to marry Lord Arran. For this he was again imprisoned. The queen would not forgive him, but he managed to escape to England after three months' confinement. These events took place before her marriage with Darnley. After the murder of Rizzio she had taken the lands of Haddington from Maitland and given them to Bothwell, but afterwards she was persuaded by Murray to restore them again to her treacherous secretary. So little was her regard for Bothwell at that time. Yet, Buchanan says she was then in love with the man whose spoliation she permits in favor of one of her worst enemies.† In short, all facts go to show that Mary abhorred Bothwell, who was one-eyed, coarse, brutal and even, on the testimony of Buchanan, old enough to be her father.‡ If she married him it was because she was compelled to do so. He had openly boasted, after Darnley's murder, that he would marry the queen. Yea, whether she would herself or not."§ He made her prisoner, offered marriage, but was treated with contempt by the queen; he finally violated her person, as her own accusers, in words already quoted, complain. Mary asserts positively that Bothwell compelled her to marry him.‖ Mr. Craig, the honest minister of St. Giles, accused Bothwell from the pulpit of carrying off and violating the queen.

The good minister only said what every one believed, for Bothwell's treatment of Mary during her imprisonment in Edinburgh castle, before her marriage, and after that event, was

* Aytoun's "Bothwell." † McLeod, p. 160. ‡ Strickland, v., p. 245.
§ Mary was 24 years old; while Bothwell was 60, so says Buchanan. Detected, pp. 2 and 3. Conf. Lib. 15, pp. 276–285.
‖ Labanoff, ii., p. 32.

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so fiendish and brutal that Sir James Melville "heard her one day, in Arthur Erskine's presence, threatening even to fling herself out of the window." Bothwell was so "beastly and suspicious," continues Melville, "that he suffered not to pass a single day without causing her to shed abundance of salt tears."* She was the lamb in the fangs of the wolf Bothwell.

Murray and Morton had signed a bond acquitting Bothwell of the murder of Darnley, and had urged his marriage with the queen. Morton issued the proclamation which accused Bothwell of carrying Mary off by force and compelling her to marry him. Maitland, Murray and Morton had voted for the act of parliament which declared Mary innocent and Bothwell a ruthless ravisher. Yet these are the very men who afterwards accused her before Elizabeth of England of being Bothwell's accomplice in Darnley's murder!

The following documents speak for themselves and show us how much pressure in favor of the marriage with Bothwell was brought to bear on her mind:

"And in cais it be allegit, that the marrying the erle of Bothwell is ane greit suspicion of hir Hienes's knowledge (of the murder,) it is answerit that before ever that marrige was laid to her Grace's charge, the maist part of the nobilitie and principallie of the usurpers, sic as Morton, Lord Sempill, Lord Lindsay and Sir James Balfour, gave their consent to the erle of Bothwell; and to remove all suspicion, they declarit him innocent.

(Signed,) JOHN, Archbishop of St. Andrews,
EGLINTON, ARGYLE, HUNTLEY,
FLEEMING, CASSILIS, CRAWFORD,
GLENLUCE, ROSS, ERROLL,
SANQUHAR, MAXWELL, OGILVY,
OLIPHANT, DRUMMOND, SOMERVILLE,
ZESTER."

In the same strain as the above is the queen's declaration: "I never condescendit to the marriage until the greatest part of the nobility had cleared him by assize, and *ratified the same in parliament*, and had given thair consent to him for my marriage, and *solicited and persuaded me thairto, as their handwriting will testifie*."† These public declarations on the queen's side,

* Strickland, v., p. 263.

† "Queen Mary's register, Cot. lib." Goodall, vol. ii., p. 342. Goodall was keeper of the Advocates' library at Edinburgh.

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Murray and Morton never publicly contradicted. Mary really did not know that Bothwell was the murderer of Darnley. Did not even Murray and Morton acquit him?

To sum up then, the case stands thus: Queen Elizabeth hated Mary as her rival to the throne of England. Murray, Morton and Lethington were tools of the English government. Mary married Darnley, whom she loved. The nobles, especially Murray, the "godly regent," hated him and plotted his death. He became a bad husband, degraded, brutal and infamous. Yet Mary loved him to the end. Murray, Morton, Maitland and Bothwell had him murdered. The queen, imprisoned and under compulsion, married Bothwell, who had already outraged her person. Shall we not then rather pity this unfortunate woman, the victim of brute force, treachery and craft, rather than unjustly condemn her for crimes which she never committed?

Thus have we answered some of the chief accusations brought against the Queen of Scots. The subject undoubtedly has not been exhausted, for we have not adduced all the proofs which her defenders produce in her behalf. Enough, however, has been said to show that prejudice alone caused her to be considered guilty. Her character, as shown in the first years of her life in France; her conduct during eighteen years and nine months imprisonment, won her the admiration of both friends and enemies. The sweetness of her disposition; her gratitude to her friends, every one of whom she remembers in her last will and testament; her unassuming yet firm devotion to her religious convictions; and her unaffected piety are testified to by all. Her career on the throne, as queen of Scotland, is alone clouded by the foul breath of calumny. Surrounded by enemies, foreign and domestic; the object of bitter hate, she became the victim of deceit, of treason and brutality. Her accusers were men of no conscience, and hence they balked at nothing which could blacken her reputation and ruin her cause.

Her marriage with Bothwell consummated the plotting of Murray against her. The people were excited. Many of the nobles, and most of the soldiers, believed the stories circulated by her enemies that she was accessory to Darnley's murder for

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the purpose of marrying Bothwell. The flame of insurrection was fanned. Morton led the rebels against her and Bothwell. The hostile forces met near Edinburgh, at Carberry hill. An interview was brought about between the queen and Sir William Kirkaldy, of Grange, on the part of the rebels, who required no other terms than those of dismissing Bothwell from her presence, but promised on that condition all dutiful obedience to her. The broken-hearted young queen, relying on the faith of the treaty, to avoid bloodshed, directly went over to the opposite army. Does this not show that she was naturally simple-minded and unsuspicious? Does her conduct on this occasion, in giving up Bothwell, look like that of a woman who married him for love, after murdering her first husband to please him? Doctor Robertson eloquently describes the indignities to which she was afterwards subjected. "As soon as Bothwell retired, Mary surrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her towards the confederate army, the leaders of which received her with much respect; *and Morton, in their name, made ample professions of their future loyalty and obedience.* But she was treated by the common soldiers with the utmost insolence and indignity; they poured upon her all the opprobrious names commonly bestowed on the lowest and most infamous criminals. Wherever she turned her eyes, they held up before her a standard, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, stretched on the ground, and the young prince (Mary's child by Darnley), afterwards James VI., kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "*Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!*"

Bothwell was allowed to escape. His accomplices in the murder of Darnley did not want to arrest him for fear he might reveal their doings. Mary, the victim, alone was wanted. She was put in the common jail at Edinburgh; thence carried over the Frith of Forth and confined in the castle of Douglas, under the guardianship of the mother of base-born Murray. This crafty politician and unprincipled statesman now assumed supreme control as regent of Scotland, a position which he had long coveted; for which he had long plotted against his sister; and to gain which he had sacrificed her blameless reputation, her unstained honor, and

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eventually her life. Well did he deserve the name which Darnley's mother, the countess of Lennox, bestowed on him when she found out his numerous infamies—"*The wicked governor!*"*

ART. V.—1. *Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours.* Par M. RAYNOUARD. 6 vols. Paris. 1816.

2. *Die Poesie der Troubadours, nach gedruchten und handschriftlichen Werken derselben dargestellt.* Von FRIEDRICH DIEZ. Zwickau. 1826.

3. *Leben und Werke der Troubadours. Ein Beitrag zur nähern Kenntniss des Mittelalters.* Von F. DIEZ. Zwickau. 1829.

4. *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours.* Par ABBÉ MILLOT. Paris. 1774.

5. *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe.* By J. C. L. SISMONDE DE SISMONDI. Translated by THOMAS ROSCOE.

FOR about three hundred years—from near the close of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century—was in Europe a golden age of song and romance. It was not less distinctive, and, in some respects, is more interesting, than the age of Pericles, in Athens, or that of Augustus, in Rome. It was the period of chivalry, of the crusades, of the Niebelungen Lied, of the Troubadours, the Trouveres, and the Minnesingers. Michelet says this was emphatically the age of women; in that declaration all the rest is included. Love, valor, and religion were the animating sentiments of the period, and found their most appropriate expression in song. It was the formative period of modern politics, languages, and literature. A new language arose on the decadence of the Latin, and, in its turn, became a dead tongue, but left monuments well worthy of our examination. This field has been too much neglected by scholars, considering its intrinsic richness and the aid which explorations in it can give to an appreciation of modern literature. From Provençal

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* Strickland, v., p. 331.

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poetry arose the vast superstructures of that of modern times; the Troubadours gave place to Dante and Chaucer. It furnished the groundwork of modern verse, and to a great extent determined forms; the revival of learning superadding to this basis the excellencies of the Greek and Roman classics.

The classic land of this period was the south of France, and its language the Provençal. This country, after being the inheritance of several of the successors of Charlemagne was, in 879, formed into an independent kingdom. Bozon I., the founder of the house of Burgundy, was its first monarch, being crowned at Nantes with the title of King of Arles. Under his dominion were Provence, Dauphiny, Savoy, the Lyonese, and some provinces of Burgundy. In 943 the title of king was exchanged for that of count, under Bozon II., but the kingdom of Provence remained entire, and continued in the house of Burgundy. The last of the male line of this house was Gilibert, who died in 1092, leaving two daughters, between whom his possessions were divided. The elder, Faydide, became the spouse of Alphonse, count of Toulouse, while the other, Douce, married Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona. For two hundred and thirteen years Provence was thus united under a line of princes who contributed to augment the riches of the country, encouraged learning, and consolidated the laws and the language. The Provençal language rose at this period, displacing the Latin, which continued to exist only in records, statutes, homilies and legends of the saints. The Provençal became the language of the common people, of the court, and of literature, and was in great repute, not only in France, but also in Spain and Italy.

Then arose chivalry and the poets of the age, who in the south of France were called Troubadours, and, to the north of the Loire, Trouveres. Poets and musicians were in repute in these countries previous to this time, and Philip Muskes, a Norman poet of the thirteenth century, in a rhymed complaint declares that "when Charlemagne had brought all countries under his dominion, he made over and divided the whole of Provence, which is rich in wind, woods and rivers,

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among the luxurious musicians and minstrels." Raymond Berenger and his successors were the guardians of chivalry, and patrons of literature in this country. They introduced a taste for elegance and the sciences of the Arabians. At the close of the eleventh century one-half of France was governed by independent princes, whose only common bond was the Provençal language. There were the counts of Toulouse, dukes of Aquitaine, of the house of Poitiers, dauphins of Viennois and of Auvergne, princes of Orange, of the house of Baux, and the counts of Foix. To the courts of these rulers repaired physicians, astrologers, and minstrels. "La gai saber," or "la gai sciencia," (the gay science,) as the Troubadours called their art, was considered as conferring more distinction than great titles or feats of arms. The bravest knights were fain to add to their reputation for prowess that of being good versifiers. Monarchs vied with low-born minstrels in celebrating the praise of their mistresses in song. Ladies of all ranks became poets. No learning was required to be a Troubadour, for no publication of poems was in vogue except to sing or chant them at court or in hall, and knights who could not read were reckoned good poets. There are in existence poems in the Provençal language composed by the emperor of Germany, Frederick Barbarossa, Richard I. of England, Alfonso II., and Peter III. of Aragon, Frederick III. of Sicily, the dauphin of Auvergne, the count de Foix, the prince of Orange, the marquis of Montferrat, king of Thessalonica, and many other titled lords and ladies. The versifying art afforded a means of rising from obscurity even more certain than the profession of arms, and some of the most distinguished of the Troubadours were of humble origin. In the days of chivalry all monarchs and nobles kept open house for wandering knights and minstrels, and the roving poets were everywhere welcomed and often richly rewarded for the entertainment they afforded. The palace and the hall were alike open to them, and so also, it would seem, were the hearts of the ladies, to whom they were especially dear, as their charms and the delights of love formed the staple of Troubadour minstrelsy. Besides the favor of the ladies, which was the

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principal object of their efforts, they were often rewarded with presents of horses, and their trappings, with rich clothing, jewels and money.

The conquest of England by William, and the succession of the kings of that country to the portions of France where the Provençal language prevailed, gave a great impetus to minstrelsy. The monarchs of the house of Plantagenet were patrons of the Troubadours, Richard Cœur de Lion being enrolled among their number, and being especially dear to the minstrels of the period. The romance language had a great influence on the formation of the English, and the minstrels furnished Chaucer with his first models. The preaching of the first crusade, in 1095, and the opening of communication between Christendom and the Levant, also aided in extending and perfecting Troubadour poetry. It would seem that literature of the nature of the Provençal could only flourish in the sunshine of a court. Nostradamus says, "Mais defaillans des Mecenas, defaillirent aussi les poëtes." Minstrelsy declined with chivalry, and another era succeeded, with poets representing more comprehensive nationalities, with Dante and Chaucer and printing. The causes which are reckoned especially to have promoted the downfall of Provençal literature, were the wars against the Albigenses, followed by the wars of Simon de Montfort, in which the south of France was devastated, the accession of the house of Anjou to the throne of Naples, and the removal of the papal court from Avignon.

The name Troubadour is derived from the Provençal *trobaire* (to find), *trobador* (finder or inventor), having the same signification as the Greek *poietes*, from which our word *poet* is derived. There were also the jongleurs, who were originally musicians, and were afterwards, when poetry came to be more cultivated, employed to sing or recite the compositions of the Troubadours, accompanying their recitations with instrumental music and sometimes with tricks and jugglery. In time every troubadour of distinction had his jongleur, who was as necessary to the poet of that day as are publishers to modern writers. This advantage, however, the troubadour had over the poet of this age, that he was

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not so dependent upon his jongleur, as the poet is upon his publisher. There were no copyrights in those days, and, we presume, though we have no record of such a circumstance, that the jongleurs frequently stole the effusions of the poets, and were well rewarded for reciting them, neglecting to give due credit to the authors. Guirant Riquier, in a poem in the form of a petition, addressed to Alphonso X. of Castile, in 1275, says: "Verily, jonglerie in the beginning was introduced by wise and learned men, in order to procure by well played instruments, honor and enjoyment to the nobles. These, in the beginning, kept jongleurs, and in the present day the great ones of the land do so. Afterwards came troubadours to sing of high deeds, and so to praise the nobles as to incite others to imitate them. For those who cannot accomplish such may know how to appreciate them." The following lines give a catalogue of the ordinary accomplishments of a jongleur:

"All the minstrel art I know:
I the viol well can play;
I the pipe and syrinx blow;
Harp and gigue my hand obey;
Psaltery, symphony and rote
Help to charm the listening throng,
And Armonia lends its note
While I warble forth my song.

"I have tales and fables plenty,
Satires, past'rals full of sport;
Songs to Vielle I've more than twenty,
Ditties, too, of every sort.
I from lovers tokens bear,
I can flowery chaplets weave,
Amorous belts can well prepare,
And with courteous speech deceive."*

The lives of many of the troubadours furnish romantic incidents as remarkable as their fictions. They are narrated in Millot's *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours*, the *Leben und Werke der Troùbadours*, by Diez, and the excellent works of M. Raynouard. The first of whom we have any distinct account is William, the 9th count of Poitiers and duke of Aqui-

* Burney's *Hist. of Music*, v. ii., p. 270.

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taine, born 1071, died 1127, who with three hundred thousand men took part in the crusade of 1101.* The next is the illustrious Bernard de Ventadour, of whom Millot says: "Vivacity, delicacy of sentiment, beauty of images, naïveté of style, facility of versification, distinguish advantageously this poet whom Petrarch has mentioned with praise.† There were satirists in those days who attempted to injure the reputation of some of the poets, sometimes by unworthy references to their origin. Pierre d'Auvergne says of Ventadour, "He had for his father a servant who shot well with a wooden bow, and his mother heated ovens and collected firewood."‡ Armand de Marveil was also born in humble life, from which his talents raised him. He was attached to the court of Roger II., viscount of Beziers, and fell in love with his master's wife, the Countess Adelaide, daughter of Raymond V., count of Toulouse. His susceptibility caused him much trouble.

The loves of the troubadours were not always distinguished for honor, nor was their expression of passion in their songs always delicate; yet their sentiments were often ardent and ennobling. Geoffroi Rudel became enamored of a princess of Tripoli merely from hearing of her beauty and the sweetness of her disposition from pilgrims who came from Antioch. He wrote many songs to her, and finally determined to see her at any cost. He embarked, but was taken sick on the voyage, and believed to be dead. He was, however, carried to Tripoli, and the countess, learning his story, was so much affected by it that she repaired to his bedside and embraced him. He immediately revived, thanked God, and died in her arms. She caused him to be buried with great pomp and solemnity, and retired to a cloister. This lady is supposed to have been Melisenda, daughter of Count Raymond I., who was sought in marriage by the Greek emperor, Manuel Comnenus, who proved inconstant.§

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* Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 3.

† *Histoire Littéraire des Troubadours*, I., p. 85.

‡ See Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours*, p. 76.

§ The story of Rudel is well told in Mrs. Jamieson's *Loves of the Poets*. See, also, Millot, t. i., p. 85, and Diez.

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Pierre Vidal stole a kiss, which caused his banishment. On another occasion, to please his mistress, he disguised himself as a wolf, was hunted in the forest, and, as it chanced, was nearly torn to pieces by dogs, which he affected to regard as no misfortune, since it furnished amusement to his lady-love.*

One of the most renowned of the troubadours was Sordello, who was also distinguished as a soldier, but preferred the delights of love to war. Dante takes account of him in his Inferno, and represents Virgil as embracing him. His verses were distinguished for harmony and sensibility. He was among the first to adopt the ballad style. Another was the turbulent Bertrand de Born, the friend of Richard Cœur de Lion, who was never so much at home as in the midst of the excitement of battle. He assisted the unfilial sons of Henry II. against their father, for which Dante represents him as enduring punishment in hades, comparing him to Achitophel, and Richard to Absalom.† Raynouard calls him, "Mauvais parent, sujet rebelle, ami dangereux." He turned monk in his old age, and ended his days in a cloister.

There were critics in those days, whose style of commentary may be inferred from extracts which Raynouard gives from contemporary MSS. containing criticisms upon popular poets. We also learn from these extracts what were the accomplishments of the troubadours:

"Pierre Vidal sang better than any other man in the world; he was the troubadour who composed the best airs."

"Armand de Marveil composed well, sang well, and read romances well."

"Pierre Cardinal knew how to read well and sing well; he *trouvait* also beautiful subjects and beautiful airs."

"The Lady Tiberge, gracious and very clever, united amiability to scientific attainments, and had talents for poesy."

"The Lady Lombarde *trouvait* well, and made love-couplets."‡

The courts of love were one of the most interesting and characteristic institutions of the period. Their existence has been doubted, but Raynouard finds satisfactory proof

* Diez, *Op. cit.*, p. 169. † *Inferno*, ch. xxviii.

‡ Raynouard, *Choix de Poésie*, v. ii.

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that they were in vogue from about the year 1150 to 1200, and believes them to have existed previously. His chief authority is André, chaplain to the French court. André's work was entitled, "Livre de l'Art d'Aimer, et de la reprobation de l'Amour." Another authority on the subject is "Les Arrets d'Amour, avec l'Amant rendu Cordelier à l'Observance d'Amour. Par Martial Auvergne, dit de Paris, procureur au parliament, &c.," published at Amsterdam in 1731. From this latter work, and from Raynouard's selections from the work of André, we are able to get a definite idea of the nature of the courts of love, and have accounts of their constitution, their rules and decrees, and many reports of causes adjudicated by them. They were composed of a number of distinguished ladies, sometimes assisted by cavaliers. The courts made rules which were often decreed to be fixed laws. At the court of Gascoigne all the ladies agreed to order that the judgment of the court should be observed as a perpetual constitution, and that any lady who did not obey it should incur the enmity of all honest dames.* A code of laws consisting of thirty-one articles was set forth. The following are some of the most important of these rules:

"Marriage is not a legitimate excuse for not loving.

"Who does not know how to keep a secret cannot be a lover.

"No one can have two attachments at the same time.

"Love must always increase or diminish.

"The lover who survives is bound to preserve widowhood for two years.

"Facility of enjoyment diminishes its value, and difficulty augments it.

"If once love diminishes it soon comes to an end, and rarely recovers its power.

"The genuine lover is always timid."

The questions which came before these courts for decision were often fanciful, but sometimes practical. We give some specimens of these questions, and their decisions by the court:

Question—"Can true love exist between married persons?"

Judgment of the Countess de Champagne—"We pronounce and declare,

* Raynouard, *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours*, t. ii.

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by these presents, that love cannot extend its empire over two married persons. In fact, lovers accord everything mutually and gratuitously, without being constrained thereto by any motive of necessity, while married persons are in duty bound reciprocally to submit their wills to each other, and to refuse each other nothing. Let this judgment, which we have rendered with extreme prudence, and by the advice of a great number of ladies, stand for you as a perpetual and irrefutable principle. Thus decreed the year 1174, the third day of the kalends of May, indiction VII."

Question—"Is it between lovers or married persons that there exists the greatest affection, the most lively attachment?"

Judgment of Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne—"The attachment of married persons and the tender affections of lovers are sentiments by nature and custom entirely different. No comparison can be instituted between subjects which have between them no resemblance and agreement."

Question—"A lady formerly married is now separated from her husband by divorce. He who was her husband demands her love urgently."

Judgment pronounced by the Viscountess of Narbonne—"Love between those who have been united by conjugal ties, if they are afterwards separated, in whatever manner it may be, is not reputed culpable; it is even commendable."

There were two dialects of the romance language—the Romance-Provençal, used in all the provinces south of the Loire, originally conquered by the Visigoths and Burgundians, and the Romance-Wallon, which was employed north of the Loire, in the dominions of the Franks. The Provençal was also called the *Langue d'Oc*, and the Romance-Wallon the *Langue d'Oil* or *d'Oui*, both meaning the language of the *yes*; as the Italian was called *Langue de Si*, and the German *Langue de Ja*. According to Bastero the *Langue d'Oc* existed in the Balearic Isles as late as 1724. Out of this language grew the Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese tongues. The *Langue d'Oc* supplanted the *Tudesque*, which Charlemagne endeavored to establish. It had regular forms and fixed rules, and was distinguished for richness and flexibility, and a redundancy of similar sounds, admirably adapting it to the purposes of poetry. A knowledge of it can be obtained from Raynouard, who has compiled a grammar and a vocabulary of the language. It offers few difficulties to persons acquainted with the Latin, and any one of the

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Romanic languages, or even with one of the latter only. Raynouard says of it: "This idiom, born of the corruption of the Latin language, had forms characteristic and essential, differing absolutely; subjected to new combinations of poetry and versification, it was consecrated by the troubadours to express the delicacy and the vivacity of love, the severe frankness of their moral and political opinions, their enthusiasm for honorable exploits and for the illustrious persons who performed them, their just and courageous indignation against the errors and the vices of their contemporaries; and then commenced a new era in literature."*

A stanza or two of troubadour poetry will give an idea of the language. The following is from a *chanson* of Pierre Vidal:

"E s'ien sai ren dir ni faire,
Ilh n'ayàl grat, que sciensa
M'a donat e connoissensa,
Per qu'ien sui guays e chantaire,
E tot quant fauc d'avinen
Ai del sien belh cors plazen,
Neis quan de bon cor cossire."†

Here is a stanza from a poem of Richard de Barbezieux:

"Qu' aissi cum totz l'ans s'agensa
Per fuelh' e per flor,
Val mais lo meas per amor,
Et amors non a valensa
Ni honor,
Mielhs De' Dompna, ses vostra mantenensa,
Quar de totz bes estatz gras e semensa,
Et en vos es valors, bentatz e sens,
Mas per amor es plus valors valens."‡

Rhyme is the groundwork of the Provençal poetry. The troubadours were the inventors of rhyme, unless, as Sis-

* *Choix des Poésies originales des Troubadours*, t. II.

† "O, if my songs, if my deeds have conferred upon me any renown, I ought to render the homage of it to my love; it is she who excited my talents and encouraged my studies. It is she who has inspired me with gracious songs; my works appear agreeable, and succeed in pleasing, only because they reflect from me something of the elegance of my lady, who constantly occupies my thoughts."

‡ "As the year is embellished by the flowers of spring and the fruits of autumn, the whole world is embellished by love; and love has no value and no glory except through you, O most perfect of dames! You make secure his empire, for in you are worth, beauty, and understanding; but love renders all your fine qualities more precious."

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mondi supposes, they borrowed it from the Arabians. F. Schlegel says: "It is impossible to trace this romantic metre and rhyme to the Arabians, although in some Arabic poems the same rhyme is carried on at certain intervals throughout; but nothing Arabic or in the slightest degree oriental, even, can be discovered in any fragments of old romantic poetry. The structure of the language, the coloring and diction, are altogether different. The Romance language is formed by the intermixture of the Latin and Teutonic; words of the former language being incorporated with the German, and remodelled according to its peculiar pronunciation and phraseology."*

The troubadours were the inventors of modern verse. They substituted number and accentuation of syllables for the quantity of the Greek and Latin versification. The structure of their verse exhibits great variety, and is often complicated. They had an admirable sense of the harmony of numbers, and no translation can properly render the music of their songs. They generally displayed a discriminating taste in the choice of forms of verse in which to express their sentiments. Some of their poems seem affected, as the adaptedness of the language to rhyme offered inducements to attempt a display of skill in overcoming difficulties. The form of the stanza is regular and uniform, the same rhyme being often repeated in the same place in each stanza. The rhymes were distinguished by a masculine and feminine, as in the French. They were varied so as to produce the greatest harmony in the verse.

The Troubadours had a variety of forms of verse, each with its particular name, which characterized those of a class expressing certain sentiments. The word *verse* had with them a generic signification. The *chanson* was a piece devoted usually to love or praise. The stanzas were ordinarily composed of five or six couplets. The *son* or *sonnet* was a *chanson* intended to be sung; though the signification of the word *chanson* shows that the original choice of this name was to designate a piece intended to be sung or chanted.

* *Treatise on the Study of Romantic Poetry*, part I.

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The word *cobla*, couplet, was sometimes applied to distinguish amorous poetry, and sometimes to designate lyric pieces for which new music was made. The *planh*, or *complainte*, was employed to celebrate the memory of a deceased lover, a friend or a benefactor, or to deplore a public calamity. It had usually the same form as the *chanson*, and appears to have been designed to be sung. The *tenson* was a poem in dialogue, upon subjects of love, chivalry, morals, &c. It was sometimes a medium for the exchange of vows between lovers, and sometimes a vehicle for invective, the word *tenson* being derived from the Latin *contentio*. It was often the work of more than one hand, each author taking one part of the dialogue. The *sirventes* were satirical pieces, political, moral, or personal. One of the most successful composers of *sirventes* was the famous Bertrand de Born. The *sixtine*, supposed to have been invented by Armand Daniel, was a musical piece, complicated but regular. The *descourt*, probably meaning discordance, was an irregular poem, whence its name. The *alba*, or *aubade*, was a love-song, generally expressive of the happiness which the lover had enjoyed in his mistress' society and of his regrets that the appearance of day compelled him to separate from the object of his affections. The *serena*, or serenade, was composed by the lover, in anticipation of his meeting with his mistress, and in complaint of the length of the day which so long kept him from happiness. Raynouard says: "The distinctive characteristic of these two sorts of pieces is a mixture of gracious sentiment with *naive* melancholy that one rarely finds in the other compositions of the troubadours. Nothing appears to me more delicate and more tender than the following *aubade*. It is the work of a lady whose name is unknown."* We give an original, rhymed version of this piece, though agreeing with Schlegel that the beauties of Provençal poetry are of a kind not communicable through the medium of translation:

"Within a grove, beneath a hawthorne tree,
A lady clasps her lover tenderly,
When the watcher cries that daybreak she can see;
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon!

* *Op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 236.

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I would to God the night might last for aye,
He from my side be never forced away,
And that the sentry ne'er might see the day.
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon.

O fair, sweet friend, let us two kiss again,
There where the blithe birds wake a matin strain,
And feel and fear we now no jealous pain.
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon.

O beautiful and sweet, let's joy anew,
Where, in the garden, birds wake love-songs true,
Till the sentry's pipe proclaims the day in view.
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon.

I drink that amorous sigh, my friend so gay,
So sweet, so gentle! 'Tis a golden ray
From love's own sun which makes the glorious day.
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon.

O she is beautiful, and gracious too,
And many eyes her lovely form may view,
Yet loyally she loves, so kind and true!
Oh God! oh God! the daylight comes too soon."

Other kinds of verse were the *ballade*, the *danse*, the *ronde*, designed to embellish and animate the dance; also *epitres* and *nouvelles*, short poems, containing generally anecdotes of gallantry relative to lords, cavaliers and ladies. There are only four Provençal romances handed down to us. Three are in verse, *Gerard de Rossillon*, *Jaufre*, *the son of Dovon*, *Ferebras*, and the prose romance *Philomena*. These romances were much more in vogue with the Norman poets than with the troubadours. There are among the remains of Provençal literature several legends of the saints, and the rhymed chronicle of the wars against the Albigenses, by Guillaume de Tudela. There are quite a number of didactic poems, and the *Breviary of Love*, by Matfre Ermengan, consisting of twenty-seven hundred verses, which contains an epitome of nearly all the knowledge of the age. There are also the fragment of the *Life of Boethius*, and the *Mystery of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, which is doubtless the earliest attempt at dramatic composition extant in modern language.

There was little learning displayed in the poetry of the

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Troubadours, no considerable amount of thought or invention, but great depth of feeling, delicacy of sentiment, and richness of fancy. They are poems of the affections rather than of the intellect. The freshness and apparent spontaneity of the feeling which inspired them, and the gracefulness of their expression are their principal charm. They are very simple and direct in expression, as original as the Greek poets or Shakespeare, and more so than the Latin writers; very few of the composers being acquainted with the classics, they are not guilty of imitation, except of each other. They exhibit an ardent love of nature, a hearty detestation of tyranny and hypocrisy, and a fine appreciation of the delights of love. The troubadour's mistress was generally his muse, and his expression of his sentiments was more simple and more delicate than that of the Greeks and Romans. Christianity had its effect in refining and spiritualizing the sentiment of the age which displayed itself in the institution of chivalry as well as in the songs of the troubadours. As an example of the troubadour's sentiments regarding the tender passion, we translate a stanza of a poem of Bernard de Ventadour:

"He whose cold heart love cannot move,
Who feels its thrill no more, is dead;
Who values life when love hath fled,
What but a burden can he prove?
My God, permit me not to live
A month, a day, when love is dead,
When wearying and wearied
No pleasure I can feel or give."

We attempt a new version of a famous war lyric of Bertrand de Born, though doubtless we shall fail—as others have done before us—in giving any adequate impression of the spirit of the original, which breathes the very soul of conflict.

"It pleases me when lovely spring
Makes leaves and beauteous flowers appear;
It pleases me, when blithe birds sing,
Their joyous madrigals to hear
Through echoing thickets sounding;
And I am well pleased when I see around
Tents and pavilions deck the ground;

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And my heart with joy is bounding
When on the field gay knights and steeds
Appear, equipped for glorious deeds.

Well pleased am I, to see the scouts
Make peasants and flocks in terror flee;
And to hear the soldiers' warlike shouts,
As they hasten after, rejoices me;
And greater is my pleasure
When the wall of a castle beseiged, at last
Comes crashing down, and the foemen fast
Before the yawning fissure
Are forming their ranks, whom palisade,
And compassing ditches and banks still aid.

I love to see a valiant knight,
On good steed mounted, lead the charge,
His followers, eager to join the fight,
Press after him, brandishing sword and targe,
His valor all inspiring;
And when they have gained the farther bank,
They close on the foeman's outer rank,
Every man of the host desiring
To give and take, for each one knows
That his worth is proved by valiant blows.

Lances, and swords, and helms blood-dyed,
And shields all battered and wrenched away,
Are strewn on the conflict's swelling tide,
And vassals are mingled in murderous fray,
And, pierced by swords and lances,
Steeds wounded and killed are scattered about,
And eager to join the furious rout,
Each high-born knight advances,
And thinks but of cleaving limb and head,
Resolved to be victor or sleep with the dead.

I tell you that nothing such joy can bring,
Be it food, or drink, or sleep, to me,
As to hear the battle-cry, "At them!" ring
From the closing hosts, and to hear and see
Steeds riderless rushing and neighing,
And the cry "To the rescue!" above the din,
And all to the ditch rush madly in,
And revel in cleaving and slaying,
And lifeless bodies thrust aside
To make room for the battle's advancing tide.

Ye barons pledge while you may
Your castles and villages, cities and lands,

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And for glorious war prepare your bands!
And Papiol, hasten I pray,
And say to the Lord of Oc and No*
That the days of peace are too dull and slow."

We doubt if there is in literature a more perfect specimen of its kind than this wonderful lyric. It is almost an epic in five stanzas, and is thoroughly artistic. The poet expresses his pleasure in the beauties of spring and the singing of birds; then he tells us how he loves to see the preparations for war. The camp is first represented, and then the assembled troops. Then come the march and the peasants and flocks fleeing before the vanguard of the army. A castle is reached and besieged; the walls are breached, and both armies prepare for the deadly struggle. A valiant lord leads the onset of the attacking party; his example inspires others, and all rush eagerly forward. Then the deadly struggle begins, and its progress is described with stirring distinctness. This part of the piece seems, as Raynouard says, "to have been inspired by the intoxication of carnage, in the midst of the horrors of the field of battle."

In simplicity of diction and artistic directness of expression, Provençal poetry resembles the ancient classics. With less learning and thought, it has excellencies of its own which make it well worthy of study. It is impossible to transfuse its spirit by translation; its simplicity and artistic excellence, the nature of the Provençal language, and the difficult forms of verse, rendering abortive any attempt, even by an accomplished versifier, to communicate its beauties in another language. Like the poetry of the early period of nations generally, it is peculiarly excellent in structure. Greater affluence of ornamentation comes with advancement in knowledge and a more liberal supply of the refinements of civilation and the arts of life. We can learn much from troubadour poetry; in some respects it furnishes us models as valuable as the monuments of more ancient civilization.

Those were not barbarous ages and lands in which the troubadours flourished. Neither was war the chief occupation of the people of those times and countries. The most

* *Papiol*, his jongleur; *Oc* and *No*, Richard Cœur de Lion.

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flourishing period of Provençal literature was an age of peace, and the martial spirit was kept alive by stirring lyrics and recitals of former deeds of glory, which were sung or narrated in court and hall. The rulers of Provence were more desirous of cultivating science and literature than of extending their dominions by conquest. The richness and passionateness of Arabian literature must have had its effect upon the Christian inhabitants of the south of Europe. Woman, in those days, was more devotedly as well as more passionately worshipped than with us, with all our superior civilization. We may be more refined, but we are generally less passionate than the troubadours, and that passion was a source of power which our greater knowledge cannot supply.

Pope said that unless poetry can come as naturally as leaves to the tree, it had better not come at all. What is most valuable in literature springs spontaneously from the life of a people and the heart of its writers. It is a record of real experiences, of emotions which will be expressed in some form, and whose strength or delicacy is indicated by the form that expression assumes. It is from a necessity of its nature that the bird sings and the flower blooms; the work of the true poet is equally spontaneous and irrepressible with the song of the bird. In crude times the poetry of a people is generally simple and lyrical, this form best expressing the simple and natural emotions of the heart. As knowledge advances there is engrafted upon this simple outpouring of the heart the results of science and thought. Then intellect has its share in the production, as well as feeling. An extension of knowledge makes writers acquainted with models of other times and countries than their own. Then they are apt to become imitative, and to merge their individuality in that of minds greater than their own. This is the danger attending too much study for the poet. He echoes the sentiments of others rather than records his own, his natural emotions in fact being obliterated or so much repressed by the influence of those he imbibes from his models as to entirely lose their native characteristics. Even adopting forms of verse from others is dangerous to the

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poet. The forms which his verse will assume are as much a part of the individuality of the poet as the feelings which thus seek expression.

Culture, however, must not be deterred. The greater the power of intellect the more perfect will be the expression, provided originality is not dwarfed and spontaneity repressed. When intellect overpowers sensibility the poet is ruined. If the two qualities can be preserved together, the greater the cultivation of the mind the higher flights will the poet be enabled to take; at least the more excellently will he be able to communicate his emotions. The poetical faculty is a delicate one, and must be managed carefully. When it is great enough to bear the highest culture without injury, without being overpowered by intellect, it will produce the grandest results. Those who have had the poetical faculty so largely developed that they could bear thorough cultivation of the intellect, are the great poets of the ages. The lesser stars have been able to reflect less of the light of intellect, and many, no doubt, subjected to its full meridian blaze, have thereby become entirely invisible, or have appeared to shine by a faint, borrowed light.

A conventional education is always dangerous to the poet. He may not suffer from it, even though it be not the best for him, if he be great enough to rise above it, assimilating what is good for him in his teachings, and rising above his circumstances, his soul fed from the pristine fount of inspiration. But many of those who have had the greatest influence on mankind, who are watchtowers to the ages, have been developed in circumstances that have called forth their powers without subjecting them to conventional standards. Such are Shakspeare, Burns and Béranger. We do not say that any one should imitate any of these writers in externals, for that would be to destroy his own originality, and each must be governed by his own circumstances. Neither should he neglect any opportunities for culture within his reach. The circumstances in which each person is placed indicate to him the course which he is to pursue. They are his materials, and from them he must build his edifice. But he must be the master of these materials, and not permit himself to be buried beneath them.

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We are greatly benefitted by considering how persons in a natural state express themselves. In this respect the poetry of the troubadours gives us most valuable models. They were not imitators, but original artists. We learn from their songs how the people of that day felt and what were their characteristics. In the natural emotions of the soul they did not differ from the people of to-day, however much customs have changed. We find that what interested the people of those times moves us of the present and in almost precisely the same way. And we shall find that the forms which gave utterance to their emotions, and which were pleasing then, are pleasing now. They had not the depth of feeling nor the lofty flights of imagination of the best writers of more modern times, but in what they expressed we shall find that they were more simple and natural than the majority of the poets of this age.

ART. VI.—*Book of Summer Resorts. Guide Book to our Watering Places*, &c., &c. New York. 1869.

Now that the "season" is over, we cannot injure any legitimate interest by giving a few of our impressions of those institutions known as "Summer Resorts." We are in favor of respecting vested rights even in instances in which those who possess them would allow no rights, even to their patrons, which they could possibly withhold, without charging for them in their bills. It was this disposition to be just and charitable, even to those who have no sense of justice or of equity themselves, that caused us to abstain from treating this subject in our June number. We need hardly say that if it had been our object to make a sensation which would be likely to prove profitable to ourselves we would not have made this postponement; for we knew very well that fifty would buy a criticism on summer resorts in June for one who would do so now, in the middle of September. But it is not our purpose to pander to any degrading passion; we address ourselves, not to the credulity or morbid curiosity of the public, but to its reason and judgment. While we do not

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pretend to be indifferent to the means of existence, or to despise the comforts of life, but freely admit that there are some of the luxuries of life which we like to enjoy, yet we would content ourselves with the most indispensable necessaries rather than sacrifice the public good in order to increase our own profit. But thanks to the most intelligent portion of the American people, we are not obliged to do anything of the kind. We have no charge of neglect or lack of appreciation to make; on the contrary, we have always had reason to feel grateful for the generous encouragement given us by the enlightened and liberal of all sects, denominations and parties.

Our worst enemies can hardly pretend that we have anything to gain by showing that if nine-tenths of our summer resorts were suppressed, the public would be served rather than injured by the catastrophe. Still less can it be said that we have any rejected offers, or any slights, to revenge. If any keeper of a summer resort can say that we have ever asked any patronage from him, in any form, he may charge us with vindictive motives; if, upon the other hand, he can say that we have ever received anything from him for which we have not paid in full, he may impugn our impressions in another way. But we defy any one to make either statement, or to attribute to us any worse motive than the wish to put the public on their guard, in the pursuit of our duties as a public journalist, against imposition and extortion of the most shameful and unblushing kind.

None but those who have visited many of those places, and become familiar with the *modus operandi* of their keepers, would believe that any class of men would be so blind to their own future interests—not to mention any other reason—as to treat their guests as they do. It is almost needless for us to remark that we do not place in this category the landlords of respectable city hotels who sometimes open hotels for the season at our principal watering places.* These are indeed exceptions;

* It is true that this class also have occasionally recourse to ingenious contrivances. It will be remembered that two or three of them made quite a hit during the past season, by engaging the services of some distinguished personages in *pantomime* and kindred performances.

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but they are so few compared to the large number who keep "summer resorts" in all parts of the country, that they can hardly be said to affect the general estimate. Thousands prefer to go to other places; were it otherwise it would be impossible for the respectably managed houses to accommodate them. For every one thus comfortably and pleasantly accommodated, at least a hundred have to patronize the sharpers; the latter are quite aware of this, and they take every possible advantage of it. It is true that were this class judged by their garments, their watch chains and finger rings, none could seem more responsible or "high toned;" although there are some who assume the garb of humility, as a certain class of women sometime assume the garb of virtue, in order that they may be able to turn their lack of virtue to the most profitable account. In general the keepers of our summer resorts are persons who have been assistant clerks, porters, or runners at third or fourth rate city hotels, such as those establishments in the Bowery and Cherry street. It is not strange that this class are constantly boasting of their city experience in the hotel business, and that when any objection is made to their extortions, they pretend to settle the point by saying, "'Twas always the rule in the city hotels." This was the reply we heard made to a gentleman, who, although his boots were regularly polished by his own servant-man, found, among other questionable items in his bill, "Cleaning boots, $2 50." The rejoinder—quite good humoredly made—is, "It may have been the rule in the sort of city hotels to which you have belonged, but no such rule has ever been enforced at any respectable New York house."

A goodly proportion of summer resort keepers are furnished by that class of city boarding-house keepers who have failed to make their fortunes by half-starving their customers at the rate of six or seven dollars a week per head. It is true that the large majority of these are women—either widows, or spinsters of a certain age; but when they aspire to be keepers of summer resorts they enter into partnerships, so that instead of Mrs. Sausage, or Miss Nancy, standing at the head, or the bottom, of the bill, we have the firm of Tom Smith & Co., Dr. N. P. Brownrag & Co., &c. Sometimes the

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owners of those resorts undertake to keep them—that is, those owners who have made a fortune by the "liquor business," or some kindred calling; and we think it almost superfluous to say that this class seldom prove much better than their city brethren.

But before we proceed any farther let us remark, parenthetically, that we are not speaking of those ranked as second or third rate summer resorts, but those regarded as the best in the localities in which they are situated. Nor shall we speak of any others, for we know nothing about them; we certainly do not want to know—and we hope we never shall—any worse establishments of their kind than those advertised as "first class," "equal to the New York Hotel, or the Fifth Avenue," &c.

All who have any experience in the matter will readily agree with us that those establishments are growing worse and worse from year to year, and that the number of respectable people who visit them and remain any time has diminished at a still greater ratio. For every hundred of this class who used to spend the summer at these places three or four years ago, scarcely half a dozen individuals do so now.

It is true that these few are as respectable and pleasant people as are to be met with anywhere. It has been our privilege to meet with such at the different places which we visited during the past season, and to which we will allude before we close, though only in a way which may have the effect of causing the bullies and "grabbers" to take lessons on decency and honesty before the next season. Indeed, at none of those places did we meet with more agreeable and interesting ladies and gentlemen, or more wit, beauty, grace and loveliness, combined, than at the very place at which "one of the firm" acted as if he thought it one of his "inalienable rights" to give the worst possible treatment, not only to the ladies and gentlemen that happened to stay at his "resort," but also to the poor horses that were so unfortunate as to depend for their daily rations on such a "boss." But there is reason for the apparent anomaly. There are many circumstances that may render one locality more desirable than another; the same

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circumstances compel many to remain some weeks, though they discover the very first day that the "resort" is anything but comfortable or respectable.

It need hardly be said that the large majority of those who have taken the place of the guests of former years are not very fastidious in their tastes, either æsthetically or physically; if Nature has denied them other gifts she has at least endowed them with marvellously strong stomachs! It is altogether superfluous to give this class delicate food. The more flabby, tough, and black the steak is,* the better they seem to like it. Fresh vegetables or fresh fruits would be equally a sacrifice in their case; the stale, cheap kind, is all they expect. Even these they have no idea of at the beginning of the season. It is almost needless to add, that this class are entirely satisfied; they think everything "splendid." And if they will only drink freely in addition to this, as they are very apt to do, they are soon distingished as the model boarders of the "resort." They are much flattered with the attentions they receive, and, being very grateful, under certain circumstances, they are soon observed going about among the rest of the guests, asking subscriptions, to get up a champagne supper, a "grand hop," a grand display of fireworks, &c., &c.—anything to serve "the proprietor"—he is "such a noble fellow!"

Sometimes the food is passably good, but when this is the case it is served like hospital rations; in proportion as an article is dear in the market it is thin, or small, on the plate —often scarcely perceptible to the naked eye. By waiting about two hours, bribing the waiter, and head waiter, and persistently calling for more, one may get enough to subsist upon. If the waiter is not bribed it is nearly all the same how long one waits; very little attention will be paid.

"But, Sam," says one, whose patience is nearly exhausted, to the colored waiter, "how is it that these people just below are served so much better than we?" Sam gives a broad grin, and mutters, "Dat's de orders, ser—any one as drinks doze big bottles mutch must get de best ob ebery ting, and

* This reminds us that a gentleman remarked one day to his neighbor in regard to his steak, "It would puzzle your two dogs to tear this!"

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get it furst, too; ha! ha!" This may well seem to be merely a joke, but it is too true. Hence it is that none fare better at most of our summer resorts than gamblers, butchers, keepers of lager beer "saloons," *et hoc genus omne.* More than once we have seen gentlemen order bottles who could not be induced to *drink* the villainous compounds sold for "the best wines;" their object in doing so being merely to secure tolerable attention to their other wants, or to protect themselves from insult!

When such is the treatment vouchsafed to ladies and gentlemen, it may easily be understood what their horses, if they have any, may expect. Accordingly, in no instance in which the hotel and the stable are kept by the same party, have we known those noble animals to get more than half enough to eat. Lest they should get enough their own grooms are not allowed to give them their feed. The "boss" has a person employed for that purpose, who is allowed a certain percentage of the price of the oats out of which the poor brute is cheated. Upon the other hand, in those instances, even at summer resorts, in which the stable is a separate establishment, kept by an experienced livery man, to the credit of that class be it mentioned, the horses generally fare pretty well—they are, at least, not half starved, as they are with the hotel sharpers.

As for complaining, in one case or the other, it is considerably worse than useless; it would be better fast the whole day, or go five miles to get a comfortable meal. We have seen a lady grossly insulted because she ventured to ask a more tender, or rather less *tough* steak than she got! One of the proprietors, being a graduate of a Bowery hotel, tells her that she must "clear out" if she finds any fault. She replies in a faltering voice that she is only waiting a few days to have her own cottage ready. The rejoinder is—made in the coarsest language—that she will not be allowed to the table even once if she doesn't "shut up." The partner of this worthy person boasts to other guests how spiritedly he had acted!

It is difficult to decide whether it is at those places nearest the city or most distant from it—at those on the mountain

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or those by the seaside, that the game of grab is most persistently and unblushingly played. The question would be much more easily determined than it is, were it not that almost every keeper has a peculiar mode of practice. One charges for the same baggage at least three times, each time about twice as much as he should have charged first; if a bottle of wine is ordered, for the reason suggested by Sam, it would seem as if that cannot be paid for often enough.

The plan of another is somewhat simpler than this; one calls for a bottle marked on the "wine list" at two dollars; that important functionary known as the head waiter goes to get it. After some ten minutes he comes back with a very long face, and almost out of breath; "I'm sorry, sir, dat vine is just out, but won't this do as well?" Who could say "no" to so reasonable a question, especially as it may be easily concluded that all the "brands" are pretty much alike; the chief distinction consisting in the color and the presence, or absence, of certain drugs? In the price, however, there is a difference of a hundred per cent.; the article offered costing twice as much as the article called for!

If the latter be "champagne" the explanation is that "mine host" found that particular brand so inferior that he had returned several boxes of it. What he has now is "the very best," and of course he could not afford to sell it for the price of the inferior article. What is strange is that it requires but a very slight knowledge of chemistry, physiology and geography to ascertain that this "splendid, old champagne;" this "superior Widow Clicquot," had once, and not very long ago, been New Jersey cider! Now, however, it must be regarded as very cheap at five or six dollars a bottle; if any one ventures to think otherwise it is because he knows nothing about champagne!

Passing to another part of the country one finds that the keeper depends a good deal on certain "rules and regulations" hung up on the backs of his doors. According to these he sends a bill for a week before half a week is expired. On being requested to explain the reason of this he blandly replies that rooms, board, &c., have to be paid for from the time

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they are engaged, although the engagement consisted in nothing more than that the party went to see the place and said he intended to come as soon as he could, but without at all binding himself to do so, or having the most remote idea that he would be required to pay for what he never got, as well as for what he did get—that is, pay for the privileges of two "resorts" at the same time!

In the state of New York this is regarded as a sort of swindling, and it is punishable as such thus: "No charge or sum shall be collected, or received, by any such person for any service not actually rendered, or for any item not actually delivered, or for a longer time than the person so charged, actually remained at such place. For any violation of this section, or of any provision herein contained, the *offender* shall forfeit to the *injured* party, *three times* the *amount so charged*, and shall *not be entitled* to receive *any money* for the *meals*, *items*, *services*, or *time* charged."* It is superfluous to say that this act was passed because such frauds and "fraudulent practices" were by no means unknown in the state of New York.† We can bear testimony that they are not unknown in New Jersey, at least in some of the high table lands of that thrifty state, which are sometimes called mountains.

It is not strange that those who charge their guests for eating, drinking, and lodging, they never had, should charge a lady five dollars a weak for a small pet lap dog; if she had two ten dollars, &c., that item being as prominently and unblushingly inserted in the bill as any other.‡ If it could be pretended that

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* An Act to prevent *fraud* and *fraudulent practices* upon, or *by* hotel-keepers and inn-keepers. (Sect. 2.)

† In illustration of this we may mention that no longer ago than the year before last (1867) a friend of ours, who merely went to see a certain "resort" in Orange county, whose only attraction is a small lake in the vicinity, and paid the highest price for the day's accommodations, was furnished at the close of the season with a bill for a month's board, on pretence that he had promised to come! The bill was accompanied with the threat that if it were not promptly paid it would at once be put into the hands of "our attorney." "The firm" is informed in a quiet way, in reply, that "the doctor" may proceed with his case as soon as he wishes, and that if he got $200 a month from all who happened to go to see the place, without his having to furnish either room or board, he can soon be able to retire from business. Such low, gross abuse as this elicited could only emanate from such a source. If we are not mistaken this curious letter has been carefully preserved as a curiosity of "summer resort" literature.

‡ Just beside it stands this item: "Milk brought to room, 25 cents." The

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this was intended as a prohibitory tax on the canine race, there might be some reason in it; but it is nothing of the kind. The keeper has no objection to the dog; he expresses his entire willingness to receive him before his arrival, remarking that he is very fond of dogs himself. Those who see his bills afterwards readily believe him in this, and do not hesitate to believe also that he would fill his whole house with dogs at the same rate per *caput*. Be this as it may, we have seen guests pay those items and many others of a kindred character without making any objection; not because they did not think them extortionate and fraudulent; not because they did not excite their contempt and scorn, but because they preferred even to be swindled rather than engage in any disagreeable altercation for the brief time they intended to remain.

There are many other contrivances made use of at our "summer resorts," which we think may be regarded as belonging to the swindling genus. But just when the patience of those victims who have submitted longest becomes exhausted, "our own correspondent" is invited to the house. Of course, he is very handsomely treated for the one or two nights he remains, and, accordingly, everything at the resort is perfection itself. In short, if there be a paradise anywhere, there it is! This causes a slight revival in business; but there is soon another reaction. Now is the time for the "grand hop of the season;" and the veritable Jenkins makes his appearance on the scene. It is not sufficient for Jenkins to eulogize the landlord as a paragon of generosity and all other virtues supposed to belong to hotel-keepers from the time of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp down to the present; all the guests, male and female, who have contributed their dollars to the "grand hop," receive their respective shares of the plastering. As for the ladies, they are endowed with attractions never dreamed of, even by themselves, before; still more wonderful, if possible, are their accomplishments. All belong to the "first families," and their full names are given in turn with their *couleur de rose* portraits, according

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explanation of this is that the lady wishes to make a cup of tea in her room, the flavor of which would be somewhat better than that served at the public table; she takes up a spoonful of milk for this purpose, and that spoonful costs 25 cents—at least $25 a quart!

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as themselves, their fathers, brothers, beaux or husbands have done the handsome thing at the "resort;" while upon the other hand the world, at least the gullible part of it, is called upon to admire the generosity of the landlord, on the ground that he got up the affair "in honor of his numerous and highly respectable guests!" It is but justice to some of the leading daily papers to say that they occasionally gave an inkling of the real state of affairs. This is true of the New York Herald and New York Times; although each was sometimes deceived by statements of the opposite character made by "our own correspondent."

All capable of judging, who have visited Staten Island, know that there are few spots in the world of equal extent more beautiful or more attractive. It has its "summer resorts," also, but not one which we could recommend to either lady or gentleman. We do not mean that the buildings, or the localities in which they are situated, are objectionable; in these respects the Staten Island resorts would compare favorably with the best in the country. Still less do we mean to find any fault with those who have private residences or extensive farms on Staten Island. Indeed, the inhabitants in general are as hospitable, obliging and sociable as those of any other region whatever, but, by some inscrutable fatality or other, most of their summer resorts are in the hands of the Philistines!

In New Jersey there are also some beautiful places—some in valleys, some in mountains. There are "summer resorts," too, not far from Staten Island; but their keepers are by no means so greedy and unprincipled as their brethren elsewhere. Indeed, compared to those alluded to above, they are honest and honorable; but the society generally found at these peninsular resorts is anything but high-toned; decidedly of the Bowery type. Occasionally, it is true, there are exceptions; but in more than one sense they are like *angels' visits*.

Until lately, we thought that there was at least good air in the Jersey mountains; but an experience of a week or ten days satisfied us that it is rather impure; and as everything else is charged for in the resort bills, we conclude that the inhabitants themselves—at least the periodical and speculative part—must regard it as of doubtful quality. It occurred to

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us that this defect might be accounted for by the utter absence, so far as we saw, of genuine *heath*, in the Jersey mountains, although we have neither time nor space to explain, at present, how that modest but interesting shrub furnishes so much oxygen to the atmosphere, while voraciously absorbing many other ingredients held in solution in that body.

But no other region of the same extent, within a day's journey of New York, has so many attractive spots as Long Island. If it had only a group or two of mountains, it would be worthy of comparison with the most delightful and most famous islands of the Old World. But nature has scarcely denied it anything else capable of adorning the landscape; no other place, at least in the state of New York, is capable of gratifying so large a variety of tastes. Its great South Bay is an inexhaustible source of pleasure to all who are fond of either gunning or fishing; and now, since the South Side Railroad was built, its attractions have been placed within the reach even of the poorest of our citizens. It is really delightful to travel in those beautiful, comfortable cars through that charming, picturesque region. Those who have only travelled on the old road can have no adequate idea of the vast improvement made by the owners of the new.

Many of those aware of the facilities and inducements thus offered had hoped that there would be a considerable improvment in the summer resorts along the South Bay last season; but we believe that in general those establishments rather degenerated than improved. Some years ago, while oppressed by the Charlock monopoly, Islip used to be quite a pleasant place to spend the summer at, and accordingly, it was regularly visited by some of our most respectable families. More than once we bore testimony ourselves to its attractions, especially to the honest, "live and let live" hospitality with which visitors from New York were treated. But now it seems all is changed. It is nothing any longer, it would appear, to receive the highest prices for very plain, not over-clean rooms and rather *fishy* board. In order to be popular, guests must drink liquor in and out of season; so that they may drink the more, they are expected to evince a taste for gambling, sitting up at night, &c. Nor is this all; they are also expected to hire a sailing

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boat more or less regularly, for which they have to pay $5, whether they are out six hours or only one hour.

Is it any wonder, then, that very few stay at Islip more than a few days? As already remarked, the new road is certainly a very great attraction; and the pleasure of travelling on it is much enhanced by the attentive courtesy and judicious care of its officers. But we presume that most of our readers would prefer to travel on a bad road rather than be forced to burn the entrails out of them by drinking bad liquor, in order to please the "boss." Fortunately there are several other beautiful spots along the South Bay; and it is to be hoped that all who *take in* visitors do not expect them to become drunkards in order to oblige them, merely because drinking pays so well.

ART. VII.—1. *The Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon, comprising the History of England, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the accession of Henry II. Also the acts of Stephen, king of England and duke of Normandy.* Translated and edited by THOMAS FORESTER, A. M. London. 1853.

2. *La Mort d'Arthure. The history of king Arthur and the knights of the Round Table.* Compiled by Sir THOMAS MALORY, Knt. Edited from the text of the edition of 1634, with introduction and notes by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M. A., F. S. A. 3 vols. London. 1858.

3. *Six Old English Chronicles, of which two are now first translated from the Monkish Latin Original, Ethelward's Chronicle, Asser's Life of Alfred, Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History, Gildas, Nennius, Richard of Cirencester.* Edited with illustrated notes. By J. A. GILES, D. C. L. London. 1858.

WHO is there that has not heard of king Arthur and the knights of the round table? History, poetry, and romance have all contributed to the fame of Arthur. Was he, then, merely a mythic personage? Is it possible that there has been no real fire to occasion all this smoke? Can it be that so strong a credence in the existence of so popular a hero

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has grown up out of nothing? Do nations invent heroes and then take them to their hearts and cherish them as their offspring?

We have very serious doubts as to the possibility of such a thing. We know that we shall be told by learned investigators that instances of such popular credulity are not uncommon. Romulus, for instance, and William Tell, are cases in point. Admitting, with Niebuhr and Arnold, that the early Roman legends were mythical, and that but a small amount of historical truth can be detected in them, there is nothing improbable in the story that a vestal virgin should have had twins, whom she sent away to a shepherd's wife to be nursed, and to conceal her own shame; that these twin brothers should have grown up hardy and daring, and have become the leaders of a band of adventurers; that they subsequently got possession of their grandfather's brother's little kingdom, and then founded one of their own; that they quarrelled; and that one slew the other, and became sole king. It is, on the contrary, very probable that some such series of events was the cause of the founding of Rome, even though the names of the chief actors in them may not have been Romulus and Remus. So, there is no reason why a Swiss mountaineer may not have been compelled to shoot an apple off his son's head by an Austrian tyrant, notwithstanding the fact that a similar incident is met with in several ancient Scandinavian tales, which discovery enables critics to establish the theory that the story of Tell was borrowed from Norway. Most readers like to believe in Tell, in spite of those critics, although his name does not appear in the list of the organizers of the Swiss confederation. So, we want to believe in king Arthur, though we are well aware that the majority of the exploits attributed to him are fabulous, and that we cannot, with certainty, establish the localities of those that were real. Nay, we can hardly be sure that he was not a Breton hero, instead of a British one.

The ground work of the cycle of romances relating to Arthur and his knights, which were so popular throughout Europe in the middle ages, is found in Geoffrey of Mon-

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mouth's "British History." This was published in England in the year 1147, and the work, according to his statement, was undertaken at the request of his friend Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, (supposed by Dr. Giles to have been the same person as Walter Mapes, the poet, author of several ludicrous and satirical compositions,)* under the following circumstances. "Whilst occupied," he says, "on many and various studies, I happened to light upon the history of the kings of Britain, and wondered that in the account which Gildas and Bede, in their elegant treatises, had given of them, I found nothing said of those kings who lived here (Britain) before the incarnation of Christ, nor of Arthur, and many others who succeeded after the incarnation; though their actions both deserved immortal fame, and were also celebrated by many people in a pleasant manner and by heart, as if they had been written. Whilst I was intent upon those and such like thoughts, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, a man of great eloquence, and learned in foreign histories, offered me a very ancient book in the British tongue, which, in a continued regular story and elegant style, related the actions of them all, from Brutus, the first king of the Britons, down to Cadwallader, the son of Cadwallo. At his request, therefore, though I had not made fine language my study, by collecting florid expressions from other authors, yet contented with my own homely style, I undertook the translation of that book into Latin."† Then follows the dedication of it to Robert, earl of Glocester, the brother of the Empress Matilda, and the most powerful noble in the realm.

Had Geoffrey said no more than the foregoing, we might have believed that somebody, somewhere, somehow, had found this ancient British history, though we are left in doubt whether it was his friend Walter or some other person who did so, and he gives us no information respecting the history upon which he "happened to light," whether it was similar to or entirely different from that which the archdeacon offered him, nor does he say what use he made of it. But at the conclusion of his work he makes the following remarks: "But as for the kings that have succeeded

* *Six Old English Chronicles*, n. p. 89. † *Ibid*, p. 89.

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among them in Wales since that time, I leave the history of them to Caradoc of Lancarsan, my contemporary; as I do also the kings of the Saxons to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. But I advise them to be silent respecting the kings of the Britons, since they have not that book written in the British tongue, which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, brought out of Brittany, and which, being a true history, published in honor of those princes, I have thus taken care to translate."*

From this statement it appears that Brittany was the birthplace of these round table romances; but as for the narrative being a true history, it bears the most potent internal evidence of its being very much the reverse. Dr. Giles thus sums up the objections to its credibility: 1. It was first made known six hundred years after the events which it relates. 2. No manuscript copy is now in existence, nor any record of its ever having been multiplied by transcription. 3. It relates stories utterly at variance with acknowledged history. 4. It abounds in miraculous stories, which, like leaven, ferment and corrupt the whole mass. 5. It labors under great suspicion, from the mendacious character of the people whose credit it was written to support.†

These are very formidable objections, certainly; but they are not necessarily fatal to the theory that there may be some truth mixed up with a quantity of falsehood. It is quite possible that there may have been a prince of the Silures, named Arthur, who gained several victories over the Saxon invaders of his country, though the statement that he besieged and took Paris, and, after ravaging France for nine years, entirely subdued it, is notoriously false and ridiculous.‡ So is the story of the sack of Rome by the British kings, Belinus and Brennius. Yet Geoffrey's work met with great success, and became very popular. In fact, in a very short time, we find it came to be firmly believed in by the credulous people of England. In the times immediately following the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth the history of these ancient kings was so implicitly credited, that it was cited as

* *Ibid*, pp. 291-2. † *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 291.
‡ *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 241.

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evidence in courts of law. In the dispute which took place during the reign of Edward I., A. D. 1301, between England and Scotland, respecting the claims of the former to sovereignty over the latter, the descent of the kings of England from Brutus, the Trojan, was solemnly embodied in a document put forth to sustain the rights of the crown of England, and it was not impugned by the opposing party.*

The illustrious poet, Milton, adopted the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth as the basis of his History of England, and defended himself for so doing.† Geoffrey was a learned monk, and was made bishop of St. Asaph, A. D. 1152. His work was first translated into English by Aaron Thompson of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1718, whose translation was revised and reprinted by Dr. Giles in 1842.‡ Mr. Thompson considered that the history was entitled to credence, and he gives a detailed account of the finding of the original British, or rather Breton work, by Walter Mapes, in Brittany, with which we need not trouble ourselves further than that he asserts that it was still extant in 1718; and that Archbishop Usher mentions an old Welsh chronicle in the Cottonian library, that formerly was in the possession of a learned antiquary, Humphrey Lhwyd, which was thought to be that which Geoffrey translated.§ Mr. Thompson further asserts that he had met with a manuscript history of Britain, written about a hundred years previously by a Mr. John Lewis, wherein the author stated that he had the original of the British history, in parchment, written in the British tongue before Geoffrey's time. We confess to sundry misgivings as to the truth of all this.

Geoffrey's history was soon resorted to for incidents by the metrical chroniclers in Anglo-Norman and English, some of whom, as Gaimar and Waca, were contemporary with him, and some, as Layamon, were of a later age. They versified it with more or less of variation and amplification; and by degrees the story of king Arthur and his knights became considerably developed, though by whom is not known.

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* Lingard, *History of England.*

† Milton's *History of England*, p. 2.

‡ *Six Old English Chronicles*, p. 9.

§ *Brit. Eccl. Prim.*, cap. 5.

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A great variety of incidents and adventures were added, mostly borrowed from popular stories then current, but which had no real relation to it. The first of these romances was that of the Quest of the Holy Graal, or sacred vessel in which the passover was prepared for Jesus Christ at the last supper; which vessel was preserved by Joseph of Arimathea, after the crucifixion, and was pretended to have been brought, after many marvellous adventures, into England. The second was the history of the enchanter and prophet, Merlin, founded partly on Breton legends. The third was the story of Lancelot du Lac and his amours with Queen Guenevere. The fourth was an enlargement of the story of the search for the San Graal, in which the knights Perceval, Gawaine, Lancelot and his son Galahad are the heroes, the latter succeeding in obtaining the sacred vessel. The fifth and last of these romances was that which was more particularly known as the *Mort Artus* or *Mort d'Arthure*, in which Sir Lancelot's intrigues with Queen Guenevere, and the enmity of Gawaine's brothers, lead to the war which ended in King Arthur's death, and concludes the history of all his adventurous knights.*

These five romances are written in prose, in the Anglo-Norman dialect of the French language, and there can be no doubt that they were compiled by two writers of the reign of Henry II. of England, one of whom names himself Robert de Borron, and the other Walter Mapes. Borron wrote the Romance of the Holy Graal and the History of Merlin; while Mapes wrote the Adventures of Lancelet, the Quest du St. Graal, and the *Mort Artus*.†

Soon after the appearance of these romances—that is to say, the reign of Henry III.—Lucas de Gast and Helie de Borron—a kinsman of Robert de Borron—added to these romances that of Tristan or Tristram and Labelle Isaud, the story of King Pellinore, and of the feud between Sir Gawaine and his brethren. Helie de Borron also compiled a romance called Gyron le Caürtois. These were followed by a host of other tales of knight errantry, culminating in Sir

* *La Mort d'Arthure.* Introduction, p. 7. † *Ibid.*

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Belianis, Sir Amadis de Gaul, Orlando Furioso, Morgante Maggiore, and finally, the grand parody on them all, Don Quixote. After the introduction of printing, the French printers produced a number of editions of the romances relating to king Arthur, the Holy Graal, and Sir Tristram, whose story appears to have become the most popular of them all. These romances were far more popular in France than they were in England, probably owing to the more poetical and *chevaleresque* temperament of the French.

Geoffrey of Monmouth's British History is by far the longest of the six old English chronicles presented to us in their present form by Dr. Giles. It fills 204 pages out of the 512 which the volume contains. It is divided into twelve books, through which the course of the history is traced for a period of 1878 years, viz., from the fall of Troy, B. C. 1189, to the death of Cadwallader, A. D. 689. As the only authentic history of Britain during the long period previous to the Christian era is derived from scattered notices of the island in the Greek and Roman historians, whose information was very scanty and derived mainly from the traders who visited the coasts of it for tin, sheep and slaves, and from Julius Cæsar's own account of his expedition into it, we are the more amazed at the assurance which could, by putting together a few local traditions and borrowing incidents from Greek and Roman history, fabricate and put forward as authentic such a record!

With the early portions of the work we are not at present concerned. It will be sufficient for us to observe that Geoffrey commences with the escape of Æneas from Troy, his flight to Italy, and his establishment there as king—a pure fiction of Virgil's. He then gives an account of the birth of Brutus, the great-grandson of Æneas; his expulsion from Italy and escape to Greece; his adventures and exploits there; his departure thence; his conquest of Gaul and of Britain, and the division of the last-named country between himself and his comrade Corineus; also of the foundation of the city of New Troy, afterwards called Lud's Town, whence the name London. It is unnecessary to remind the classical reader that the historians of Greece and Italy make no mention

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whatever of Brutus and his adventures. These incidents form the contents of the first book.

The history first becomes of importance to our present object when the Saxons invade Britain, and Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother Uther Pendragon (the one the uncle, the other the father of Arthur) appear on the scene. Merlin, the magician, is also introduced; we first hear of him in connection with Vortigern, the British king, who married Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, and sold his country to the Saxons. Vortigern consults Merlin respecting the emergencies of the times, and that wonderful wizard is made to utter that series of prophecies as to the future of Britain which was so much studied during the Middle Ages. It occupies the whole of the seventh book. Aurelius Ambrosius, having put Vortigern to death, becomes king of Britain, defeats and beheads Hengist, and performs such prodigies of valor that the Saxon invaders are everywhere subdued [which we know to be untrue]. He then sends an expedition to Ireland to remove the Giant's Dance—a wonderful structure of stones *in* (not *on*) Mount Killarans. This expedition is successful; the stones are brought over to England and set up near Devizes, in Wiltshire, in a circle, known as Stonehenge, to commemorate the British heroes who had fallen in the wars with the Saxons.

This absurd fable is related with all seriousness, as having been done under the auspices of Merlin, though we know no more of the origin of that venerable pile of stones than that they must have been erected by a people who lived long before the beginning of authentic history. Had Geoffrey made Brutus import them with him when he invaded England, 1100 years before the Christian era, he would have been much nearer the date of the rearing of Stonehenge.*

Arthur, having vanquished the Saxons, leaves Cador, duke of Cornwall, to follow them up and exterminate them, while he himself marches into "Albania" against the Scots and

* *British History*, book, 8, chaps. x., xi., xii.

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Picts, who were besieging Alchid. Arthur gains three victories over them, forces them to take refuge in the sixty islands of Loch Lomond, and would have destroyed them to the last man, but that a deputation of bishops and inferior clergy, barefooted and bearing relics of saints, implore his mercy for them. This he grants, after cutting to pieces an Irish army which had come to their relief, under Guillamurius, king of Ireland. He reinstates lot and his brothers, Urian and Augusel, in the government of Scotland, and on his return, visits and beautifies York, appoints his chaplain, Pyramus, archbishop of that province, and then marries Guanhumara (or Guenevere), who had been educated by Cador, duke of Cornwall. The next summer after this happy incident, Arthur fits out a fleet and an expedition into Ireland, takes Guillamurius, the king of that country, prisoner, and reduces the whole of it to subjection. He then sails north to Iceland, which he also conquers, and a rumor having gone abroad that no country was able to withstand him, Doldavius, king of Gothland, and Gunfasius, king of the Orkneys, voluntarily submit to him and promise to pay tribute. Then, as soon as winter is over, he returns to Britain, where he resides twelve years in peace.* With regard to this portion of the history, it is sufficient to say that in the history of Ireland there is not the faintest trace of so great an event as the conquest of the island by the Britons,† and the native historians of Iceland inform us that that island was not inhabited at that period.‡

Mr. Knight, one of the most recent of them, says on this subject: "Mr. Macaulay has startled many a reader of the most familiar histories of England, in saying, 'Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Arthur and Mordred, are mythical persons, whose very existence may be questioned, and whose adventures must be classed with those of Hercules and Romulus.' We derive Hengist and Horsa from the old Saxon authorities, and history generally adopts them. Ar-

* *British History*, chaps. v.–x.

† See Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 234, for an account of the island at this period.

‡ Guthrie, *General History of England*, vol. i, p. 99.

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thur and Mordred have a Celtic origin, and they are generally rejected as mythical persons. It appears to us that it is as precipitate wholly to renounce the one as the other, because they are both surrounded with an asmosphere of the fabulous. Hengist and Horsa come to us encompassed with Gothic traditions that belong to other nations. Arthur presents with the attributes of the magician Merlin, and the knights of the round table. But are we, therefore, to deny altogether their historical existence?* Mr. Knight, however, passes over very slightly the portion of British history relating to the period when Arthur lived, (A. D. 485–542,) and thus leaves us to infer that he is inclined to adopt Macaulay's opinion.

Other historians, however, profess their belief in the reality of King Arthur, and these, too, the most eminent. Gibbon thus sums up his history and disposes of the doubts respecting it: "In a century of perpetual, or, at least implacable, war, much courage and some skill must have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet, if the memory of its champions is almost buried in oblivion, we need not repine; since every age, however destitute of science or virtue, sufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military renown. The tomb of Vortimer, the son of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the sea shore, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrosius Aurelian was descended from a noble family of Romans; his modesty was equal to his valour, till the last fatal action was crowned with splendid success. But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of ARTHUR, the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account, he defeated, in twelve successive battles,† the Angles of the North and the Saxons of the West; but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting than the singular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years the tra-

* *The Popular History of England*, vol. 1, p. 60.
† Gibbon here refers to the *Chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon.*

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dition of his exploits was preserved, and rudely embellished, by the obscure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the rest of mankind. The pride and curiosity of the Norman conquerors prompted them to inquire into the ancient history of Britain; they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common enemies. His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fashionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy of the twelfth century. The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tiber to the Thames, was easily engrafted on the fable of the Æneid; and the royal ancestors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. His trophies were decorated with captive provinces and imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. The gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feasts and tournaments, and his memorable institution of the knights of the round table, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's son appear less incredible than the adventures which were achieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage and the holy wars introduced into Europe the spacious miracles of Arabian magic. Fairies and giants, flying dragons and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more simple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art or the predictions of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur and the knights of the round table; their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Tristram devoutly studied by the princes and nobles who disregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the severity

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of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur.*

The mediæval historians, Gildas, Nennius, Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury, were very positive in their assertions respecting Arthur. The first of these was, indeed, personally acquainted with Guenever, and probably with the king himself, for the author of the life of Gildas tells us it was one Meluas who stole Arthur's queen, and that Arthur, upon his return from abroad, besieged him for a long time in the marshes near Glastenbury. Caradoc of Lancarven, a Welsh author of more credit than Geoffrey, and supporting him in those passages quoted from him in reference thereto, says that the lady was at last restored, not through the terror of Arthur's arms, but *by the intercession of Gildas*, who had retired to the monastery of Glastenbury.†

Nennius, from whom Henry of Huntingdon derived his information, gives a list of the twelve battles of Arthur, referred to by Gibbon. Speaking of the progress of the Saxons, he says: "There it was that the magnanimous Arthur, with all the kings and military force of Britain, fought against the Saxons. And though there were many more noble than himself, yet he was twelve times chosen their commander, and was as often conqueror. The first battle in which he was engaged was at the mouth of the river Gleni [supposed by some to be the Gleni in Lincolnshire, but most probably the Glen, in the northern part of Northumberland.] The second, third, fourth, and fifth, were on another river, by the Britons called Duglas [or Dubglas, the little river Dunglas which formed the southern boundary of Lothian, though some think it was the river Duglas, near Wigan, in Lancashire,] in the region Linuis. The sixth on the river Basses, [not a river, but an isolated rock in the Frith of Forth, near the town of North Berwick, called "the Bass," though some think it was the river Lusas in Hampshire.] The seventh in the wood Celidon, which the Britons call Cat Coit Celidon, [the Calidonian forest, or the

* *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxxviii.
† Guthrie, *General History of England*, vol. 1, p. 101.

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forest of Englewood, extending from Peurith to Carlisle.] The eighth was near Gurnion castle, [variously supposed to be in Cornwall, or Binchester in Durham, but most probably the Roman station of Garionenum, near Yarmouth, in Norfolk,] where Arthur bore the image of the Virgin, mother of God, upon his shoulders, and, through the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and the holy Mary, put the Saxons to flight, and pursued them the whole day with great slaughter.* The ninth was at the city of Legion, which is called Cair Lion [Exeter.] The tenth was on the banks of the river Trat Treuroit, [or Ribroit, the Brue, in Somersetshire; some think it was the Ribble, in Lancashire.] The eleventh was on the mountain Breguoin, which we call Cat Bregion, [or Agned Cathregonian, Cadbury, in Somersetshire.] The twelfth was a most severe contest, when Arthur penetrated to the hill of Badon [Bath, Somersetshire]. In this engagement nine hundred and forty fell by his hand alone, no one but the Lord affording him assistance. In all these engagements the Britons were successful. For no strength can avail against the will of the Almighty."†

Henry of Huntingdon says: "In these times Arthur, the mighty warrior, general of the armies and chief of the kings of Britain, was constantly victorious in his wars with the Saxons. He was the commander in twelve battles and gained twelve victories. [Then follows the detail of them, taken from Nennius, with the slight variation of recording that at Mount Badon '440 of the Britons fell by the swords of their enemies in a single day, none of their host acting in concert, and Arthur alone receiving succor from the Lord.'] These battles and battle fields are described by Gildas the historian,‡ but in our times§ the places are unknown, the providence of God, we consider, having so ordered it that popular applause and flattery, and transitory glory, might be of no account. At this period there were many wars, in which sometimes the Saxons, sometimes the Britons, were victors; but the more the Saxons were defeated the more

* William of Malmesbury says Arthur did this at the battle of Mount Badon: see *post*.

† *History of the Britons*, § 50. ‡ He means Nennius, not Gildas. § 12th century.

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they recruited their forces by invitations sent to the people of all the neighbouring countries."*

William of Malmesbury tells us that "When this man (Guortimor, or Vortimer) died, the British strength decayed; their hopes diminished, fled, and soon had they perished altogether, had hot Ambrosius, the sole survivor of the Romans, who became monarch after Vortigern, quelled the presumptuous barbarians by the powerful aid of the warlike Arthur. This is that Arthur of whom the Britons fondly fable even to the present day†—a man worthy to be celebrated, not by idle fictions, but by authentic history. He, indeed, for a long time upheld the sinking state and roused the broken spirit of his countrymen to war. Finally, at the siege of Mount Badon,‡ relying on an image of the Virgin which he had affixed to his armour, he engaged nine hundred of the enemy, single handed, and dispersed them with incredible slaughter."§

Sir James Mackintosh, one of the most impartial of historians, says: "It was not until fourscore years after the disembarcation, that Cerdic, at the head of the West Saxons, made a lasting impression on the western Britons in a series of battles, where he was probably resisted by the valiant Arthur."‖ Hume, generally considered the best historian of England, treats of Arthur as an undoubted personage and a most valiant warrior. He says: "Cardic was not wanting to his good fortune, and in order to extend his conquests, he laid siege to Mount Badon, or Banesdowne, near Bath, whither the most obstinate of the discomfited Britons had retired. The Southern Britons, in this extremity, applied for assistance to Arthur, prince of the Silures, whose heroic valour now sustained the declining fate of his country. This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of Taliessin and the other British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to

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* *Chronicle*, pp. 48–49. † 12th century.

‡ Said to be Banesdown, near Bath, Gerald Barry (Geraldus Cambrensis) says the image of the Virgin was fixed on the inside of Arthur's shield, that he might kiss it in battle.

§ *Hist. of the Kings of England.* ‖ *Hist. of England*, vol. i.

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give occasion for entertaining a doubt of his real existence."*

Lingard, in some respects the best, and certainly the most graphic of the historians of England as relates to the history of that country during the early and middle ages, also admits that Arthur was a real personage, though he disposes of him in a very cynical manner. "The fame of Arthur," he says, "has eclipsed that of all his cotemporaries. Yet if we divest his memory of that fictitious glory which has been thrown around it by the imagination of the bards and minstrels, he will sink into equal obscurity with his fellows. We know neither the period when he lived, nor the district over which he reigned. He is said to have fought and gained twelve battles. In most of these, from the names of the places, he seems to have been opposed to the Angles in Lincolnshire; from the last, at Mount Badon, to the Saxons under Cerdic, or Cynric. This, whether it was fought under Arthur or not, was a splendid and useful victory, which, for forty years, checked the advance of the strangers. Perhaps, when the reader has been told that Arthur was a British chieftain, that he fought many battles, that he was murdered by his nephew, and was buried at Glastonbury, where his remains were discovered, in the reign of Henry II., he will have learned all that can be ascertained at the present day respecting that celebrated warrior.†

The most recent writer on English history, professor Creasy, of University college, London, says: "If king Arthur, the favorite hero of mediæval romance and of Welsh antiquarianism, was a real historical personage, he must have been a leader of the British against the West Saxons when Cerdic and Cerdic's sons commanded. An Arthur may have lived, and an Arthur may have gained some temporary advantage over the invaders; and he may have been conspicuous both for personal valour and for the indomitable energy with which he strove to uphold the falling fortunes of his race. But his successes, as told by lay and legend,

* *History of England*, vol. i., p. 19. † *Ibid*, vol. i., pp. 83, 84.

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must have been grossly exaggerated; and there is no doubt of the grand result of the strife between the German and the Romanized Celt in Western England having been, as everywhere else, the defeat and displacement of the old inhabitants, and the establishment of the new comers as lords of the land."*

We think that abundant evidence as to the historical reality of such a personage as king Arthur has been produced. There can be no doubt that there was such a prince of the Silures—as the Romans named the people of South Wales, or, to speak more accurately, those of Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire—at the commencement of the sixth century of the Christian era; that he bravely resisted the Saxon invaders of Britain, and, on account of his military prowess, was elected commander-in-chief of the various tribes of Britons throughout England. That he was unhappy in his married life, owing to the infidelities of his queen, is a fact which may be questioned, since we find that they were buried side by side at Glastonbury, and that the only statement respecting it, at all worthy of credence, is that she was forcibly abducted by a robber chief, who infested the marshes of Somersetshire, and that she was restored to her husband through the intercession of Gildas, who was then residing close by, at Glastonbury. We may believe that he became involved in a quarrel with his nephew Mordred, the son of Mark, king of Cornwall, who resisted his claim to supreme authority, and that both perished in battle against each other. All tradition, both local and general, confirms these incidents. But there is an end to all doubt, if the account given by Stowe† of the exhumation of the remains of Arthur and his queen, be founded on fact. And what reason is there to doubt it? The testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived at the time when it took place (A. D. 1189,) and was well acquainted with the abbot of Glastonbury, who presided over the proceedings, by direction of the king, Henry the Second, is that of a man eminent for his learning, piety, and high rank. He was the son of a powerful Norman

* *History of England.* † *Chronicle*, p. 55.

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baron, William de Barri, and his mother was a descendant of the princes of South Wales. He was educated at the University of Paris, and became distinguished for his genius and his lectures on rhetoric and polite literature. He entered into holy orders in England in 1172, and obtained several benefices. His uncle, David Fitz-Gerald, was bishop of St. David's, and on the decease of that prelate, the chapter made choice of him as his successor, but Henry II. refused to confirm the nomination. In 1185 he accompanied prince John to Ireland, as secretary and privy counsellor, where he compiled his "Topographia Hiberniæ." He became the author of several valuable works which have come down to us, and he is generally admitted to have been one of the brightest ornaments of his age.* If the testimony of such a man cannot be credited, on whom can we rely? Stowe, at all events, placed implicit reliance upon it.

The era of Nennius is uncertain, some assigning A. D. 796, and others, A. D. 994, as the period when his history was written. It is valuable only as proof of the traditions respecting Arthur which were current in his time. He records one which prevailed at Wedale or Wodale, a village in Lothian, six miles from Melrose abbey, to the effect that the fragments of the image of the Virgin, which he bore in his battle with the Saxons at Gurnion castle, (or, according to William of Malmesbury, at Mount Badon,) were preserved there. He says: "For Arthur proceeded to Jerusalem, and there made a cross to the size of the Saviour's cross, and there it was consecrated, and for three successive days he fasted, watched and prayed, before the Lord's cross, that the Lord would give him the victory, by this sign, over the heathen; which also took place, and he took with him the image of St. Mary, the fragments of which are still preserved in great veneration at Wedale, in English Wodale, in Latin *Vallis Dolaris.*"†

The traditions respecting the knights of the round table, and the table itself are as unworthy of credit as the one we have justed quoted. Sir Thomas Malory's statement, that

* *Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales.* Ed. by Sir Richard Colt Hoare. London, 1806.

† *History of the Britons*, § 50 n.

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in his time was to be seen in Westminster Abbey, at Saint Edward's shrine, the print of Arthur's seal, in red wax, enclosed in beryl, bearing the inscription *Patricius Arthurus, Britanniæ, Galliæ, Germaniæ, Daciæ, imperator*, is a manifest falsehood. Who put the seal there? St. Edward did not live till five hundred years after Arthur, and the latter never was "emperor of Britain, Gaul, Germany and Dacia." His assertion that Sir Gawaine's skull and Cradoc's mantle were to be seen in Dover castle is equally ridiculous, although Leland, the antiquary, says, that Gawaine's bones were shown to him when he visited the castle.* So in his statement that the round table was still preserved at Winchester. It is true that a round table is still exhibited in that ancient city, as that at which king Arthur's knights were wont to seat themselves, but it belongs to a far more recent date. The whole story of these knights and their round table is pure fiction, invented in the middle ages to suit the then prevailing taste for splendid courts and knightly shows and tournaments. Moreover, Arthur never held his court at Winchester. He first appears in history as prince of the Silures in South Wales, and his capital or principal residence was at Caerleon-upon-Usk, the Isca Silurum of the Romans. He afterwards removed his seat of government to Camelot, now called Camel, near South Cadbury, in Somersetshire, where the vast entrenchments of an ancient town or station are still to be seen.† Considering the turbulent state of the times, and the impoverished condition of the country, owing to the ravages of the Saxons, the Picts, and the Scots, and the perpetual broils which existed among the multitude of petty chieftains or "kings," who held sway in England, it is not probable that Arthur's court, if he had one, could have been very splendid. He probably chose Somersetshire as his residence on account of its military position, and the defensive nature of the ground, intersected with streams, and covered with fens and marshes near the sea coast. Glaston-

* *Collectanea*, vol. iii., p. 50.

† On Camelot, a steep hill, in the parish of Queen's Camel, Somerset, are interesting remains of a Roman or British camp, called by the inhabitants "King Arthur's palace."

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bury, where he was buried, was built on an island, named Avallon, Avallion, or Avelyon, *i. e.*, the island of apples.

A recent French writer* is of opinion that the wonderful exploits attributed to Arthur, especially those which relate to his wars with the Romans and his conquests in Europe, are but mediæval imitations of those recorded of Charlemagne. This is by no means an improbable theory; but inasmuch as we have been endeavoring to ascertain what historical truth there is in the legends relating to the British hero, and care very little about the absurd and extravagant account of his exploits in France, we need not trouble ourselves further on this point.

ART. VIII.—*Catalogues, Circulars, Reports, &c., &c., of Colleges, Universities, Seminaries and Institutes,* male and female. September, 1869.

We have not so large a pile of these documents on the present occasion as we had in former years, although even now it is nearly as large as our table! Quite a number of those whose catalogues we have criticised in the past have refused to furnish us their new publications. This, we think, is neither wise nor manly. That we criticised a catalogue, or the institution which it represents, last year or two years ago, is no reason why we should do the same this year; on the contrary, it would afford us pleasure to show that an improvement had been made. In proof of this we could refer to many of our former articles. Those really qualified for their positions, who perform their duties faithfully, are not afraid of criticism. If, perchance, they are criticised, they are not discouraged. Conscious of their abilities, they can afford to wait for their vindication, and it is but seldom they have to wait long.

This time, however, none need have been afraid of their catalogues; unfortunately, we have too much to criticise in this article besides them. But we have some in the pile before us that are veritable curiosities in their way. These shall not

* M. Gaillard, *Histoire de Charlemagne.*

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be forgotten; we promise to amuse our readers with them on a future occasion. There are others to which we shall be pleased to return for their merits; for we have schools and seminaries, as well as colleges and universities, whose catalogues always contain suggestions worthy of attention.

But, unfortunately, there are not many of our educational institutions of which this can be said; none could regret more than we that the number is exceedingly small. It would be much more agreeable to us to say the contrary, if it were true; and we are perfectly aware that if we only consulted our interests we would eulogize all our colleges, universities and seminaries, male and female, rather than find fault with any. We are also aware that there are instances in which the truth may be left untold without injury; but is this one of them? What would be said of the physician who would let his patient fall into consumption and die—persuading him that there is no danger—that his constitution is excellent, &c., rather than annoy him by giving him medicine to save his life? Even supposing the patient to be a lady, would it not be better to give her some pain for a few hours—nay, for a whole week—than to allow her lungs to become perforated by tubercles?

Now, our collegiate system is precisely in this danger. It is overdosed with sugar-pills. This treatment is rendering it feebler and feebler, from year to year; it needs both strengthening medicine and the lancet. All our really educated men understand this, especially all who have travelled; they are painfully aware that some of the poorest and pettiest states of Europe can boast much better colleges and universities than those of the great Republic. It is humiliating to admit that even the huge despotism of the north, which is more Asiatic than European, can boast more learned institutions than ours; but, unhappily, the fact cannot be denied.

We presume we need hardly remark that we are now speaking in general terms, and do not deny that there are exceptions among our colleges, universities and seminaries, male and female—institutions whose excellence would be acknowledged in any country. Far be it from us to depreciate the just claims of these on the public gratitude; we maintain, on the contrary, that they deserve to be honored, and, as long as they persevere

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in the good work, we shall always regard it as a privilege to vindicate their merits. We only regret that there are so few of them.

It is very true, that nowhere is knowledge more generally diffused than it is in this country; but it is a superficial knowledge. If we can boast that in proportion to the population more of our people know how to read and write than of almost any other, we must admit, at the same time, that we have fewer learned men; in other words, we have more smattering, but less real learning, than any other great people of modern times.

The latter is a much more serious fact than it might seem at first sight. This could be illustrated in many forms, some, at least, of which will readily suggest themselves to the reader; it must suffice for us, in the present instance, to remark in passing, that if we had more learned men than we have, or if learning were more thoroughly cultivated than it is, the masses of our people would be much more polite, at least, less rude than they are. They have sufficient intelligence to know that, in general, those who are educated in colleges and universities know very little more than they do themselves—sometimes, in fact, less. Not unfrequently those who have never been at any higher institution than the common school are able to see that there are graduates of our colleges and universities who do not understand the first principles of the vernacular tongue?

Superior knowledge always exercises a controlling influence; no other advantage which one man possesses over another inspires more respect or confers more honor.* Accordingly, we see that where the attainments of all are pretty nearly equal, but limited, the sentiment of respect, or deference, can scarcely be said to exist. And in proportion as this sentiment is wanting rudeness prevails; and if we are in the habit of being rude or "independent" to our neighbors, we are apt to be so to our friends—even to our parents and teachers. Thus it is that old age, instead of inspiring reverence, is too likely, at the present

* "The command of knowledge," says Bacon, "is higher than the command over a free people; as being a command over the *reason*, *opinion*, and *understanding* of men; for there is no power on earth that sets up *a throne in the spirits of men* but *knowledge and learning*." Bacon's Works, vol. i., sect. iii.

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day, to excite scorn and contempt, so that we hear expressions applied by young men, if not by young women, to their parents which it would be improper to apply to the commonest servants.

Those who deny that all this results from want of high culture must incur the charge of having but a very imperfect knowledge of the history of mankind. It needs no elaborate argument to show that just in proportion as a nation declines in culture it declines in politeness, and *vice versa*. In the time of Pericles, Plato and Aristotle, the proudest youths of Athens refused to occupy their seats in any assembly, public or private, while the aged or the infirm were obliged to stand.* To pursue the opposite course was regarded as disgraceful. As for those who were wanting in respect to their parents or teachers, they were shunned as disreputable.†

The Romans of the Augustan age—the age of Virgil, Horace and Sallust—were similarly distinguished,‡ though not to the same extent, because their culture was not so thorough as that of the Athenians. And is it not true that in proportion as their culture declined their manners declined? in other words, in proportion as their knowledge diminished under the oppression of the barbarians, their "independence" towards each other increased, until the revival of learning rendered them polite again.

The same facts are abundantly illustrated in modern times. Thus, for example, it is admitted by all that for centuries France has taken the lead in European civilization; but it is also admitted that during the same period she has had literary and scientifie institutions, at once the oldest and greatest that any nation of modern Europe can boast. In proof of this, we need only mention the famous Academy whose teachings commence where those of other literary and scientific institutions cease. Accordingly, what people are more polite than the French? Who are more willing to treat all who deserve it with respect and deference?

The English and Germans have each noble institutions of

* See Thirwall's Hist. of Greece, c. x., xliii. Mitford's Hist., c. iii., sect 3.

† See Potter's *Archæologia Græca*, bk. i., c. cxxvi.

‡ See Dillaway's Roman Antiquities; also Hume's Essay on the Populousness of Ancient Nations, &c.

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learning; each have an intellectual aristocracy—an aristocracy of knowlege—and, accordingly, the sentiment of respect and deference is strongly developed among the masses of both; and it pervades all the relations of life. Except among a very small and insignificant portion of the people the principle of "equality" is regarded as one that has been tested and proved spurious; it is borne in mind, even by those least in the habit of thinking for themselves, that when there was most faith in "equality," most mischief was done, most outrages were committed, and most innocent blood was wantonly shed!

But nowhere does the noisome weed take such deep root, at the present day, as among us; and nowhere does it do so much mischief. It is it that places all power in the hands of the most ignorant class; it is it that causes justice to be bought and sold like the vilest commodity in the market; it is it that enables the murderer to gratify his thirst for blood with perfect impunity, on the most frivolous pretext. Our colleges cannot destroy it, because there is too much "equality" among themselves; they are too much alike, and too much like the second or third rate grammar schools of Europe; in a word, because they are too feeble—because, while knowledge is power, the want of it is weakness, especially in a college.

We trust it is needless for us to explain that we do not mean that any power should destroy the legitimate equality of any class of our people. It is not what is right in any proper sense that we would have destroyed, but what is radically wrong, and fraught with danger to the republic.

But what is the evidence that our collegiate system is thus defective and feeble? Alas! it is to be found in a hundred forms. It is not our intention on the present occasion to exhibit the defects of particular institutions in support of our allegation. We have no disposition to do anything of the kind when it can be avoided without prejudice to the great cause; on the contrary, most carefully would we abstain from giving the slightest pain to individuals in our discussions on education did we think that our doing so would be consistent with the public good. But no reform worthy of the name was ever produced without what is called personality. Those who stand in

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the way must be told in plain terms to move aside. It will not do to hint at them in general terms; precisely because they do not know better than to be in the way a hint is no use to them. This we know from long experience, and it will explain why it is that we may sometimes seem rather harsh.

Fortunately, it is not necessary, in the present instance, to enter into particulars; it will be sufficient for us to mention some facts which are too obvious to be denied. Thus, for example, the chief means of culture relied upon by all our colleges are the classic languages—Latin and Greek. A most excellent means, we readily admit; but, in order to teach them properly, so that the end sought may be attained through their medium, it is necessary that the teachers understand them. How can one be said to understand a language in which, if you remove him from his books, he cannot express the most ordinary ideas orally, or in writing? Now, is not this the case with nineteen out of every twenty of our Latin and Greek professors? If you ask them do they teach their students to speak either language, they look at you with surprise, as if such an idea had never occurred to them before; they think you must either jest or be a pretender. Nor is it strange that they should. Since they find it sufficiently difficult to read a Latin or Greek book with the help of a dictionary and grammar, it is absurd to expect that they could speak or write the language in which it is written; when translating into the vernacular has to be studied to-day for hours, in order to be taught for one hour to-morrow, it must be admitted that speaking the original is out of the question. Sometimes it happens that the professor is so situated that he cannot study the lesson; in this case he finds that some of his students are much better translators than himself! Would it not be something miraculous if such a professor could speak the language?

We have seen a professor in one of the largest and most "popular" colleges in the United States, studying anxiously in the recitation room, with dictionary in hand, the passages in one of the "easiest" of the Latin authors, in which he was to teach his class an hour hence. It was our privilege to be present at his lecture; we confess we did not expect much from it, and therefore were not disappointed! If the case of this gentleman were pecu-

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liar we should say nothing about it; but we are convinced that his classical attainments were no worse, or no more limited than those of scores of other college professors. Again we repeat that there are exceptions—that we had the pleasure of meeting with professors who did not need to subject themselves to the cramming process before entering the class-room—professors who, because they understood the language they undertook to teach, could express their ideas in it off-hand with more or less fluency.

All who have paid any attention to the study of languages are aware that it requires much less familiarity with a language on the part of an educated person to be able to write it than to be able to speak it. Such is the structure of the Latin that any one who has even a tolerable knowledge of its principles can write it grammatically. But how many of our professors attempt to write Latin that is destined to meet the public eye?

In no other country do so many undertake to edit Latin text-books as in ours. Those who do so in Germany, France, England, or Italy deem it incumbent on them to write their preface at least in the language of the original; indeed, except in the most elementary editions, their annotations are in the same language. The European Greek text-books have generally the prefaces and notes in Latin, but sometimes both are in Greek. Generally, the arguments of the Greek poems or dramas are in Greek, but never in the vernacular, as with us, except when intended for young children who have to learn at home from persons not supposed to have more than a smattering of the original.

We have now before us editions of Homer, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Plato, as well as of Virgil, Horace, Lucretius, Juvenal, Sallust and Livy—some printed in London, some in Paris, some in Edinburgh, some in Berlin, &c.; but not one of them contains a preface or a note, a sentence or a word, in the vernacular, although all are copiously annotated, and most of them have introductions historical or biographical, or both. Poor as Ireland is, and has been for centuries, our Irish editions form no exception to the general rule. Thus, for example, our Dublin edition of Homer, in four octavo volumes, does not con-

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tain a sentence of any language more vulgar than the Latin. The editor is Samuel Clarke, S. T. P. Yet it is the tenth edition; it is dedicated, in Latin, to William Augustus, duke of Cumberland. It has a critical Latin preface. All the arguments are in Greek; it contains a Latin hexameter version of the Iliad and Odyssee. The notes, which are numerous, are partly in Latin and partly in Greek. So are the *variæ lectiones.* It has also a Greek index and a Latin index, "*rerum et verborum.*"

Now, why will not some of our professors give us editions like any of those mentioned above? It is no use to deny that until they can do so, the instructions which they give in Greek or Latin must must be regarded as more or less defective. If any editor of ours gives either his preface or notes in the original, his work has escaped our attention. Far be it from us to deny that there are American editors of text-books who are competent to write Latin, but they are very few—perhaps two or three among all! These few know very well that nine-tenths of those to whom their prefaces are addressed—and they are not addressed to the students, but to their professors—only read Latin with considerable difficulty; and, therefore, they are obliged to put whatever suggestions they have to make in plain English. This would be unfortunate if for no other reason than that it enables persons who have but the merest smattering of the classics to publish Latin and Greek text-books, which bewilder the student much more than they enlighten or aid him. Thus, it is notorious that, except in two or three instances, none of our colleges or universities even pretend to use either Latin or Greek for the chief purpose for which language is designed—that is, as *a medium of thought.*

But, assuming that it is sufficient to translate, scan and prepare "compositions" that are never to be seen outside the recitation room, we fear that, judged even by this test, our colleges in general could not claim a very high rank. It will be admitted that if no use is to be made of a language further than to translate it, the translating ought to be thorough; but in the most pretentious of our institutions it is notoriously otherwise. Except in some rare instances, the most that is re-

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quired of the student is to give a tolerable rendering of a passage in Greek and Latin; it seems to be regarded as entirely superfluous to ask the students any questions about the author's style; the peculiarities of his language; his views of morals, or religion; the character of his philosophy, &c. If it be deemed necessary or useful to compare the author in hand with any other author, or to indicate the points in which he is unlike or similar to any other, either in his style, or his opinions, we have seldom seen any evidence of the fact. We seldom hear any questions asked about his education; whether he was born in the capital or in the country; whether he was indebted to any friend or patron by whom his views have been influenced, &c. There are but very few of our professors who appear to bear in mind that in addition to questions of this class it is necessary to require the student to give his opinion, not only of the hero, but of each of the principal characters in the poem or drama which he is engaged in translating. Still more rarely do we hear any questions asked about the structure of the Latin or Greek, or the points in which those languages differ most from each other.

Need we say that many questions may be asked relative to the structure of each language which are not merely useful? questions which could easily be rendered highly interesting as well as instructive. How much, for example, could be said of the various forms of the Greek infinitive; of the Greek participle; of the exquisite art with which the Greek tenses and moods are formed, so as to express, without any redundancy of words or letters, the nicest shades of thought? Then the Greek article, the partitive, the pronoun. How many interesting questions does each of these suggest, without mentioning the wonderful resources even of the Greek adjective, which, for example, has different terms to express the comparative or superlative of *good*, according as a good thing, a good person, a good artist, a good animal, a good quality, &c., &c., is meant? Then, what advantage has the Greek over the Latin? Is the latter defective or otherwise because it has no article, or because its forms and tenses of the infinitive mood, or its participles, are so scanty compared to those of the Greek?

At least in nineteen cases out of twenty these essential things

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are neglected. If the student learns to repeat the rules from his grammar with more or less accuracy, that is thought sufficient; the result is, that this fine translating which is to accomplish everything that is to be expected from the study of Greek or Latin, is done by rote. Such use of language is sometimes compared to that made of it by the parrot; but Polly not only talks to the purpose, though only to a limited extent, in the dialect she learns; it is certain that she understands a good deal of what is said to her, or in her hearing; while our students can talk none in the language which they are supposed to have learned. The latter can only translate at best, and even their translating must be limited to the books, nay, the pages, which they have actually learned! In order to test the truth of this, and see whether we indulge in any exaggeration, let any one choose the most intelligent Latin student of his acquaintance who has just finished the translation of one of the satires of Horace, and ask him to have the goodness to translate the next satire in the same book, without the aid of his dictionary. It is true that we know American students, female as well as male, capable of doing so; but they belong to the very few who have not learned, or been taught, by rote.

It may be objected that our ideas of what constitutes a classical scholar, or a competent teacher of the classic languages, is erroneous. Most readily do we admit that our views on the subject are entitled to no further consideration than they are found to be correct. If it be true that one may be competent to teach Latin in a college, or university, without being able to express the most ordinary ideas in that language, either orally or in writing, except, perhaps, while he is armed with his English-Latin dictionary, the same as some of our travellers arm themselves with phrase-books, then we are wrong, our classical professors are right, and there is as profound learning to be had in our colleges as there is any need for. But let us see what those whose authority cannot be disputed say on the subject.

A very plausible argument used at the present day by those who do not like the trouble of studying the classics, as they should be studied, is, that it may be right enough for Roman

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catholic colleges to devote so much time to Latin, it being the language of their church, but that protestants may pursue much more profitable studies. But the most earnest and powerful opponents of the catholics are precisely those who have most strongly urged the study of the classics. This is true, for example, of Luther himself, who did not hate even Satan, with whom he quarrelled so often, more cordially than he loved the classics. In Luther's time, also, there were persons who pretended to teach the classics by mere rules, without making any attempt to speak or write them. In exposing the absurdity of such pretentions in his "Table Talk," he reasons on the subject as follows: "We learn German, or other languages, much better by *word of mouth*, at home, in the street, or at the church, than out of books. Letters are dead words; *the utterances of the mouth are living words*, which in writing can never stand forth so distinct and so excellent as the soul and spirit of man bodies them forth through the mouth. * * Is it not true that even those languages, like the Greek and Latin, which possess the most unerring rules *are much better learned by use and wont* than from *these rules?*" Referring, further on, to those teachers and professors who undertake to teach the classics, precisely as they are taught now in our colleges, Luther says: "There is an old proverb which runs thus: 'If you do not know what you are talking of, *you may talk for ever, and no man will be the wiser.*'" Alas, there are a great many of our professors who may talk on for ever about Latin, and no man, nor woman either, will be the wiser!

In Luther's time there was opposition to the study of the classics, as there is at the present day. Ridiculing precisely the same arguments used now against the languages, Luther proceeds as follows: "I wonder you do not say, 'what have we to do with silks, wines, spices, and other productions of foreign lands, inasmuch as we have wine, corn, wool, flax, wood, and stone, here in Germany, not only to supply our wants, but enough, and in variety enough, to minister either to comfort, dignity, or luxury.' And yet these languages (the classics) which do us no harm, but are *agreeable and useful*, alike *sources both of honor and profit*, throwing light upon the Scriptures and imparting *sound wisdom to rulers*, these we despise, while the

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productions of other lands, which do us no good whatever, we fret and worry ourselves after to that degree that even success often proves no better than failure. Of a truth we are rightly called German fools and beasts!"*

Be it remembered that one of the principal charges of Luther against the catholic hierarchy was that they were opposed to the study of the classics lest it might lead to the study of the Scriptures. "The cases are rare indeed," he says, "where the devil has suffered the languages to be in repute in the universities and the cloisters; nay, these have almost always raised a hue and cry against them, in the past ages, as likewise they do now. For the prince of darkness is shrewd enough to know that where the languages flourish, there his power will soon be so rent and torn that he cannot readily repair it. But now, since he cannot keep them from expanding into a vigorous growth, and from *bearing fruit*, he is at work devising how he may *render them dwarfed and sickly*, if so be, that they may *decay* and *die of themselves*."†

Now, we do not think so ill of any of our colleges or universities as to believe that they are under the influence of the devil. No two parties are more opposed to each other as teachers than our presbyterians and our jesuits; no two differ on so many essential points; but they are singularly in accord with each other in rendering the classic languages "dwarfed and sickly." Without saying anything for the present of the degeneracy thus suggested, we proceed to give the views of another great protestant, only premising that we shall consider catholic testimony, in the proper place, on the same subject, with our wonted impartiality.

That Luther was a profound scholar is beyond dispute. If all other monks were so stupid and ignorant as he sometimes represents them, those who instructed him in Latin and Greek were at least good teachers of human lore; but those who instructed the gentle Melancthon were still better. Melancthon was himself the author of several valuable works on classical education. His Latin Grammar, Greek Grammar, Manual of Logic, and Manual of Rhetoric, afford suffi-

* *Table Talk*, Longman's edition, vol. ii., p. 49 *et seq.* † *Ib.*

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cient evidence of his scholarship. His "Book of Visitation" is still highly valued in catholic France as well as in protestant Germany, for the excellent views it contains on what constitutes a good education. In this little work is embraced the "School Plan," which Luther admired so much that he copied it entire in one of his works on the same subject. Referring, at the beginning of his plan, to the objections made by vulgar minds in all ages to the study of the classics, Melancthon remarks: "Some imagine that it is enough for a teacher to understand German (that is, the vernacular); but this is *a misguided fancy*." In his school plan he divides the students into groups, and mentions the studies in which each group should be engaged. We fear that most of our college professors would find it difficult to teach their classes all that Melancthon prescribes for his third group. "They should *also*," he says, "be *rigidly confined* to *Latin conversation*, and to this end the teachers themselves must, *as far as possible, speak nothing but Latin* with the boys; thus they *will acquire the practice by use* and *the more rapidly*, for the *incentives held out to them*."

This, be it remembered, was in a boys' school; that is, before the boys went to college at all they were expected to speak Latin; and we may add parenthetically that it is the same at the present day in all the principal grammar schools of continental Europe, and in most of those of the British Islands. It is not to be supposed that the Germans in general, even of the higher classes, were highly educated because Melancthon prescribes these studies. We have his own testimony in proof of the reverse, as we shall presently show; and if we compare it with the acknowledged facts in regard to the German scholarship of the present day, we shall find that the devil failed to "dwarf" the languages in Germany; that instead of their "decaying" or "dying" under his malign influence, they have not only taken deep root since Luther's time, but have borne, and are still bearing, rich fruits. In proof of this we need only remind the reader of what comparative philology has accomplished; what discoveries it has made.

But to return for a moment to Melancthon. So anxious

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was this profound scholar and accomplished, amiable gentleman, to encourage the study of the classic languages, that he frequently lectured on them *gratis*, although by no means independent in his pecuniary resources. Some of his announcements of these lectures are still preserved. In advertising his lecture on the fourth philippic of Demosthenes he says: "I had hoped by disclosing to my hearers the grace of the second Olynthiac to have *allured* them to a nearer acquaintance with Demosthenes. But I perceive that this generation has no ear for such authors. For there remain to me but a few hearers, and these have not forsaken me lest I should be wholly discouraged; for this courtesy I thank them. But I shall nevertheless continue to discharge the duties of my office. I will commence these lectures to-morrow." When announcing his exposition of the Antigone of Sophocles he says: "I would utter an admonition if I thought it would be at all heeded, in rebuke of the *shocking barbarism of manners* that prevails around us."* He had but little expectation of a large audience when proposing to lecture on the Prince of Poets. This announcement was made, it appears, at Wittenberg, in December, 1531. "I shall," he says, "according to my custom, read *gratis*. But as Homer, in his life-time, was needy and a beggar, so the same fate follows him now when he is dead. For this noblest of poets is compelled to wander about imploring men to listen to him. He does not, however, seek out those *grovelling souls, bent only on gain, who not content with resting in ignorance themselves, delight in crying down all noble learning*, but turns rather to those free spirits who aim after perfect knowledge."

This would be sufficient to show how absurd it is to pretend that the thorough study of the classic languages is "popish," or, at least, needless to protestants. But let us give another illustration or two. What protestant thinkers are most admired by those whose vernacular is the English? In reply, may we not mention Bacon, Milton, Newton, and Johnson? Each of these had thoroughly mastered the

* "It is certain," says Bacon, "that learning softens the barbarity and fierceness of men's minds; but then *it must not be superficial*, for this rather works a contrary effect"—Bacon's Works, vol i., sect. iii.

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classic languages; each not only wrote Latin and Greek; but also spoke those languages to a greater or less extent. As for the Latin, all could use it as freely as the English. Bacon's works were written in Latin; Newton wrote not only his *Principia* in that language, but most of his other works; Milton wrote both poetry and prose in Latin and Greek; and Dr. Johnson did the same.

And here we are reminded of another objection made to the study of the languages at the present day. There are educators who agree with the thoughtless crowd, that it is best to devote less attention to the classics, even in our colleges, and more to the sciences; nay, there are some who consider themselves first-class educators, who would be willing to set aside the classic languages altogether, in order that the sciences might be studied more thoroughly. These forget that there has not been one of the great scientific discoverers, of modern times, who has not also been distinguished for his profound classical erudition; not one who did not speak Latin as well as write it. This is true alike of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Leibnitz, and Newton. Now, we may ask, in passing, was the time wasted which was devoted by these renowned investigators to the study of the classic languages? It is well known that there is not one of them who has not gratefully testified how much he was indebted to the study of those languages, not only for that valuable knowledge which cannot be obtained by means of the best translations, but for their wonderfully invigorating influence on the reasoning and perceptive faculties.

It is well to remember, also, that of all the peculiar views of Milton, none displeased Dr. Johnson more than the favor shown by the poet at one period of his life to scientific studies, as compared to classical studies. This had much more to do than is generally supposed with the severity of Johnson's criticisms in his Life of Milton. "Let not our veneration for Milton," says the great lexicographer, "forbid us to look with some *degree of merriment on great promises and small performance*, on the man who hastens home because his countrymen are contending for their liberty, and when he reaches the scene of action vapors away his patriotism in a

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private boarding school." The "great promises" consisted in announcements on the part of the poet that his pupils would be taught "what after all was most useful." "The purpose of Milton, as it seems," continues his great biographer and critic, "was to teach something more solid than the common literature of schools, by reading those authors that treat of physical subjects." After showing in rather sarcastic terms what the aim of Milton was Johnson proceeds: "But the truth is that the knowledge of external nature and the sciences, which that knowledge requires or includes, are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. *Whether we provide for action or for conversation*, whether we wish to be *useful or pleasing*, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of *right and wrong;* the next is an acquaintance with the *history of mankind* and *with those examples which may be said to embody truth, and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions.* Prudence and justice are virtues and excellences of all times and of all places; we *are perpetually moralists*, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is *necessary;* our speculations on matter are voluntary and at leisure. Physiological learning is of such rare emergency that one may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears," &c. In Johnson's time, also, utilitarianism had its votaries; accordingly he excuses himself as follows: "Let me not be censured for this digression, as pedantic or paradoxical; for if I have Milton against me I have Socrates on my side. It was his labor to turn philosophy *from* the study of nature to speculations on life; but the innovators whom I oppose are turning from life to nature. They seem to think that *we are placed here to watch the growth of plants* or *the motions of the stars.*"*

So much, then, for the "popery" of making students really acquainted with Latin and Greek—so much for the time said to be wasted in learning those languages. As for

* Johnson's *Lives of the Poets—Life of Milton.*

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the catholic colleges, they cannot even pretend to assign any other excuse for not imparting a thorough knowledge at least of the Latin, than utter inability. Most cheerfully do we admit that some of them need no excuse, but perform their work so faithfully and thoroughly that we have taken pleasure more than once in comparing them to our favorite American university (New York) and to Columbia College, as regenerated under its present auspices, &c. It is to be regretted that there are so few catholic colleges of this class; but all honor be to the few. These are the exceptions to which our criticisms do not apply, and to whose efforts we have never referred but in the language of approbation and respect.

To be honest, our catholic colleges must either teach the classics thoroughly, or frankly admit that they do not know how—that they cannot teach anybody, young or old, what they do not understand themselves! But above all other educators the jesuits have least excuse for not teaching their pupils to speak as well as write Latin. "Not a mere knowledge of syntax," says one of their own writers, "but a practical mastery of it—in other words, *readiness and skill both in speaking and writing;* this is the aim of grammar."* Further on the same writer says that the pupils of the jesuits are "to make a *living language* of the Latin; hence they should be taught on the principle of the maxim, "*lege, scribe, loquere.*". "Those alone," he adds, "possess a perfect knowledge of a language who not only read it, but who can *likewise speak and write it.*"† In the *Instituti Societatis Jesu* the same rules are everywhere maintained.‡ There are jesuits still who speak and write Latin, but they are very few. In all the United States there are not half a dozen who can, and of this half dozen not one is to be found in either of the New York jesuit colleges.

It will be admitted by every unprejudiced reader that we have done our utmost to encourage the catholic colleges. We have done so in the spirit of the teacher who takes more pains with the timid student whose progress has been slow, on account

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* *Educational System of the Society of Jesus.* Landshut. † *Ib.*

‡ *Vide, Tom.*, ii., p. 42; *Tom.*, iv., p. 412; *Tom.*, vii., 301, &c., &c.

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of having labored under certain disadvantages, than with all the other members of his class, partly in order that he might be respected by his fellow students, and partly in order that he might be prompted to improve and persevere. No sensible person takes it ill of the teacher to say, even to one of the most stupid of his class, "James, why, you have been doing admirably during the last month; you are now very nearly as far forward as Thomas, William and Joseph; and if you will only study a little more and avoid billiard playing and other kinds of gambling you will outstrip them in a very short time." If the teacher is aware that family pride is one of the weak points of James, there is no harm in his proceeding to add: "You ought to remember what accomplished scholars your grandfather and great grandfather were; they were great authors as well as great teachers. What a burning shame it would be for you not to be able to read their works!" But need we say that if this method fails the faithful pedagogue should try another? If James, instead of studying more, fancies he knows enough since he is thus commended, puts on the airs of a philosopher and takes it as an offence to hear any of his fellow students praised at all, he must be addressed in a different strain!

This, it may be remembered, is the course we have pursued towards some of our catholic colleges, especially towards one or two of our jesuit institutions; but they have rewarded us for our pains by employing female commentators to make an onslaught on us with pop-guns, as enemies of the true faith, and of the chief official exponents thereof, in this region! We do not allude to this peculiar mode of reward because we have any particuliar objection to be attacked in so harmless a manner by the ladies, especially as we take pride in knowing that the amiable sex are in general our friends. For the sake of the many, nay, for the sake of what our fair castigators themselves would say and do in their calmer moments, if allowed to consult their own better feelings, we will not utter a harsh word in reply, but confine ourselves to a single line from Homer in which a beautiful and amiable lady who, on a memorable occasion, having finished a speech

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not altogether lady-like in its tone, is requested to be a little more civil in her language.

*μη με, γύναι, χαλεποτόιν ὀνείδεσι θυμον᾽ ἔνιπτε.**

The only reason why we do allude to the circumstance is that it illustrates some of our views but too plainly. How degenerate the jesuits have become, when they are obliged to engage a female pen to defend them from the charge of incapacity as teachers! O shades of Sirmond, Petavius, Tursellini, Gonzaga and Kostke. To this list we could add those of a dozen of jesuits that have written works in Latin and Greek, which bear the classical stamp. But these works our New York jesuits would really be puzzled to read. This is the difficulty. This renders them feeble, and that alluded to is not the first time that woman came to the aid of the weak. Accordingly, far from blaming her, especially as she is kind enough to perpetrate a bull in our favor, admitting, at the close, the very fact for which she belabors us! we honor the lady for it; but we would honor her still more, if, for the sake of sound education, she would give the good fathers of Fordham and New York some wholesome advice—better advice than they gave her in our case! Thus, for example, she might tell them in one of her editorials that they ought to study a good deal more, or go back to Canada, and devote themselves to missionary purposes.† Even in New York there is work enough for them of this kind; and we do not doubt that they are qualified to do it. But the sort of classical teaching they do is, we are pained to say, a sad specimen. They, perhaps, might reply with some justice, as follows: "It is true that we are indifferent teachers; *entre nous*, we need to

* *Ib.*, iii., 438.

† Since writing the above, two important statements have been made to us by two catholic gentlemen in whose veracity we have implicit confidence; one has informed us that the Very Rev. Father Perron has been removed from the superiorship of this province; the other gentleman has corroborated this, and added that the Rev. Father Loyzance has also been removed from the presidency of St. Xavier's College. It is quite possible that both may have been mistaken. If otherwise, our feeling in regard to the matter is simply this: we regret that the provincial, as well as the president, did not evince broader views, and a more enlightened intelligence; and we hope their successors will profit by their failure, bearing in mind that the learning and ability possessed by jesuits two hundred years ago cannot make up for the lack of those qualifications at the present day; although a certain credulous, imaginative class may the *cheer* semblance as if it were the reality.

It is true that we have taken the liberty of criticising both those gentlemen,

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be taught ourselves; however, it is also true that the society still numbers many great educators among its members; but our superiors have the idea that only indifferent teachers are required in New York."

Whether the fathers of New York and Fordham would be thus frank or not, there is too much truth in it; yet they are very much displeased with the teachers of another catholic order, because the superiors of the latter pursue a course diametrically opposite; that is, they send their most accomplished teachers to the United States, especially to New York, because that class are more needed here than in Europe. That the good teachers succeed in making good scholars while the indifferent fail to do so, is no more than might be expected; and perhaps it is equally natural that those who fail should be jealous and sometimes lose their temper; nor is it unnatural that they should pretend, when criticized, that it is their religion and not their education, or rather their want of education, that is "attacked!" It may be, indeed, that they are sincere in attributing motives to those who criticise them, for it requires something more than mere smattering to trace effects to their causes; and Virgil tells us that there is blissful knowledge as well as blissful ignorance.* Be this as it may, it is well known that we condemn nobody's religion; but that we condemn the mere pretenders of all religions, and this we shall continue to do, let who will scowl or assume the airs of martyred innocence and worth.

It is needless for us, then, to assure our readers that we do not find fault with the professors of St. Xavier's Col-

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from time to time, but only as educators—never as clergymen or private individuals. Father Loyzance, especially, we have always regarded as a courteous and amiable gentleman; and whatever may have been thought to the contrary, we regretted all the more on this account that we could not approve of his educational system, without stultifying ourselves.

Another fact has recently been mentioned to us, on excellent authority, which not only explains certain recent movements, altogether independently of the removals just alluded to, but also augurs well for the future. It seems that Dom Pitra, at Rome, who now has the supervision of the various educational orders of the catholic church, is a highly educated Frenchman, of liberal and enlightened views, and the author of several works, some of which have been translated into different languages. We are assured that this gentleman will show no favor to any order, except the favor which should always be awarded to *present* merit.

* *Felix qui potuit* rerum cognoscere causas. G. ii., 491.

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lege, New York, and St. John's College, Fordham, because they are jesuits; did they belong to any denomination of protestants, we would criticise them quite as freely as we have done. It is sufficient to remind the reader, in proof of this, that we have not spoken in higher terms of any protestant colleges than we have of Georgetown* and Holy Cross; we did so most cheerfully, because we found competent and faithful educators in charge of those institutions, and we do not esteem those gentlemen less to-day on account of their being jesuits, or for any other cause.

But our experience is, that there is at least one point in which the protestant educators greatly excel the catholic educators in this country; the former bear criticism in a manly, dignified, manner; the latter cannot bear it all! As already intimated, we have criticised in this journal the institutions of episcopalians, presbyterians, methodists, baptists, congregationalists, and unitarians, but none have pretended that in doing so it is their religion we have "attacked." Let us only say a word of the obvious incapacity of certain catholic educators, upon the other hand, and a general howl is raised against us; the bishop, and the archbishop, and all the small fry of catholic newspapers—in short, heaven and earth, if not purgatory, and even hell itself—are moved against us! We do not object to this for our own sake; we are rather amused at it; but we can assure those who have recourse to such clap-trap, that the intelligent portion of their own people—the very best and most pious of them, including timid ladies—are heartily ashamed of it. The thoughtful portion of the public, catholic as well as pro-

* Our readers may remember that our admiration for the educational talents of Father Maguire, the present president of Georgetown, has been somewhat limited. Last year we took the liberty of expressing our regret that his chief claim on the public gratitude was that he had *enlarged the playgrounds* and *embellished the towers*. We have now to thank him; for he has proclaimed, in his great "commencement" oration, and announced in all the orthodox papers, as well as in the new catalogue now before us, that, "It is *in contemplation* to establish a chair of English literature in the College at the opening of the fall term." We omit most of the capitals, while admitting that they are highly characteristic. All we have to do with now is the new "chair;" we hope the "contemplation" of it has had a favorable issue, for we think it might be made useful in various ways. In our humble opinion it is an excellent antidote against littleness of mind, arrogance, bigotry, bombastic speeches, &c., &c. By all means, then, father, let us have the new chair, if only on account of its being so near the White House, the Treasury, &c., it might be made a capital thing!

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testant, do not fail to remark the contrast, and the conclusion they draw from it is by no means favorable to the howlers.

It is not therefore the colleges of any sect or order, as such, those of catholics or protestants, whose educational system we condemn. We only condemn shallowness and pretension wherever we find them, and unfortunately they are but too apparent in the colleges of all sects and denounciations; with very few exceptions all indulge in a sort of charlatanism for which they ought to blush. Anybody gifted with the least perception knows how much they depend on the newspaper reporters. In nineteen cases out of twenty the honest reporter knows nothing of either Latin or Greek, or of any science more profound or abstruse, than the science of puffing. It is well known that "our own correspondent" gives a long or short report of the "commencement" according to certain circumstances; nay, it is pretty well understood that in many instances he is one of the professors; although his style has to be somewhat pruned down and improved in other respects before his eulogies on "Alma Mater" are permitted to see the light; yet these eulogies are sent to all parts of the country as testimonials the authority of which it would be rash to dispute—the longer they are the more highly they are prized! We have received piles of such ourselves—quite a large number from Pennsylvania.* All have a family resemblance; they are pretty much the same this year as they were last year, or seven years ago. Their chief ingredients are such as "this time-honored institution," "the learned faculty," "the refectory of the college," "the graduating class," "highly interesting and able essays," "an eloquent poem by L. D. Jenkins, Esq., of the class of 1769," "the Hon. Tom Smith, M. C., delivered an eloquent oration to the graduates," "the

* Thus, for example, a member of the faculty of Lafayette College favored us with *eight long columns* of this sort of matter, cut from Philadelphia papers, two of those columns being occupied by a "poem," the first stanza of which closes as follows:

"The thousand joys that once *impregned*
The generous soul of youth,
The myriad hopes that *dawned and reigned*
As truth unfolded truth."

This, of course, is convincing, as to the high classic standard at Lafayette!

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honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred on the Hon. Tim Barleycorn, judge of the court of dernier resort," &c., &c.

We have already remarked that all our educated men are aware of the failure of our college system; and it is almost superfluous to add that they deplore it as a national misfortune. They regard it not only as a loss, the extent of which cannot be estimated, but also as a reproach to our civilization. This is particularly true of those who travel and take some interest in education; for they find American students at every European college and university which they visit. The number of our young men who have thus to seek a thorough education abroad would seem incredible were it not fully attested by official statistics. For the present, however, we will not state the approximate number any more definitely than that it amounts to over two thousand, and is largely increasing from year to year.

It is gratifying to observe that there are some of our scholars who do not merely regret this; they are also anxious to remedy it. The remedy generally proposed is to establish a *great* American university. This would undoubtedly prove a remedy, but how is it to be established? Before any number of colleges, however large, can be made to constitute a great university, they must, individually, possess the elements of greatness; each must possess a high standard in its own sphere. Accordingly, before we can hope to have a great university, either our colleges must raise their standards very considerably, or we must imitate the examples of Prussia and Russia. But here a serious, if not a fatal obstacle pretents itself. It was the governments of those counries who established their great universities; whereas our government seems never to consider itself called upon to do anything of the kind.

Then how can "the people" be expected to do what they know nothing about? Need we say that one of the last boons they would ask, is a great university for the purpose of teaching the "dead languages." If they had such we fear they would think it was no boon at all, but rather something to be looked upon with suspicion and jealously—some-

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thing at least that cost too much and ought to be reduced to the cheap standard.

If they wanted any colleges, institutions like Wabash, Ind.; Paducah, Ky.; Seton Hall, N. J.; Upper Alton, Ill.; Fordham, N. Y.; Gambier, Ohio; St. Xavier's, N. Y.; Meadville, Pa., would be abundantly learned for them; all the better for not giving very "hard lessons," especially in the "dead languages." Should they take a liking for universities, because the name sounds so well, they would think it entirely superfluous, if not injurious to the brain, to have any higher learning than that afforded by institutions like the University of Indiana, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Oregon, the University of St. Louis, the University of Kansas, the University of Kentucky, the University of Utah, &c., &c.

But in the countries mentioned the case has been different. When the king of Prussia wanted to establish a great university, one which would impart strength to the Prussian nation, he had the money voted for the purpose at once. To the learned men of Prussia he gave the preference as professors; but if he found Austrians, Saxons, or even French or English, more learned than they, or better qualified for the chairs they were required to fill, then the latter were the successful candidates. The czar of Russia pursued exactly the same course; hence it is that even Russia has a great university—one in which not only Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Sanscrit are thoroughly taught, but also the Persian, the Arabic, the Hindostanee, &c., &c. And this sufficiently explains the disagreeable contrast, that while our ministers plenipotentiary are, in general, unable to understand the language of any court of continental Europe to which they are accredited, the diplomats of Russia are quite at home in that respect, not only in Berlin, Paris and London, but also at Constantinople and Ispahan, and even at Jeddo and Pekin.

We are quite satisfied that those who will bestow any thought on the various facts we have thus hastily glanced at will not think that we have been needlessly harsh or hypercritical in our remarks on the condition of our colleges.

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Could we do so conscientiously it would afford us much more pleasure to speak of them in the language of approbation, as we always have spoken, and shall speak, of the few whose faithful, efficient labors give them a just claim to that distinction. Wherever we meet educators of this class our opinion of them, or our wish to encourage them, or to induce others to profit by their teachings, is not in the least influenced by our knowledge, or want of knowledge, of their religious faith.

This reminds us that of the many invitations to attend college commencements with which we have been favored during the past summer, the only one we accepted was that of Manhattan College. This arose partly from the circumstances in which we were placed in regard to time and opportunity, and partly from what we expected in those classical exercises, which for various reasons we deem the best calculated to insure the chief purposes for which all colleges worthy of the name are designed. It so happened that it was out of our power to do ourselves the pleasure of attending either the University of New York or Columbia College, although we need hardly say that we yield to none in profound esteem for each of those institutions, or in implicit confidence in the fidelity and thoroughness with which they perform all they promise.

In going to enjoy the attractions of the Central Park, we have often taken pleasure in extending our ride to Manhattan College, on being assured that we should be welcome to be present at the exercises of any of its classes. Accordingly, we had an opportunity of seeing what the students were doing some weeks before the "commencement." It is not our habit to indulge in long eulogies; however much we admire what we see and hear, we do not wish to expand our impressions of it. We bear in mind that we do not address ourselves to the class who cannot be made to understand, in less than a column or a page, the simple fact that a college is doing its work well. This is our report of Manhattan College, and it embraces all.

It is not without good reason that this modest, youthful institution has produced the results it has; it is not without

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good reason that so many of the most intelligent of all denominations attend its commencements. Only a brief explanation is needed however; both the president and vice-president are not merely well-trained, experienced educators—they are excellent judges of what an educator ought to be. This gives them powerful influence over their assistants, as well as over their students. While none are more indulgent or more kind to their professors, none more earnestly insist on their performing their work thoroughly. If, as may happen in the best institutions in the world, a Manhattan professor becomes too indolent to penetrate beneath the surface, or shows by the general results, or lack of results, of his labors, that he was never very profound or thoughtful, he soon learns that clap-trap will not do—that he must not regard his position as a sinecure; that there are certain essential things which he must study, and master, if he does not understand them already. When one, depending on his salary for a livelihood, is thus addressed in a tone and language which could not offend the most sensitive, it is easy to understand that at Manhattan none can consider themselves too old, or too learned, to learn. But in addition to this laudable and exemplary solicitude the Christian Brothers are, undoubtedly, the most liberal in their feelings towards "heretics" of all the catholic orders. While none are more pious than they, or more attached to the church, none make so little distinction in good will and kindness between protestant and catholic. In our opinion these facts are quite sufficient to account for the success of that vigorous but unassuming institution. We might add others, but we are not disposed at this moment to increase the jealousy of certain other catholic colleges.

As all who take an interest in education would be glad to see educators like those of Manhattan multiply, we may remark, in passing, that the Christian Brothers have several other colleges and academies in the United States, as well as numerous schools. Their colleges at St. Louis, Mo., and Elicott, Md., would compare favorably with the best similar institutions of any denomination in the country, of the same age. For some time we have not seen any details or statis-

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tics from either, but we are assured that both are in a flourishing condition. It is our privilege to know the president of the St. Louis college personally, and we know no one better qualified for his position, by experience as an instructor, devotion to the great cause in which he is engaged, and a disposition to treat protestant students with the same kind solicitude with which he treats catholic students, without making any attempt at proselyting.

As long as our male colleges, universities, and seminaries, are in a defective condition, it is not to be expected that our female institutions can be of a high order. If, in the order of nature, the male proceeds from the female, it is not less true that in the order of education, the female institutions proceed from the male institutions. Whenver the latter are superficial and flimsy, it may safely be taken for granted that the former are not profound or thoughtful. The reason of this is so obvious that it is superfluous to mention it. Need we say, then, that a large number of our female seminaries, institutes, academies, and colleges, are little better than those costly baubles which a certain class of people buy merely for show? We do not, indeed, like to say so, for it seems rather ungallant; but however agreeable and proper gallantry may be in the drawing room and other places, the truth is much better in a discussion on education. We have no intention, however, of exhibiting the defects of any particular institutions in this article. As we have found no fault in the present instance with male catalogues, we shall observe the same course in regard to female catalogues; but we must reserve the right of taking up the latter, as well as the former, when we have more time to enjoy the curious things which many of them contain than we have now. In the meantime, it is much more agreeable to us to point out merits than defects. As there are honorable exceptions among our male institutions, so there are among our female institutions, and it is to this class we prefer to devote the small space now left for this paper.

We have not to pass abruptly from male to female institutions. There are those at which both sexes are educated

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that are eminently entitled to be ranked among our exceptions. This is true, at least, of the Hudson River Institute, and Claverack College, an institution the superior merits of which are acknowledged in every town and city on the Hudson which we have visited in the prosecution of our educational researches. Even at Poughkeepsie it is admitted that the Rev. Alonzo Flack, its principal, has accomplished more solid and permanent results, as an educator, "than the most pretentious of his rivals." So far as we have been able to learn, under no other auspices in this country has the plan of educating young ladies and young gentlemen together, in the same halls, proved so remarkably successful. At Claverack, if no where else, the educational influence of the male and female students on each other has been decidedly beneficial; and that institution seems also to enjoy the distinction of having afforded fewer opportunities for injudicious or ill-assorted marriages than many seminaries we could mention that are devoted exclusively to young ladies. We find several rules and regulations in its catalogue which serve to explain this, at least to some extent; such, for example, as the following: "Ladies and gentlemen will not visit each other's rooms, nor will they associate with each other in walking or riding." To this we can only add, for the present—not having yet had the pleasure of seeing the Institute—that educated men from different parts of the country, including clergymen and professors in male colleges, who have examined its several classes, speak in the highest terms of the attainments and culture of both male and female students.

The Fort Edward Collegiate Institute is on the same plan as that of Claverack. The former is also very favorably spoken of; and we have no doubt but the Rev. Dr. King, its principal, is a faithful and accomplished educator. Nor should we omit to mention that while on our recent visit to Poughkeepsie in search of educational information, our attention was particularly called to the Rev. Mr. Rice's Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies. We were assured significantly that it is much better than "some institutions that have more money and make louder pretentions;" but even those who gave us this estimate, and whose estimate we accepted be-

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cause it was sustained by cogent arguments, readily yielded the palm of superior excellence to the Claverack institution. As all the gentlemen mentioned seem disposed to afford us full opportunity to judge for ourselves, we may soon be able speak more definitely of the progress made by each.

Much has also been done in New Jersey by those engaged in female education. Plainfield College for young ladies seems to have many admirers; and from what we learn of the scholarship and abilities of its present principals we have no reason to doubt its worthiness. But there is one school in New Jersey of which we can speak confidently. We have had the pleasure of being acquainted for years with the accomplished but modest principal of the Passaic Falls Classical Institute for Young Ladies, at Patterson, the Rev. P. E. Stevenson. We knew Mr. Stevenson when he was professor of Latin and English literature in the Deer Park Female Institute, Port Jervis, N. Y., in connection with the Rev. Mr. Northrop, another worthy man and excellent teacher. More than once we had the privilege of hearing Mr. Stevenson lecture, and we were readily convinced that he was eminently qualified for the position he occupied—an opinion in which Mr. Northrop fully concurred. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that "the system of thorough, practical instruction enjoyed by the pupils of this institution has been fully tested, and has received the marked approval of the most eminent thinkers." Indeed, had it been otherwise we should have supposed that Mr. Stevenson had lost much of his characteristic energy, vivacity and enthusiasm as an instructor.

Now, in accordance with the wish we have had for many years, that at least the educators of all Christian sects should entertain a friendly feeling towards each other, we place in juxta-position with the Passaic Falls Classical Institute, conducted by a presbyterian minister and his wife, the Mount de Chantal Academy, conducted by the Sisters of the Visitation. In a former number of this journal,* we gave a brief outline of the character and

* No. XXXVI., pp. 376, *et seq.*

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objects of this Academy, together with our impressions of the qualifications of the estimable ladies, who have charge of it. Mr. Stevenson, it must be admitted, is no lover of "popery;" but no one loves scholarship, culture, and talent better. Accordingly, we are sure that if he knew three of the ladies who have charge of Mount de Chantal, he would have no objection to their company, but be quite as willing as we to acknowledge their just claim to a liberal patronage, at least from that class, whether protestant or catholic, who are in the habit of sending their daughters to convents. The same feeling would actuate every intelligent and generous mind. Especially may it be said, that at no other school in America is music, both vocal and instrumental, more thoroughly taught, than at the Mount de Chantal Academy. The ladies who have charge of the higher classes in all departments would occupy a distinguished rank in any country or city; but it is one of the characteristics of this sisterhood to seek a field for their labors where least earthly reward is to be expected. As the nightingale chooses the most lonely and neglected, though beautiful spot, for her sweet and melancholy song, these good ladies seek to establish themselves where their services are most needed, and where they can do most good, without regard to remuneration.

In some respects St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, Indiana, whose catalogue also lies before us, is different from Mount de Chantal; but in scholarship, accomplishments, enlightened liberality to "heretics," and devotion to the great cause of education, there is a remarkable similarity between the leading members of both communities. Several years ago we availed ourselves of the honor of an invitation from the lady superior to visit St. Mary's while on a western tour, and we shall never forget how agreeably surprised we were at the high character of an institution situated in a part of the country supposed by most persons in the Eastern States to be almost at the outskirts of civilization.

The case of Vassar College affords rather a melancholy illustration of the fact that it is by no means those institutions that boast of having most money, that furnish their

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students most knowledge for their money; it also illustrates rather unpleasantly the influence of what is called association of ideas in determining the ultimate value of money, considered as a refining agency. This idea occurred to us most forcibly while present at the closing exercises of the Rev. Dr. Van Norman's School for Young Ladies in this city, some nine or ten days after our visit to Vassar. From an acquaintence of a dozen years with this unpretending, but thoroughly efficient institution, we had expected much from its graduates; it was precisely because we had this implicit confidence in its work, that while having reluctantly to decline many kind invitations from the principals of other similar institutions, we took pleasure in availing ourselves of that of Dr. Van Norman. And far from being disappointed, we were, if possible, more pleased with the exercises than on any former occasion. Our readers are so well acquainted with the high standard of this school in all the essential requisites of a thorough female education, that even were it proper to introduce details into a cursory article of this kind, it would be entirely superfluous. All we wish, therefore, is to congratulate Dr. Van Norman on his distinguished success—a success of which his new school building, now nearly completed, serves as an agreeable and enduring evidence.*

Another New York educator who is entitled to the congratulations of the friends of liberal female education, is Dr. Pierce, president of Rutgers Female College. That he has succeeded, by energy, perseverance, and an enthusiastic love for the great cause of intellectual development, in establishing a highly respectable educational institution, will be readily admitted by every intelligent and impartial gen-

* The new building is situated in Forty-sixth street, just beside the Fifth Avenue. The lot is 40x100; the building 35x100. Thus five feet are left for a passage between the School and the next house, for light and air. When complete, the structure will be six stories, including basement, with Mansard roof. The study hall, or lecture-room, is 68x25, capable of comfortably seating four hundred adults. The school building being connected with the private residence of the principal, the entire front extends to sixty feet. This fine edifice would go far to prove, by itself, that the intelligent portion of our people know how to appreciate superior culture, and have the good sense to understand that a liberal education is no less necessary for their daughters, than for their sons, but rather the contrary.

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tleman or lady who visits Rutgers and takes time to examine its system, and the results of that system as unostentatiously exhibited by the principal classes.

One excellent characteristic of the American people is, that any one who does his work faithfully for them—especially if it be intellectual work—may safely calculate, whatever difficulties he may have to encounter at the outset, that if he will only persevere he will ultimately be encouraged, not only liberally, but generously. It is, in fact, only pretenders that fail to secure recognition for their intellectual labors in this country; and hence it is that Dr. Pierce, as well as Dr. Van Norman, has to procure more ample accommodations for his institution in order to be able to avail himself of the increased patronage with which the public wishes to reward him. A branch of Rutgers Female College opens at Harlem on the 20th of September, at which, all the studies, professors, class arrangements, &c., will be precisely the same as those at ~~at~~ the Fifth Avenue.*

As we have always entertained, and often expressed, the highest respect for female teachers, none can charge us with indulging in any new-fangled notion when we rank Mlle. Rostan with the most accomplished and most successful of our metropolitan educators. To most of our New York readers, if not to all, the lady is well known through her excellent French and English School for Young Ladies in East Thirty-sixth street, near Park Avenue. Accordingly, they would assign her that rank themselves. But, probably, our readers in other cities do not know her so well. In

* Since the above was written we have accepted a polite invitation from Dr. Pierce. to be present at the inauguration of the College at Harlem, and we were much gratified to witness the enthusiasm manifested on the occasion. by the most intelligent and respectable class of our up-town citizens. The Congregational church was filled to overflowing, with ladies and gentlemen, anxious to welcome Rutgers to Harlem. Several very sensible and excellent addresses were delivered by clergymen and educators. The majority perfectly understand, and frankly admit, how very few of our institutions, male or female, have any just claim to be considered thorough in their teaching; and it is precisely because we know that our readers will join in the admission, that those that are thorough should be encouraged, that we have mentioned the above male and female institutions. which, however they may differ in their general plans, or religious, or political opinions, substantially agree as to the main object of a college, a seminary, or a school.

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order to show the latter that we are not peculiar in our estimate, we will make a remark or two. When opening her School in this city several years ago, Mlle. Rostan was introduced to the friends of female education by the Rev. Dr. Barnas Sears—recently president of Brown University, and now general agent of the Peabody educational fund—in the following language:

"Having intimately known Mademoiselle Louise F. Rostan for many years, first, when she was pursuing her studies under the best masters in Paris, and afterwards as a teacher in several distinguished seminaries for young ladies, and in private families in this country, I am able to speak with great confidence of her *superior ability*, *her finished education*, *and her excellent personal and religious character*."

Writing to a friend in this city last year (July, 1868), and referring to this testimonial, "after ten years' observation of the lady's success," as the head of her present school, the same gentleman says: "I can speak with still more confidence of her eminent fitness for such a responsible position." Several other distinguished educators bear testimony equally emphatic to the superior abilities and worth of Mlle. Rostan. Now this lady does not call her institution by any other name than a school, but had certain colleges done their work half so well we should never have felt it our painful duty to criticise them. Mlle. Rostan addresses herself to those who desire to see their daughters become good and useful, as well as accomplished. Her school is divided into three departments, which are under the care of about twenty competent professors and teachers, including lecturers, tutors in the languages, and instructors in the ornamental branches. To all students who have been "perfect" thirty-two out of thirty-eight weeks, premiums are awarded; and those who complete the *seven years'* course with credit to themselves receive diplomas. A friend who has a daughter at this school assures us that the lady, being entirely alone, regards her boarding pupils as her own family, and loves them as if they were her sisters. If an institution, possessed of these characteristics, had only a dozen students, we would as unhesitatingly discuss its merits as if it had five hundred. To this we need hardly add that it affords us much pleasure to learn

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that Mlle. Rostan has from eighty to one hundred students, including boarders.

Although we sincerely believe that we render the public a service by calling attention to the few female institutions thus briefly glanced at, we readily admit that this is not our exclusive object; we are quite as sincerely and decidedly of opinion, that the faculties of several male colleges to which we have also taken the liberty of alluding, would profit by examining the excellent systems of teaching pursued at those institutions, whether they be called colleges, institutes, or merely schools. In other words, what we have said in this desultory manner, at the close of our article, is to be regarded as a part of our argument in proof of the fact, that if we have but very few educational institutions in America that can claim high rank, it is because we have very few professors or teachers that are properly qualified as such; whereas we have shown, upon the other hand, that those who are properly qualified, produce as good results here as in any other country in the world.

We are quite aware that the majority of "faculties," whose systems and practices we have criticised in this and other articles, will rather scowl at our arguments, than thank us for them, but we would say to all, including jesuits, anti-jesuits, Vassars, &c., &c., with the best wishes for their improvement, as Demosthenes once said to the Athenians on their murmuring at his having denounced some of their failings: "My counsels are not such as tend to aggrandize me and diminish you, but sometimes *not expedient for me to give*, though *always expedient for you to follow.*"

ART. IX.—*Note to Vassar College Article in our last number.*

We do not recur to this subject for the purpose of making any further criticisms; but as it would be impossible for us to reply, individually, by letter, to all who have written to us about our article, we beg leave to say a word here which may answer the same purpose. When we inform our readers that we have not received fewer than five hundred letters from educated ladies and gentlemen, in all parts of the country, warmly thanking us for that paper, we must seem to many to indulge in exaggeration; yet any one who doubts the fact may easily satisfy him-

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self, for we will place pile after pile of letters at his disposal. Nor is it any mere boast to say that the compliments which we receive in many of these letters are far higher than we have ever been sanguine or ambitious enough to expect; indeed they are so much so, that were we required to quote them they would put our modesty—if editors may be said to have any—to too severe a test. But this also we can prove; and we are all the more proud of it from the fact that it is the most accomplished scholars, and ablest and most successful educators who are most flattering to us in their encomiums.

None appreciate more highly than we the approbation of the good and judicious; but in the present instance we have to return our thanks for more than mere compliments; more subscriptions have been enclosed to us since June last, than during any previous whole year. Seeing that we could not supply the demand for our June number, we ordered a large edition of the Vassar article printed alone, in pamphlet form; but we find that also utterly inadequate.

To the most intelligent portion of the daily and weekly press, both secular and religious, our respectful acknowledgements are also due, for its liberal and complimentary estimate of the same article. Had we any disposition to injure those who tried to intimidate us, we could show by many quotations, that the leading journals of the United States have pursued a very different course from that of undertaking to overwhelm us for the exercise of a right which every American citizen worthy of the name holds to be inalienable.

But we have no such disposition or intention. We made our criticisms on Vassar partly because we are opposed to certain modes of procedure, and partly because we felt that those modes did gross injustice to some of the best female institutionsin America. As for any malice toward Vassar, or any one connected with it, we certainly had none; nor have we now. If we saw an improvement in its system to-morrow, none would more cheerfully give it full credit for that improvement.

Among the hundreds of letters we have received are three or four that make certain objections; but they do so in courteous language, and it is our wish to treat them accordingly. It is due even to the gentleman who supposed, before our article was published, that he could frighten us, to say that after it was published he manifested to us no bad temper; nor has he intefered with us since in any manner. So far as we are concerned, therefore, he may consider himself disposed of like the woman taken in adultery, who was told to sin no more.

Among the very few who have objected are Mr. Benson J. Lossing, author of "Vassar College and its Founder," and the Rev. Dr. Lyman Atwater, one of the editors of the "Princeton Review." Mr. Lossing complains, in a gentle manner, that our criticisms on his book would imply that he would encourage intemperance, whereas he has all his life been opposed to it. We certainly did not mean to attribute to him any such

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unworthy motive; nor was it our intention to make any charge whatever against him. Our idea of his book was that he was engaged to write it, as an architect is engaged to build a house. No matter what may be the taste, or the artistic skill, of the architect, he is bound to construct the edifice as directed by his employer. If the latter wishes to introduce hen-roosts, or other things having an unpleasant odor, into the main building, that is his affair; upon the same principle, if the gentlemen who engaged Mr. Lossing to write this book wished him to introduce into it a brewery or two, a little beer, a few stanzas from "John Barleycorn," &c., he had either to comply, or come to a rupture with his employers.

This was our view of the case. We were very unwilling, therefore, to disoblige Mr. Lossing; but, as we told him, in reply to his polite note, we bore in mind that, in all wars the innocent have sometimes to suffer with the guilty; and that when there is a prospect of eradicating a cancerous growth, the skilful and honest surgeon does not hesitate to apply his lancet to a portion of the sound flesh, in order that the rest may be saved. To this we need hardly add that, without being influenced by any consideration whatever, but our own love of fairness and justice, we entirely acquit Mr. Lossing of all intention of predisposing the young ladies of Vassar, or any other young ladies, in Poughkeepsie or elsewhere, to the use of beer, or any kindred beverage.

We wish to satisfy Dr. Atwater also, in any way in our power, for any injury we may have done him, in the exercise of our acknowledged "belligerent rights." There was no reason why we should impute any improper conduct to the Princeton Review, or to any of its editors, publishers, or proprietors. Our readers will bear us testimony that we are not in the habit of seeking to disparage any contemporary; we never speak discourteously of any periodical; much less would we make wanton attacks on its conductors.

But had we even been in the habit of making such, what could have been our motive in this case? The Princeton Review, as we understand, is exclusively theological; and we never discuss theological subjects. So far as we are aware, the interests of that respectable periodical do not conflict in the slightest manner with those of our own. We had never heard that any one connected with the Princeton Review had disobliged or injured us in any manner. What, then, could have been our motive in attacking it in our Vassar article? There was none whatever; nor did we attack it. We merely mentioned statements made to induce us, as we be believed, to do a certain thing; that we did not give those statements as facts will be readily admitted by any one who will carefully and *calmly* read our remarks on the subject. At the same time, it is but justice to say that we did not think, for a moment, nor do we now, that the gentleman who made those statements did so for the purpose of injuring, or disparaging, the Princeton Review. We regarded

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his whole representation in relation to it simply as an argument; and it was as such we presented it to our readers—as an illustration of the extremes to which injudicious zeal will sometimes lead even those who mean well.

We were not at all surprised, therefore, when we received the polite note of the Rev. Dr. Atwater, which explicitly denied that any such article as that spoken of had ever appeared in the Princeton Review. Most cheerfully do we place this denial on record; and having done so, we take leave of the whole subject, with sincere gratitude to many—with ill-will to none.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

The True Story of Lady Byron's Life. Atlantic Monthly, September, 1869.

It is with feelings of sorrow and surprise that we have perused this article—sorrow that the author is an American lady, and surprise that a publishing house once ranking among the first and most respectable in the United States, should give it forth to the world. During the life time of Mr. Ticknor no such effusion could have appeared in the Atlantic; for Mrs. Stowe, we regret so say, is not merely indelicate, in the article referred to. Some of her details are positively obscene, notwithstanding the frequent occurrence of scriptural phrases, and allusions to things and persons sacred, interspersed here and there, probably to serve as amulets to ward off the effects of the pruriency.

And what is the object of the article? Ostensibly, to vindicate Lady Byron from certain aspersions of her husband's mistress, the Countess Guiccioli. Mrs. Stowe, acting on the strength of certain real or pretended credentials, has taken up the gauntlet in her defence. Passing over the improbability of Lady Byron's having entrusted to a casual acquaintance the most important secret of her unhappy life, to the exclusion of hundreds of English women worthy of her confidence and quite competent to carry out her wishes, we regard Mrs. Stowe as having offended against public propriety, in her unprovoked attack on the memory of the poet, and in her efforts to render him odious in the eyes of the world. Were the virtues of Lady Byron of so faint and subdued a tint as to require the contrast of the intense blackness with which her husband is here painted? The darkest crimes in the calendar are laid to his charge, and the writer gloats over her presumed discovery.

If all men of genius are to be discarded on account of their gallantries, the world must lose Ovid and Catullus, Dante and Tasso, Goethe and Shakespeare, and many others who have been the brightest ornaments of their respective ages and countries. The private vices of public

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men are often magnified through the glass of popular exaggeration; and calumny sometimes falls heaviest on those who merit it least. Socrates himself, the purest and noblest character in Grecian history, was the victim of the vilest slanders from his contemporaries; nor did his nearest and dearest relatives, or his favorite pupils, escape their share of the unmerited abuse. The effect of this malevolence is still to be seen. Modern students are too apt to base their estimates of this great philosopher on the low, grovelling satire of Aristophanes, who prostituted his genius to the cause of personal or political enmity. And what sort of idea should we form of Pericles, if the history of Thucydides had been lost, and the comedies of Cratinus preserved?

There are, moreover, a certain class of mankind who, without personal motives, take particular delight in searching for flaws in the character of men greater, if not better, than themselves; some from pure malice, others from the love of *notoriety*, for we cannot call it fame. We fear the latter motive was what chiefly determined Mrs. Stowe to publish the article now under discussion. At all events, we prefer to attribute it to this rather than to a sordid love of gain, of which, however, she has been repeatedly accused by those who know her perhaps better than we.

It is also true that, to many minds, trained under a certain gloomy religious system, a crusade against vice is the most attractive of all enterprises. But it too often happens, in such cases, that the company of the demons of iniquity whom they have undertaken to exorcise acquires for them so strange a fascination, that they are fain to linger among them, and display them to the reader in all their deformity.

Thus Mrs. Stowe has forced upon the attention of the ladies of America certain objectionable poems of Lord Byron, and has even gone so far as to form a chrestomathy of indecent passages from Cain and Don Juan, of which she makes a personal application to Lord Byron himself, as if a writer of fiction in any form should be held personally responsible for the speeches and sentiments of his characters! If this mode of arguing be legitimate, what is to become of the reputation of all our great dramatists, poets and novelists?

The evidence of the article in question is as fragile and nugatory as its publication is ill-judged and reprehensible. Public opinion, both in England and America, has unhesitatingly condemned this attempt to drag into the light of day the private vices of a man who has lain in his grave for nearly half a century. Whatever may be the faults, or even the crimes, of a man of genius, their most remote effects soon disappear from the earth. The poetry of Byron still lives, but all to whom his vices may have caused the slightest pang during his life time are now dead. The mystery, of whatever nature it may have been, in the domestic relations of Lord and Lady Byron, was preserved by the latter, as long as she lived, an inviolable secret from the world; and even now her solicitors, far from show-

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ing any disposition to reveal it, have expressly disclaimed all connection with the pretended revelations of Mrs. Stowe.

But the attack, although probably intended only for Byron and his defender, is, in reality, directed also against the memory of several of his relatives. His sister and her daughter are held up to the public as objects of loathing, the former being stigmatized as the guilty partner of his crime, and the latter, innocent as she was, as tainted by both the sin and the relationship! Nor does his own legitimate daughter escape—that daughter whom Byron loved so tenderly. If Lady Byron were a true wife, or endowed with the feelings of a true woman, and were still living, there can be little doubt that she would repudiate this unworty effort, purporting as it is to be in her defence, and repent of her haste in selecting, if she ever did select, so indiscreet a champion.

Le Monde et l'Homme primitif selon la Bible. Par Mgr. MEIGNAN, Evêque de Chalons-sur-Marne.* 8vo, pp. 403. Paris: Victor Palmé. 1869.

In this work we have an elaborate and ingenious attempt to sustain the biblical record of creation and the unity of the human race. In separately discussing the six days of the Mosaic cosmogony, the author displays considerable geological and zoological learning, but he relies too modestly on a careful accumulation of the opinions and conclusions of others rather than on any original application of facts. He always prefers to cling to authority; and even in the pages under the head of "M. Darwin réfuté par les faits," he does not tell us what the facts are, but simply gives us an array of names and opinions. Altogether, Bishop Meignan shows a better acquaintance with the literature of the natural sciences than with the sciences themselves. No attempt is made to sustain the *literal* veracity of the first chapter of Genesis; the six *days* are regarded as indefinitely long periods of time. (p. 19.) Nor is this all:

"C'est une erreur de croire que la foi catholique enferme l'existence de l'homme dans une durée qui ne peut dépasser six mille ans. L'église ne s'est jamais prononcée sur une question aussi délicate, et cette abstention est pleine de sagesse." (p. 163.)

And yet the author hesitates to accept such a long period as twenty thousand years. The chapters on the chronology of the Egyptians, Hindoos, and Chinese display extensive reading on those subjects; but when the bishop comes to discuss the primitive unity of language, he shows himself to be somewhat puzzled. He is manifestly no philologist, and has not read his authorities with sufficient care to be able to understand the width of the gulph that separates the Indo-European and the Semi-

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* The French works reviewed in this department are furnished by Mr. F. W. Christern, foreign bookseller, New York.

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tic forms of speech. In answer to Pott's well known assertion that there is no instance of a language developing itself from the monosyllabic into the agglutinative, or from the agglutinative into the inflexional stage, he only alleges the somewhat doubtful instance of incipient inflections in the Chinese, and the intrinsic probabilities that such transitions have taken place without our knowing it. Professor Pott may be right and may not, but a scholar of his calibre does not deserve to have one of his theories dismissed so cavalierly. On the whole, however, although it may be seen almost at the first glance that the book is of a controversial character, the spirit that pervades it is by no means bitter, and a tone at once moderate and courteous is preserved against all opponents.

Vie de Madame de Lafayette. Par MADAME DE LASTEYRIE, sa Fille. Deuxiéme edition. Paris. 1869.

Though purporting on its title-page to be simply a biography of the wife of General Lafayette, at least one-third of this volume is occupied with other matter. First, we have a revision of the life of the dutchess d'Ayen, written by her daughter, Mme. de Lafayette, while in the prison of Olmutz, and "printed, but not published," (*imprimée sans publicité*) after the return of the latter to France. Then follows Mme. de Lasteyrie's biography of her mother. Anything that throws additional light on the most important epoch in modern European history, the era of the French revolution, is of more or less importance; and anything connected with Lafayette has some interest for the American people. It may be doubted, however, whether any readers, save those especially interested in the details of French history from 1759 to 1807, would care to give this volume more than a cursory examination. To some future historian of France, however, its contents will be valuable *mémoirs pour servir*. The close family connection of Mme. de Lafayette with some of the celebrities of that day, and the numerous letters of important historical personages interspersed through the book, are sufficient warrant for this. At the end of the volume we have a long letter of General Lafayette himself, as well as several state papers of greater or less importance, but of no interest to the general reader.

Madame de Lafayette is here represented as, what she undoubtedly was, a highly religious, amiable, and generous woman. A fondness for dwelling on her virtues and eulogizing her conduct amid so many sufferings is what we are to expect from the pen of a tenderly attached daughter, but it sometimes becomes a little tiresome to the reader. It gives us great pleasure, however, to be told that General Lafayette's exertions in favor of the civil rights of the French protestants, in 1787, were warmly and actively seconded by his wife, as far as the *convenances* of her station would allow. (p. 209.) Though a zealous catholic, and pos-

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sessed of a strong desire to make proselytes, she deeply regretted the persecutions that only widened the breach between the church and the protestants of France. She was also charitable to the poor, and occupied herself with good works without neglecting her duties toward her own family.

"Elle ne croyait pas pouvoir en conscience dépenser la moindre somme pour son plaisir; jamais elle ne s'est permis une fantaisie qui n'eût rapport qu'à son agrément. Elle pensait que l'argent qui n'était pas employé aux dépenses que la convenance rend nécessaire, appartenait aux pauvres, et qu'il était formellement interdit d'en détourner la moindre chose."

The authoress then goes on to inform us that her mother not only entertained these theories, but rigorously practised them. At the beginning of the revolution she was an ardent republican, and more than approved of her husband's course. "*Elle admira sa conduite, elle s'identifia avec ses sentiments.*" Her mother, the dutchess d'Ayen, took a very different view.

"Ses opinions à elle étaient aristocratiques. Elle avait horreur du mouvement et terreur de tout le bouleversement qu'entraine une révolution." (p. 216.)

Champfleury. Les Chats.—Histoire, Mœurs, Observations, Anecdotes. Paris: Rothschild. 1870. Quatrième Edition.

This little book is certainly unique in its kind, and, notwithstanding the seeming triviality of the subject, is neatly and elegantly printed, containing also no less than eighty designs by eleven artists, whose names appear on the title page. The author goes deeply into his subject, and brings to bear on poor puss all the batteries of his extensive learning and research. The historical chapters of the volume are interesting, but not always sound. The statement (p. 25) that no mention of the domestic cat can be found between a figure on an Egyptian monument, B. C. 1638, and one of the idylls of Theocritus, B. C. 270, will not stand fire. It is true, there is no perceptible trace of the cat in the Hebrew Scriptures, nor in Homer, nor Hesiod; but Herodotus speaks of it in connection with Egypt, under the name of αἴλουρος, which word in later Greek acquired the meaning of *weasel*. Whether the Greek word γαλέη, which the author takes as signifying *cat*, was ever applied to our domestic animal of that kind is more than doubtful. In Aristotle it is the *ferret*; in Aristophanes* it is the pole-cat; and in Herodotus† it is most probably the weasel. Movers,‡ though he calls the latter "Tartessian cats," always encloses the words in quotation marks, and also tells us that they were used in hunting rabbits. Be this as it may, the book deserves to be recommended to all cat-fanciers.

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* Plutus, 692, ed. Tauchnitz.

† IV., 192. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαὶ ἐν τῷ θιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίῃσι ὁμοιόταται.

‡ Die Phönizier, 2 Theil, pp. 605, 606.

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EDUCATION.

1. *Manual Latin Grammar.* Prepared by WILLIAM F. ALLEN, A. M., Professor of Ancient Languages and History in the University of Wisconsin; and JOSEPH H. ALLEN, Cambridge, Mass. Boston: Edwin Ginn. 1869.
2. *Latin Lessons; adapted to the Manual Latin Grammar.* Prepared by WILLIAM F. ALLEN, A. M., &c., and JOSEPH H. ALLEN, &c. Boston: Edwin Ginn, &c. 1869.
3. *A Latin Reader; consisting of Selections from Phædrus, Cæsar, Curtius, Nepos, Sallust, Ovid, Virgil, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Pliny and Tacitus. With copius Notes and Vocabulary.* Prepared by WILLIAM F. ALLEN, A. M., &c. and JOSEPH H. ALLEN, &c. Boston: Edwin Ginn. 1869.

We regard it as incumbent on the authors of these volumes to defend the English of their title-pages. Remarkable as our language is for the facility with which nouns can be used as adjectives without the slightest change of form, there is something rather harsh and uncouth in the phrase "Manual Latin Grammar." We feel called upon to explain the authors' meaning, without, however, attempting to defend the slight violence they have done to the vernacular.

They tell us that it is their object to present the public with a Latin grammar sufficiently complete to meet all the wants of the student, at least until he is safely launched into the broader channel of the college course, at the same time avoiding that "prodigious multiplication of details" by which complete Latin grammars are generally swelled out into uch bulky and unmanageable volumes. Their new-fangled title implies that the latter are not worthy to be considered hand-books, while their grammar *is*. "A Manual *of* Latin Grammar" would not express the idea; it was too common a title. The little word *of* was in the way. But by striking out the underpinnings of the noun, they have caused it to collapse into an adjective, and obtained a title remarkable at least for its originality! This is the explanation we have gleaned from the general tone of the preface, and of the fifteen pages of laudatory letters and newspaper-notices bound up with the volume. Nor does the spirit of originality end here. We shall have more to say about it when we come to examine the reader.

If neat and elegant typography alone constituted a perfect Latin grammar, this would call for naught but praise from the reviewer. But a slight infusion of other merits being necessary, our admiration must be moderated in proportion. In the first place, there is visible throughout the book a perfect mania for economizing space. The first symptom of this appears in the paradigms of the third declension of nouns, where but five forms are given in the singular, and only three in the plural! This will do very well in a grammar intended for advanced students, but for beginners it is only perplexing, not to mention the additional

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labor of explanation it must cause to the already overworked teacher The authors seem to forget, not only here, but in numerous other places, that Latin is the first language besides his own that a boy attempts to learn. The exceptions to this rule are so very rare in this country that they may be set aside altogether. Familiar with his native tongue only, and knowing nothing whatever of the general principles of language, the learner is sure to find the transition from his simple and almost grammarless English to the elaborate and complex Latin a painful one. What is the use of having all these cases? Is not the difference between nominative and accusative all humbug? We have known boys who have begun Latin at the advanced age of fourteen years, and have afterward become well versed in the language, to ask themselves these questions over and over again. The tables of declension and conjugation should be complete, and printed out at full length; or else it will be much longer before the ideas of the pupil crystalize into a proper comprehension of the subject.

The same remarks apply with still greater force to the paradigms of the verbs. The problem which the authors were attempting to solve would appear to have been this: given four regular verbs, one of each conjugation, required to pack them, in all their modes, tenses, persons, numbers, &c., into the smallest space compatible with the typographical good looks of our "Manual Grammar!" And if they had been trying to accomplish this feat on a fat contract, the job could not have been done better.

This is a false system. What is gained in space is lost in other things of far greater value. The learner becomes at once terrified at the dense array of words directly under his eye: and unnecessary fright is not a desirable element in the business. Equanimity is essential to his rapid progress, and to secure it at his impressionable age no pains should be spared. It will not do to grudge space. The "Manual Grammar" contains only 148 pages, and double the number would be no drawback, but a gain. Full paradigms of some of the more important irregular verbs should have been given, but they are not. *Volo*, *nolo*, and *malo* are disposed of in less than half a page, and the same miserly allowance falls to the lot of the difficult and troublesome third declension of adjectives.

On the other hand, some small details are here and there introduced which had better be left out. Why should the pupil's memory, at the very beginning, be overloaded with such forms as *homost* and *periculumst*? And, under the head of Prosody, is the musical notation (p. 112) at all likely to convey the shadow of an idea even to a far advanced school boy?

In the sections on Syntax, it would have been far better if the authors had adopted a system of translation rather more literal. The ablative absolute can generally be translated literally without violence to our

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language, and often without a sacrifice of ease or elegance. To render *equitatu praemisso* (p. 27) by "having sent forward the cavalry," is liable to convey a wrong idea. The passive participle can here be translated passively; at all events we consider it a bad plan to substitute the English active. It is not every modern language that can boast of such an admirable participial construction as our own; and we need not be afraid to make use of it. We do not wish to be understood as advocating slavishly literal translations in the school-room, but simply remark that our authors are inclined to run into the opposite extreme.

In the "Latin Lessons," which is intended to be taken up simultaneously with the grammar, much that is contained in the latter is unnecessarily repeated. The exercises are at first very simple and easy, but gradually increase in difficulty until the pupil is at last supposed to be able to begin part second, which consists of the first twenty-nine chapters of Cæsar's Gallic War. The Messrs. Allen do not consider Cæsar "in the main, a good author for young scholars." We are not disposed to join issue with them on this point, but doubt whether it would be easy to find a better. Part third, which consists of a collection of verses for exercise in scanning, we must regard as out of place in this volume. Probably, although we are not so informed, it is intended to be taken up when the pupil comes to the poetical extracts in the reader. If so, he will then be encumbered with three "manuals" instead of one!

In the reader we have 213 pages of text, in the selection of which the originality already spoken of comes conspicuously into play. First we have nineteen fables of Phædrus. There may be no objection to this, considering that the pupil has already translated a long extract from Cæsar in the lessons. Then follow three short extracts from Cæsar, describing his two invasions of Britain and the people of Gaul and Germany; then forty pages from various parts of Quintus Curtius, after which come Nepos' life of Hannibal, and eleven extracts from the Jugurtha of Sallust. Thus far we make no particular objection. The above pieces all possess the merit of interest, and the selections may be said to have been made with good judgment. The same is true concerning the story of Phaëthon, from Ovid's Metamorphoses, that follows; but the succeeding sixteen pages from the Fasti are hardly so appropriate. No one deprecates more than we the neglect suffered by this admirable poet in American schools and colleges; but the Fasti are not so calculated to excite the interest of a young student, as the Metamorphoses, from which the authors would have done better to multiply their extracts. The same remark applies with equal force to the three selections from the Eclogues and Bucolics of Virgil. Why not rather from the brilliant, glowing Æneid? The most serious lack of judgment is, however, shown in what follows. We have the first scene of the first act of the Amphitruo of Plautus, and the corresponding portion of the Heautontimorumenos of Terence, for neither of which is the

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pupil yet prepared. The wit of these authors must appear to him dry and heavy. No serious objection lies against the letters of Cicero and Pliny that follow, nor against the account of the conflagration of Rome, and Nero's persecution of the Christians, from the Annals of Tacitus, which closes the text, though, as a historian, we greatly prefer Livy for the young student. On the whole, we regard the reader as by far the best book of the three, and the grammar the most objectionable.

A Latin Reader; adapted to Bingham's Latin Grammar, with Notes and a Vocabulary. By WM. BINGHAM, A. M. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1869.

Bingham's Cæsar has already been examined in these pages, and its obvious merits have been cheerfully acknowledged.* The volume now before us is intended to serve as a bridge over the troublesome gulf intervening between the works of that favorite author and the best Latin grammar. The young student generally finds it a cold plunge from one to the other. The old adage, that "there is no royal road to learning," is indeed true; but the broad highway which does exist can be improved indefinitely. Such is the object of this reader. At the beginning Mr. Bingham gives us a selection of fifty-three of Æsop's fables, the last four being from the poetic paraphrase of Phædrus. Then follow half a dozen pages of mythology, after which come the well-known six books of Roman history, twenty pages of ancient geography, and two extracts from Cæsar, one of them being his amusing account of the animals in the Hercynian forest. He would be a dull school-boy indeed who could not laugh over the description of the *alces*.

Finally we have some pages of the terrible *oratio obliqua*, which youthful readers of Cæsar are wont to anathematize, collocated in parallel columns with the same matter thrown into the *oratio directa*. This difficult idiom, recurring again and again in Cæsar, and often carried through such lengthy periods, is a serious drawback on the utility of that author's Commentaries as an introductory text-book. Hence, too much pains cannot be taken to make the beginner at home in that peculiar style of narrative so natural to the Latin tongue. It is to the author's credit that he has not allowed himself to be led astray by a desire for innovation, but has adhered to the old series of selections which have stood the test of time.

Whatever objections may be urged against the practice of marking the quantity of the vowels in Latin text-books generally, it is certainly to be preferred in such an elementary book as this, as a means of familiarizing the student with the accent. In the Reader the quantity of every single vowel, when not determined by position, is carefully marked.

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* No. XXXIV., September, 1868.

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The vocabulary is as complete as could be desired; the notes are short and judicious, chiefly consisting of references to the author's grammar, translations or explanations being rarely given. The volume is very neatly printed, the vocabulary elegantly. Altogether it is worthy of the publishers whose imprint it bears, and those acquainted with the general character of Butler & Co.'s text books need no higher recommendation than this.

The First Six Books of Virgil's Æneid, with explanatory notes, a lexicon and Map, &c. By EDWARD SEARING, A. M., professor of Latin in Milton College, Wisconsin. 8vo., pp. 421. New York and Chicago: A. S. Barnes & Co.

The vocabulary appended to this book is a good feature. It bears every appearance of being complete, and the author professes to have compiled it from the best sources, both English and German.

In making a judicious selection of notes he appears to have found himself confronted with a more difficult task. Now and then some unnecessary explanation has been given, while on the other hand a difficult passage is sometimes passed over without comment. In the very first line of the poem the pupil does not require to be informed of the figurative meaning of *arma*, while the celebrated *Quanquam O!* in the fifth book, demands a more lengthy notice than is vouchsafed to it. On the whole, however, the notes are to be commended for their terseness and adaptability to the wants of students who are obliged to be their own instructors.

Whose text has been chosen, or whether it be an eclectic one, we are not informed. Are we to infer from the author's silence that no particular care was taken on that point? Our attention has already been often called to the superficial and uncritical character of our classical text-books in general, to which the present one forms no exception. It may be said, without exaggeration, that any naturally intelligent person with a bare smattering of Latin could have prepared a text-book as good as this, merely by compiling from the works of European scholars. To this book, however, we do not hesitate to assign a respectable rank among American editions of the classics. It is especially to be commended for the clearness and neatness of its typography.

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1. *Guyot's Elementary Geography for Primary Classes.*
2. *Guyot's Intermediate Geography.*
3. *Guyot's Common School Geography.* New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

What rank this series occupy amid the profusion of school geographies

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in circulation we shall not undertake to decide, but content ourselves with the remark that they are by no means the best. The Elementary one begins with questions and answers suitable enough, perhaps, for the nursery, but entirely out of place even in the lowest class of the *Kindergarten*, and very soon introduces the tender-aged pupil into the usual course of definitions, maps and long foreign names. In grappling with the somewhat difficult task of making the definitions lucid to the "young idea," the author tells us that "an island is a *small* body of land surrounded by water." We should make no criticism on this, if we were not directly afterwards told that "an island is represented on a map *by drawing its shape.*" How the other natural divisions are to be represented, or why an island was singled out as the peg to hang this lucid explanation on, the child is not informed.

On taking up the Intermediate book, one of the first things that strike us is the complex system of outlines for map-drawing. It is far inferior to the usual system of exclusive triangulation, and still more so to the rectangular mode adopted in the little hand-book of Keam and Mickleborough. In some of the simplest maps we have triangles, trapezoids and trapeziums jumbled together in a style most bewildering to a young beginner.

The third book of the series is distinguished by no particular features from the generality of school geographies in use. It differs from the Intermediate only in size and diffuseness. To judge from the care taken in giving lengthy explanations of some very simple things, one might suppose it to be intended for pupils almost as young and unsophisticated as those whom the Elementary is designed to instruct. Moreover, these definitions, instead of being all collected in one place, are sometimes to be found scattered here and there throughout the book. Thus, in the lesson on Brazil, we are regaled with the following extremely juvenile comments:

"The government of Brazil is very unlike ours. The highest ruler, called the *Emperor*, is not elected by the people, but *inherits* his office; that is, he becomes emperor at the death of some relative who ruled before him. A government in which the ruler thus inherits his office is called a *monarchy*, the word meaning a government with *one ruler*. The country so governed is called an *empire* or a *kingdom*."

Still more injudicious and thoughtless is the following:

"The blacks worship serpents and other animals; idols of wood and stone; the spirits of their relations who have died, and other things. They are, therefore, *pagans* or *heathens*." (p. 49.)

No reservation from this sweeping assertion being made in favor of the "blacks" of America, the child is left to form his own ideas of them, and they are likely to be as exact as those formed by the eagle, in the fable, of the owl's young ones.

It is a glaring defect in this series that in the maps of the various states of our own country, the counties are not indicated. In fact, we have only the most general features, all useful details being carefully

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avoided. The same remark applies to the maps of the different countries of Europe, in none of which has the author seen fit to give the subdivisions. A pupil might study the whole series thoroughly and yet have no knowledge of the shires of England, the departments of France, the provinces of Spain, or even the counties of his native state. Altogether, no one can compare this series with Mitchell's, which the reader will find in a former number,* without recognizing at once the unquestionable superiority of the latter.

Most cheerfully do we admit that Mr. Scribner has published some good books, and whenever we see such from his press, it will afford us pleasure to recommend them.

A Hand-book of Map Drawing; adapted especially to the maps in Mitchell's New Series of School Geographies. By PETER KEAM and JOHN MICKLEBOROUGH. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co.

Little need be said of the value of map-drawing as an aid in the teaching of geography. More lasting impressions of the forms of countries are thereby acquired than by any other means. We are glad to see that the practice is becoming more and more common in our schools; it is now reduced to an art depending upon principles simple enough for all school-children to understand with ease.

The old system of allowing every pupil to take his own course in tracing the outlines of the different countries, has been discarded in all good schools since regular text-books in this branch have been in such extensive circulation. We have seen several such, some of them being of considerable merit, but, after a careful examination of this slender volume, we do not hesitate to say that it deserves to be recommended in preference to any other with which we are acquainted. The main feature of superiority is the simplicity of its system, which is a great improvement on the usual one of triangulation. The rectangle is made the basis for the outlines of every map, except those of the British Isles and of Italy, the former requiring a triangle, and the latter a rhomboid.

As teachers of geography in the public schools of Cincinnati, the authors of this book have had ample practical experience, the result of which we now have before us. The manual will be a worthy escort for Mitchell's series of geographies, the peculiar merits of which we have indicated in a former number. With the exception of a short preface and introduction, the "Hand-book" consists entirely of maps and outlines, for drawing which clear and terse directions are appended. The most difficult task the learner is ever called upon to perform, is the trisection of a straight line, and even that very seldom.

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* No. XXX., Sept., 1867.

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BELLES-LETTRES.

Rhymes of Contrast on Wisdom and Folly, a comparison between Observant and Reflective Age, derisively called Fogie, and a senseless and unthinking American Go-Ahead, intended to exemplify an important agent in the working plan of the human intellect. A Narrated Dialogue. By JAMES RUSH, M. D., author of "A Natural History of the Intellect," "The Philosophy of the Human Voice," and of "Hamlet, a Dramatic Prelude." 8vo., pp. 76. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

We have transcribed the whole of this long title, because the author evidently designed it as descriptive and explanatory of the nature of the work. There is a long preface in which the principles of the poem are attempted to be set forth in philosophic prose. In addition to this, there are numerous and lengthy foot-notes explanatory of the text. This is the second work that has come into our hands from the same house within the last three months, wherein the author attempts to disarm criticism of bad verses, by convincing us in prose that there is some occult meaning in his poetry which is beyond our comprehension. It is natural enough that both publications are from the same press. One we disposed of in our last number, but remembering the adage "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof," we concluded to retain this for a future dose.

The writers apparently have a suspicion that their verses are worthless, and the means they take to prevent an honest critic from saying so is rather unfair. "Good wine needs no bush," and a creditable poem does not require an apologetic and deprecatory preface, or explanatory foot-notes, to show that what is apparently inscrutable *may have* a sensible meaning. Good sense is as evident in poetry as prose, and an author insults the understanding of his readers by assuming that they are not qualified to judge of the value of his effusions without a prose commentary. If the writer knows or suspects his verse to be incomprehensible, why publish it at all? or if he has anything to say which he thinks really valuable, why not say it altogether in prose, which readers *can* understand? Dr. Rush says of his rhymes:

> "I do not publish them with reference to their anapestic canter or jingle, their humor, oddity, or even the needed satire they may contain, which, whether passable or indifferent, are not offered as 'something new'—that eye and ear trap of the day. * * * If the mere literary critic, overlooking the intention of the trifle before him, should successfully retort jest and ridicule against its invasive attack upon folly, ignorance, and vice, it would require no great effort; for wit, whatever its originality or power, can always be answered by wit, rendered brighter, perhaps, by the light it was designed to extinguish." (p. iii.)

Such an attempt to disarm criticism is neither dignified nor fair. As to the "originality or power" of the doctor's wit, our readers will judge when we have given them some specimens. He says further:

> "It is not to be supposed that the reader can receive the whole meaning of this preface, as it is only an abstract of a more elementary explanation of the subject, and of its practical

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application in another work. He is therefore referred to the 'Natural History of the Intellect' if interested to learn more of its character and use than is here described." (p. viii.)

That is, a preface is necessary to assist the reader's comprehension of the poem, and to enable him to understand the preface he must buy and read the author's work on the "Natural History of the Human Intellect"(!) Possibly when he gets to the last-mentioned work he will find a whole library necessary to explain it! We have not read Dr. Rush's "Natural History of the Human Intellect," and shall assume that we are qualified to criticise the volume before us without taking that trouble. The poem is intended to be satirical; the nature of the satire may be judged from the following:

"And if measured in motion, they'd seem not unlike
To that keen water-hawk, quick ahead darting pike;
But a pike's sometimes quiet, preparing to dart,
While a human fast-onward can't stop for a start.
Thus our pike of a man was a queer-looking fish,
With the cap of gay Fortunatus to wish." (p. 17.)

The "quick ahead darting pike," and the "human fast-onward," are examples of the author's "power or originality" of wit. He evidently prides himself upon his strength of expression, and with reason:

"Disregarding what tongue-running progress had said." (p. 19.)
"A young blind running fool for slow wisdom awake." *Ib.*

Our politics, social customs, and even our religion, are satirized, deservedly in general, but seldom if ever happily. We doubt, however, if this volume is destined to become a great reformatory agent. With good intentions, the author has not, we candidly believe, the power or originality of wit, nor the facility in versification to make a good poetical satirist. Here is a specimen of his manner of showing up a national delusion:

"When man in God's image at first was created,
Still, whether in body or soul is not stated;
Yet proving all equal, for if it so be
That we all are like God, so alike then are we;
Though in this we declared ourselves one and all equal,
'Self-evident truth' changed her mind in the sequel." (p. 25.)

This may be good sense, although we call it absurd poetry. But, as the author says,

"Let us come to our harmless excitement and jokes,
That are every day making such fools of the folks." (p. 34.)

The wit is generally of a heavy sort, intended to be severe. We would quote some creditable passages if we could find them. Perhaps the following are as good as any:

"With a Public Speech Banknet for public applause,
Where the tongue lets out more than goes in by the jaws." (p. 37.)

"And poets, all hens hatched their newspaper ditties." (p. 50.)

"If by a, b, c, system we strive to obtain
Honest voters and presidents, 'twill be in vain;
And some power'll turn up who'll ordain the best school,
For the wise to teach children, and fool to teach fool." (p. 61.)

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This may be brilliant wit and calculated to do good; but of the author and his admirers we are disposed honestly to quote his own lines:

> "Still it's ignorance all with the led and the leader,
> For both live on words, one the fed, t'other feeder." (p. 76.)

Dr. Rush may be actuated by purely humanitarian motives in writing and publishing his book, but again we quote his own words as containing a possible explanation of his position, and what may be good advice to his readers:

> "Yet you must not believe all Tom Fools retinue
> In whatever the folly, to be mere folly due;
> 'Tis some sap of ambition concealed in the root,
> That produces the show of its foolery fruit!" (p. 35.)

If he has any design of further attempts to protect society from vice and folly, we would, by way of advice, repeat to him his couplet:

> "So in all else you do, why not do it in quiet?
> You'll do it much better, and lose much less by it." (p. 39.)

The doctor's book is, however, a good specimen of the sort of home literature manufactured under the enlightened and liberal auspices of the Messrs. J. B. Lippincott & Co.

Aspasia. By C. HOLLAND. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1869.

We have here a plain, unassuming tale of New England life in the form of an autobiography. Aspasia Horton, the heroine of the story, brought up in the country, enters at a very early age on a career of usefulness. Her father is a sturdy, pious farmer of the old school, and may be taken as a fair representative of his class. In the course of the narrative he meets with his full share of afflictions, all of which he bears with Christian resignation. The loss of his wife, that of a son who is killed by a railroad accident, and finally that of his entire property, all fall upon him in old age. These events, and the family sorrow consequent thereon, cannot fail to awaken the sympathy of the reader.

While still a mere child, Aspasia becomes the means of converting an irreligious family dwelling in the neighborhood of her father's house. At a later period, while attending boarding-school in a neighboring town, she succeeds in making a similar change in Miss Rose Blackwell, one of her school-mates, who never falters in her friendship for her in after years. She at last becomes the wife of a wealthy young merchant of Boston, in which city she takes up her residence. If her adventures as a maiden were of a subdued and common-place character, as a wife and mother she encounters the storms and vicissitudes of life in all their rigor. Her husband, after a few years, becomes dissipated, and sinking gradually lower and lower, at last ruins himself at the gaming table. His family are obliged to leave

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their palatial residence and retire to an humble cottage in a side street, the husband still continuing in his dissolute habits. All these misfortunes are borne by the wife with the calmness and fortitude of a Christian woman. She finally succeeds in reforming her husband, who is enabled to re-establish himself in business and to regain a high position in society.

The book is written in a simple, unaffected style, and is well calculated to interest a large class of readers. Though deeply religious in its tone throughout, there is nothing morbid or melancholy in it. It is, moreover, decidely American in character, and may be regarded as a faithful reflection of certain phases of life in the extreme eastern section of our country.

Wayside Thoughts. By SAMUEL H. LLOYD. 16mo, pp. 83. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1869.

This little volume consists, as its title indicates, of short, unconnected fragments, varying in length from two lines to about one page, nearly always of a religious character, though not pretending to be either original or *récherché*. Some pleasing metaphors are, however, occasionally introduced, and now and then an uncommon vein of reflection is struck. Thus:

"True knowledge and true humility are not antagonistical. The tree that is most laden with fruit bends the most lowly to the ground." (p. 58.)

And again:

"Fear is the angel of a flaming sword, who occupies the outskirts of the temple, to warn the unwary traveller; but love only can introduce us into the temple and to the Father." (p. 67.)

All who are piously inclined, of whatever sect or belief, and have not time for extensive reading, will be interested in the perusal of this book.

TRAVELS.

France et Chine; Vie Publique et Privée des Chinois Anciens et Modernes; Passé et Avenir de la France dans L'Extreme Orient. Par M. O. GIRARD, ancien curé et témoin synodal de Saint-Paul aux Iles Mascareignes. 2 vols. 8vo. Paris: Hachette. 1869.

The reader of these volumes will not fail to ask himself why the name of France appears on the title pages. They treat of China and China only; and the author is faithful to his subject, very seldom digressing.. Why, then, have we the title "France et Chine?" In answer to this query, we would reply that Father Girard, like a true Gaul, regards his own country as the Delphic omphalos of the world. This national egotism, how-

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ever, he never displays in such a form or so frequently as to make it offensive to an unprejudiced non-Gallic reader. That a French missionary should believe it to be part of his country's destiny to regenerate and christianize China, and should feel his heart expand with delight at the thought, is a very pardonable offence, if it be an offence at all. The idea is never entirely absent from the mind of our author, even when most deeply absorbed in China and the Chinese, and sometimes it displays itself in a manner, of which the following may serve as a specimen:

"La France (qui pourrait en douter?) est appelée à contribuer, dans une large mesure, à cette grande œuvre de régénération. En Chine, comme partout, l'apostolat de ses missionaires sera fécond, et là comme ailleurs la volonté généreuse et l'intelligence politique de ses hommes d'Etat seconderont les desseins de la Providence. Or, parmi tant de choses voulues de Dieu et accomplis par la "nation très-chretienne," la fidélité à remplir la mission civilisatrice que l'avenir lui réserve chez les vieux peuples de l'extrême Orient, ne sera pas la moindre de ses gloires."

No occidental nation has at present more reason to be interested in China than our own, and hence every new work on that country has a claim on the notice of the American reviewer. These volumes bear marks of a very extensive acquaintance with the subject of which they treat, and form a valuable addition to the stock of European knowledge of the extreme Orient. The author has here embodied the results of careful and prolonged personal observation in the land itself, and seems as familiar with the petty details of a Chinese lady's toilet, to which a long section of one chapter is devoted, as with the scheme of government and administration, which he analyzes and explains with anatomical exactness, from the imperial "son of heaven" himself down to the lowest official subaltern. In a word, the American reader will find this work a valuable storehouse of information concerning the country and people that have begun to attract our national attention. The finance, currency, weights and measures, army and navy, judiciary, public works, religion, literature, language, sciences and arts, manufactures, natural productions and commerce of the great empire, all come in for their share of treatment and explanation.

In the chapter entitled "Physionomie des Chinois," M. Girard complains of the erroneous European idea of the personal appearance of the Chinese, and attributes it in a great measure to the figures so often seen on porcelain and tea-chests, which are mere caricatures; as well might a Chinaman judge of Europeans by the pictures in Punch or Charivari. The writer forms a high estimate of the Chinese character, and years of missionary labor in the country appear to have given him a deep and earnest sympathy with the people. He does not attempt, however, to draw a veil over their faults, vices and habitual crimes. He informs us that the great curses of China are opium-eating, intoxication, pauperism, infanticide and piracy, the last of which the imperial navy is powerless to repress. In spite of the absolute character of the monarchy, M. Girard finds among the people some strong traces of a democratic spirit. The

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press is free, and clubs and associations are not forbidden; and all who have misgivings in regard to the final success of our late treaty will be glad to learn that our author foresees a certain change in the hitherto seclusive spirit of China, and tells us that the rulers are themselves aware of it.

"A ne considérer que la Chine, il est incontestable qu'indépendamment des influences du dehors, on aperçoit présentement chez elle des symptômes avant-coureurs d'une révolution intérieure, plus ou moins prochaine, il est vrai, mais certaine; et si nous en croyons de sérieux témoignages, ses hommes d'Etat eux-mêmes sont les premier à les pressentir."

Although the title implies that the work embraces the ancient as well as the modern Chinese, the author generally confines himself to the present condition of the empire, referring to the past only when it may serve to illustrate the existing state of things. When speaking of the remote past he is, in fact, sometimes unsound. On the very first pages, China is called the most ancient empire that ever existed, and the conflicting claim of Egypt scarcely honored with a notice. The interesting question how far it was known to the ancient Europeans is summarily disposed of in the single clause, "probablement ignorée des Grecs et des Romains." This is too abrupt a cutting of the Gordian knot. To say the least, a very respectable case could be made out on the other side. The Sinæ of Ptolemy, and the Seres, who are spoken of by as early a writer as Ctesius* and were known to Mela and Pliny by their commerce and seclusive spirit,† imply too close a resemblance to be dismissed in that style, not to mention the *aggeres Serium* of Ammianus Marcellinus, which many scholars have referred to the great wall of China. We cannot but deplore the habit so often indulged in by authors who describe present things, of giving a hasty and careless summary of the antiquities of their subjects without faithful and accurate study of them beforehand. Some widely diffused errors may be traced to this source. On the whole, however, we feel bound to give a favorable report of this work, and to add that it merits translation into our language.

Le Grand Ouest des Etats-Unis. Par L. SIMONIN. Paris: Charpentier. 1869.

This little volume contains a series of observations on America and Americans, in the form of letters written during a journey from New York to California and back, in 1867. The author displays an extensive acquaintance with our country, having previously visited California in 1859, and is an ardent admirer of American democracy, though this does not prevent him from occasionally touching on certain of our national peculiarities with a humor truly French; always delicate and never querulous. For instance, in speaking of American railroads, he says:

* P. 371, n. 22, Ed. Bähr. † Pomp. Mela, iii. 7. Pliny, N. H. vi. 17.

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"Il n'est permis que dans quelques compartiments de fumer; mais *ou mâche partout de tabac*, et vous savez combien les Américains sont—*chiqueurs*."

Then, after speaking of the privileges enjoyed by those who travel in company with ladies, he relates that our late English minister, Sir Frederick Bruce, who was a bachelor, always travelled in America accompanied by his cook, and, on the strength of this *lady* companion, obtained admission to the most comfortable apartments on both railroad and steamboat!

M. Simonin is quite enthusiastic in his admiration for the American girls, and humorously begs pardon of the English ladies for considering them their superiors. He, however, falls into the same error as Mr. Hepworth Dixon in attributing too much importance to certain spasmodic disturbances that alternately rise and subside on the outskirts of American society, such as the women's rights movement. Though the book contains really nothing new for us, it is a valuable contribution to that branch of French literature relating to the United States, which has of late received such a stimulus, particularly from such men as Gasparin and Laboulaye. The author fully recognizes what important lessons France may receive from the example of America, and deprecates the great amount of over-regulation in his own country, and its deleterious effects on the energy of the people.

"Essayons d'imiter, dans tout ce qu'il a de bon, le peuple Américain qui forme aujourd'hui comme le synthèse des autres peuples. * * * Croyez-vous que nous ne serions plus capables de fonder des colonies, si nous avions moins de réglements administratifs et des institutions plus libérales?"

As its title imports, the volume is mainly occupied with the western section of our country, more particularly California.

APPENDIX.

INSURANCE.

1. *Tenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Insurance Department*, State of New York. Part II. Life and Casualty Insurance. Albany. 1869.
2. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners* of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Part II. Life and Accident Insurance. Boston. 1869.
3. *Reports and other documents of Insurance Companies, for the quarter ending September* 15, 1869. New York, Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, &c.

Among the most curious recent incidents in insurance is what is very generally, but perhaps ill-naturedly, called "the white-washing process of the Mutual Life." A large number have asked us "what is the meaning of that 'Report of a special committee upon the assets, liabilities, &c., &c., of that company.'" One asks, "Will the public be satisfied with that sort of thing?" Another remarks "that the praises of a mutual ad-

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miration society ought to have great weight, especially when they are adopted by the newspapers in which they are advertised *in extenso*." "It is a good idea," says another, "to employ those learned professors; although their statements have no bearing whatever on the accusations made against the Mutual Life." "Supposing," observes another, "that a bank is suspected of being in a precarious condition, will those who suspect be convinced of their error, if all who are allowed a share in the management get up a report in which they express very high admiration of the president and cashier? Is not this somewhat suggestive of the familiar adage, 'Ask my brother am I a rogue?'" "Let us assume," intimates another, "that the account of the paying teller exhibits a deficit of a few millions, can a professor from West Point, or anywhere else, show that the missing money is not missing at all?" "But you must take into account," quoth a passer-by, "what may be the value of a puff to the bank, its management, &c., from some official at Albany; especially if the official says that an attack on that bank is an an attack on all banks!"

These are but a small portion of the comments which are still made; but our people are endowed with large faith. The very parties to whom they pay large salaries for protecting them may aid in throwing dust in their eyes, so that none *can* protect them!

According to our worthy state functionary, a part is equal to the whole. Find fault with the Mutual Life, and you attack "the whole business of life insurance!" Thus Mr. Barnes says exactly what Mr. Winston wants him to say; for everybody knows that the latter personage is so arrogant and thoughtless as to pretend that none should take any other policies than those of the concern whose recent whitewashing has cost poor Tom, Dick and Harry, and their numerous brethren of the dupe family, so large a pile!

There is no effect, however, without a cause. Had the money come in as freely as usual during the last year, there would have been no need for recommendations from learned mathematicians, fussy insurance superintendents, and pious and impious newspapers, &c., not to mention the modest recommendations of the directors. But even Barnes cannot conceal, in his tables, that there has been a slight falling off in the affairs of his favorite. Thus, in Table V. we see opposite the Mutual Life the following figures under the head of "total number" and "amount" of policies," &c.:

1867,	19,056	$62,061,915
1868,	18,787	59,022,136

This, it will be observed, is a falling off in one year of nearly three millions of dollars. Turning to the report of the Massachusetts commissioner, we find, under the head of "increase or decrease over 1867," the following figures, with their appropriate signs prefixed:

No. of Policies.	Amount Insured.
—771	—$4,730,232 31

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Be it observed that the sign *minus* — is prefixed both to the number of policies and to the amount which those policies insure. It may be said that the diminution arises from a general stagnation in business, but if this were the cause it would operate on other companies as well as on the Mutual Life. That such is not the case, however, except in instances in which the companies are also somewhat suspected, or are so young that they are subject to fluctuations when business is dull, we will show from the same reports; we will show that while the Mutual Life retrogrades at the rate of millions a year, those companies whose fair and honorable dealings we have noted in these pages continue to make steady progress. Take as examples the following:

	Year.	No. of Policies.	Amount.
Knickerbocker	1865	2,447	$6,557,850
	1866	5,422	17,049,060
	1867	10,300	31,378,681
	1868	10,767	33,577,667
Security	1865	2,133	4,841,260
	1866	3,328	7,525,912
	1867	3,482	9,107,938
	1868	4,386	11,563,123
New England Mutual	1865	2,677	8,501,934
	1866	5,342	15,635,175
	1867	4,183	13,525,212
	1868	5,518	16,378,355
Phœnix Mutual	1865	4,302	8,779,425
	1866	4,120	9,152,509
	1867	5,828	15,300,660
	1868	8,256	22,602,549
Equitable	1865	3,397	13,670,750
	1866	7,293	30,267,742
	1867	10,527	45,453,700
	1868	11,986	51,893,345
Manhattan	1865	2,558	8,700,931
	1866	3,717	13,450,715
	1867	3,521	11,778,601
	1868	3,601	12,090,882
Continental	1866	1,405	3,907,800
	1867	4,188	11,970,000
	1868	6,006	16,367,280
Charter Oak	1865	4,946	13,057,440
	1866	6,758	17,353,701
	1867	7,487	19,278,151
	1868	8,094	19,741,904

Such is the report which Mr. Barnes has to make of other companies.* Yet an attack on any of these companies would be nothing, while an "attack" on the Mutual Life is simply an attack on the whole business of life insurance!

The same contrast is much more plainly indicated in the report of the Massachusetts commissioner. Thus, while the Mutual Life is distinguished by the sign *minus* — each of the above companies is distinguished by the sign *plus* +.† Perhaps our readers will now understand that it was not for nothing the Mutual Life incurred the enormous expense of getting up its recent report, and fortifying it with recommendations from Mr. Barnes, the West Point mathematician, &c., &c. Supposing the report cost $50,000, including fees and "considerations" of various kinds, it would be well laid out if it should prevent another falling off

* Vide Table V., p. 834, Tenth Ann. Rep.

† Vide Mass. Rep., pp. xiv., *et seq.*

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such as that indicated by the official reports of New York and Massachusetts.

Now, if the curious reader will turn to the criticisms which we have made on the Mutual Life in former numbers of this journal, he will see whether we ought to be suprised at anything that has happened recently. But there has not been sufficient time yet for the development of all. When a corporation has succeeded in possessing itself of a large amount of the people's money, before the latter can be brought to understand that they should be more careful, it is a long time before the truth becomes apparent. With those who commence to make fine promises after the public has had sufficient experience of such promises the case is different; it soon becomes evident, even to the most thoughtless, whether the reviewer, who has advised his readers to be a little sceptical, was right or wrong. Of this fact, also, we will give an illustration or two before we close, but let us first present the agreeable side of the question—let us show that those who were straightforward and faithful seven years ago prove themselves to be so to-day.

This is true of all those whose progress is indicated in the above little table; but there are others who are entitled to equal credit. For the proof of this we need not confine ourselves to our large cities—it will be sufficient to turn to Hartford and Newark. As we had no statistics of the Ætna Life in either of our two last numbers we may take up that intelligent and energetic company as one illustration. Its story is briefly told—a few plain facts will tell it all, without any jury, packed or unpacked, on its assets. We well remember that in 1861 the total number of its policies was 589, whereas in 1868 it issued, according to the official reports before us, 13,337 new policies. Its income during the same year exceeded six million dollars. The amount insured was $38,891,486, and yet it had a surplus fund of $2,675,999 at the close of the year. To this we need only add, that even its most jealous rivals admit that, far from retrograding in 1869, it continues steadily to advance.

The Mutual Benefit of New Jersey is another example. Although we have always entertained a high opinion of its integrity, we have criticised it in some minor details on one or two occasions. Those criticisms were, however, very different from those we made on the Mutual Life; while we blamed the directors of the latter for giving their president too much liberty, we blamed the directors of the former because they seemed to us not to give sufficient power to their president. Be this as it may, if the Mutual Benefit errs it is but very rarely, but, even on those rare occasions, its errors are but slight, nay, perhaps, if carefully examined, they would prove to be no errors. But, assuming that they are, we cheerfully admit that we have never heard of an error on the part of that company for which amends have not been made a hundred fold, by acts of generosity to the widow and the orphan. Accordingly, the several reports before us show that the public continues to sustain it without calling for any jury to examine its assets. Thus, according to the New York super-

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intendent's Report, it has a re-insurance fund of nearly eleven millions ($10,978,308) and a surplus of $3,414,811.*

Now if, *per contra*, we turn to some of the companies which, while they were making the most extravagant pretensions, we criticised, as our readers know, we shall see what may be expected from them, even if we accept their own calculations. Thus, in Table II. of Barnes' Report, there is a column headed "surplus." The figures under this heading have no sign prefixed to them when all right, otherwise they have the sign *minus* — prefixed, which means that the party they represent are that much worse than to have no surplus! Two or three illustrative examples will be sufficient to show our readers whether those wishing to be insured should not have something more substantial than fine promises for their money, or whether, in other words, as we have often said in these pages, it is not necessary that some slight discrimination should be observed in choosing policies.

Standard, N. Y.,	1868	$—2,032 04
Fst. Nt. Ec. As. So. U. S., N. Y.,	1868	—24,951 00
Homœopathic Mutual Life, N. Y.,	1868	—42,701 66†

Such are the "marks of distinction" earned by most of those companies which we have deemed it our duty to criticise; and it must be admitted that they look rather unprepossessing surrounded by the dozens of those that have no mark, the sign *plus* being understood before each. In this instance, as in most others, Mr. Sanford leaves less to the imagination than Mr. Barnes, for the former uses both terms, as may be seen from an example or two. We extract the following from the column headed "*Surplus*, or *deficiency*, as regards stockholders:"

American Popular, N. Y.,	$—75,915 00
Eclectic, N. Y.,	—14,682 00
Economical Mutual, R. I.,	—10,577 00
Excelsior, N. Y.,	—27,300 00
Homœopathic Mutual, N. Y.,	—41,685 00
Standard, N. Y.,	—11,862 00
United States, N. Y.,	—192,456 00
Widows' and Orphans' Benefit, N. Y.,	—56,760 00
World Mutual, N. Y.,	—77,707 00

It may be remembered that there is not one of these companies whose "deficiency" we had not discovered before either the New York superintendent, or the Massachusetts commissioner, had done so. Even the great concern that boasts of having a capital of a million, that has blown its horn so loudly, and that pretends to have peculiar privileges,‡ stands marked in the same column, thus:

National, Washington,	$—129,592 00

* See Table II., p. 820. † N. Y. Sup.'s Rep., pp. 816-17.

‡ Mr. Barnes has made amends for many blunders and shortcomings by his well-deserved rebuke to at least one of the unfounded representations of this company, in the following passage:

"The pretensions advertised by this company to rights and privileges superior to the life corporations duly incorporated by the state sovereignties of the Union, and the claim made that compliance with state laws was unnecessary, and that the corporation was co-extensive with the United States instead of the District of Columbia, could not have been very seriously entertained as a reality even by the corporation itself; any practical claim in this direction should be met *in limine* with a *prompt and decided refusal* to recognize any such *absurd and baseless pretensions*."—Rep., p. lxxx.

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But let us now give some of the *plus* figures from the same source:

Ætna, Hartford	$+1,546,052
Continental, N. Y.	+241,012
Equitable, N. Y.	+250,928
Knickerbocker, N. Y.	+435,445
Manhattan, N. Y.	+812,038
Phœnix Mutual, Hartford	+754,616

Thus our readers see that the comparisons which we make from time to time are fully corroborated, though sometimes rather tardily, by those who are employed by the proper authorities for the express purpose of protecting the public from fraud. Need we say that if a stranger only wants a night's lodging it is not sufficient to inform him, when he seeks for information on the subject, that, perhaps, it would not be advisable for him to put up at certain houses? the rights of hospitality, if no other right, require that we direct him to a place where he will be honestly and civilly treated. But in giving directions it is not necessary to be either wide-mouthed or long-winded. For our own part, if, on inquiring about a hotel, a person came up and delivered a long bombastic eulogy on a certain house, we should be rather inclined to avoid that establishment. It is true, that there are a class of persons, who, if addressed in the language of moderation and common sense, without any flourish, would not understand. It is not sufficient to inform these that the table is good, that the rooms are comfortable, and that the charges are not unduly high; but it is hardly necessary to describe, even to this class, how the kitchen looks, whether the cook is black or white; whether the pork steaks are done the same as the beef steaks; or whether the sheets that one has to lie on are linen or calico, or perhaps a mixture of both. Still more needless is it to tell what the cook or head waiter gets per month, or whether "mine host" was born in one state, or country, or in another. If there be any persons who need to be told all this—nay, who must also be presented with a biography and a portrait of that individual, before they can conclude to drink his soup, or eat his sausages—fortunately we have nothing to do with them!

When we undertake to give directions, we feel that it is quite sufficient to say that this house has one advantage, that house another advantage, &c., &c. Each of a dozen may have its own peculiar advantages, and thus each of a dozen tastes may be gratified, while the charges at the different establishments are pretty much the same. If, however, the traveller or the stranger, instead of going to any of these, will go to a house that proclaims it has new, unequalled features, that it only charges half as much for its soup as others, that it gives its dessert for nothing, and that after a certain time its customers can have their board, lodging, &c., for nothing, it is ten to one that he will find the soup, the dessert and all the dearest he ever paid for!

But before referring to any particular evidence of the progress made by our best New York companies, we will make a slight digression, only premising that the Fourteenth Annual report of Hon. John E. Sanford,

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Insurance commissioner of Massachusetts, which gives the operations and standing of the various life insurance companies transacting business in the state of Massachusetts, for the year 1868, is the most valuable contribution to the literature of life insurance which has appeared during the year 1869. We learn from it that in 1858 there were fourteen companies doing a life business in Massachusetts, which had policies outstanding to the number of 42,502, insuring $116,482,196. In 1869 there were fifty-six companies, insuring $1,566,901,509 in 548,280 policies. Thus, in eleven years the number of policies had increased 506,000, and the amount insured more than $1,400,000,000.

The financial growth during the same period was equally wonderful. The income of the same companies had increased from $4,885,886 in 1858, to $77,279,145. The assets in 1868 were $175,554,426, and the computed premium reserve or valuation of liabilities, $140,190,288, showing that the companies had not only dollar for dollar of their liabilities, but a surplus—of course variously appropriated—of more than $35,000,000. The total claims paid in 1868 for deaths amounted to $11,475,887,000.

The fifty-six companies have, since their organization, paid out for death claims over $42,000,000. When we consider that probably as much more has been returned to members as surplus funds—and we can readily believe this from the fact that the report now shows a surplus of over $35,000,000—we have some idea of the great benefits which have thus far resulted to the public from the institution of life insurance in this country, as managed by honest and capable men.

Mr. Sanford deprecates the increasing expenditures of the business, and we heartily agree with him; but we admit that there is something to be said even in excuse of this. Up to the commencement of the late civil war the business of life insurance was in the hands of a few companies. Their economy of expenditures was as remarkable as their success. They seemed to do business, as one might say, almost for nothing. The average expenses at that date did not exceed 9 or 10 per cent. The last decade has trebled the number of companies, there being now fifty-six where there were then but nineteen. The great competition in business, the new modes of paying premium, the credits allowed, and the various new ideas introduced, have carried the average expenses from 9 or 10, to 15 or 16 per cent.; and yet we do not know that this increase of 50 per cent. is more than the average rate, as compared with other kinds of business. Labor of every kind is fully 50 per cent. more than formerly. Clerks cannot be had for the salaries of ten years ago. Rents are higher than in 1860, and the agent or solicitor who has to pay a higher rate for living, cannot, if he is to live at all, work for a rate which will not at least pay his expenses. But the trouble is, that while the expenses have increased the companies have not had the power to raise the rates of insurance. These have remained the same; hence, it must be admitted that

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the companies appear at a disadvantage which should not show against them in view of their average excellent condition.

It must be confessed, however, that the "rock ahead" upon which life insurance will split is the expenditures into which companies are drawn by competition. But as the liabilities of companies are yearly valued by a *net* table (of itself a profitable table, inasmuch as the rate of interest is but 4 per cent.) the danger can be avoided if the management of the companies is honest, of which in most cases there is no reason to doubt. To show the difference in expenditures, we have taken some pains to ascertain from one or two of the older companies what they commenced upon and what they now pay. When the Mutual Life of New York, New England Mutual, Connecticut Mutual, and Mutual Benefit were put into operation, the rates of commission were 5 per cent. on first premiums and 2½ on renewals. Pressure from agents increased these rates to 7½ and 5 per cent. The increasing competition carried them to 10 and 5 per cent. Since 1860 the rates have been 15 and 7½ per cent. or their equivalent, which is perhaps from 25 to 30 per cent. and 5 per cent. renewals. Some of these companies—at least one of them—pays a brokerage of 35 per cent., and 1 per cent. for collecting the renewals.

Mr. Sanford has in his report a variety of tables, useful to those gathering statistics, but not to the general reader, who will be obliged to take his opinion, that the companies, under the high valuation required of them, are in a solvent condition. The table he presents of the standing of the various companies is, in our opinion, an imperfect one, and does not present the real condition of the companies, Jan. 1, 1869. We will briefly state wherein is the defect. Nearly all the companies make their returns of surplus to their members in the month of January, annually; and the law of Massachusetts which required the returns of companies to the commissioner to be made in November, annually, was changed to meet the wishes of the companies whose annual reports to their members were made in January.

To illustrate: the Mutual Life of New York, Jan. 1, 1869, had a surplus (see 14th Man. Report) of $1,915,485.95, the standing of which company was 106.65 or 6.65 per cent. above par. In February, 1869, it declared a return of surplus of $2,755,763.06 (see Report of Co. for 1869). Deduct eleven-twelfths of this sum from the assets, Dec. 3, 1868, and the ratio of standing is 97.88 per cent., instead of 106.65. In this case, although the *form* of return was literally complied with, the sense of it was not, because a large portion of the February distribution was the result of the business of 1868.

The standing of another appears to be 116.88, or 16.88 per cent. above par., after complying literally with the form of return. But this company, in January, 1869, less than one month after the return, declared a surplus from the results of the year 1866, due its members, of $149,488.66, which, if charged off among its liabilities, would have reduced its standing to par. The standing of the New Eng-

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land Mutual was reduced to 101.47 or 1.47 per cent. above par, Dec. 31, 1868; but it appears that in January, 1869, the New England declared a return of surplus to its members of $786,000, which, in the report made to Mr. Sanford, *was included among the liabilities*, as it was surplus accruing from the business of the year 1868. Had this sum not been charged off Dec. 31, 1868 (it was not declared until Jan. 13, 1869), the standing of the New England would have been Dec. 31, 1868, 114.24 or 14.24 per cent. above par. It will be curious to know how many companies which declared surplus in January, 1869, made their returns in a similar manner to the New England. We have examined several annual reports to members, and although the fact is stated of a surplus being divisible that month, we can nowhere find the amount stated.

Thus our readers will see that the table of ratio of standing of the various companies, as given by Mr. Sanford, is not as perfect as it might be had the commissioner known the exact amounts of each return of surplus to be declared from the business of the year 1868. However, Mr. Sanford's report, as we have before stated, is the most important contribution to the literature of life insurance of the present year. No other state report has equalled it. Its author is entitled to credit, and we shall be surprised if we do not hear from insurance writers at home and abroad emphatic encomiums on the faithful and impartial manner in which he has discharged his duty to the public.

In resuming our estimates of the different companies, without entering into needless particulars, the first good results which attract our attention, as indicated by the reports before us, are those accomplished by the Knickerbocker Life. The number of policies which this company had in force at the close of 1868, was 20,113, insuring $62,858,529 20, and bringing its assets up to $5,070,883 17. Yet the business done during the present year exhibits a large increase on the corresponding period of last year, and makes an addition to the assets of nearly a million and a half—the present total amounting to $6,500,000. We have explained on former occasions why it is that the Knickerbocker has made such rapid strides within the last three or four years; suffice it to say now that the same causes not only continue to operate, but are rendered more and more efficient by the lessons of experience and the rewards of useful labors faithfully performed.

We examine and inquire, in order to learn how certain companies fare who affected, not long ago, to despise the Knickerbocker; but the result is more painful than pleasing. Thus, for example, while seeking for something good—something humane, or liberal in the recent record of the New York Life, we find in one of the insurance journals an account of a trial in which a poor widow woman named Bickford is the plaintiff, and the New York defendant. Some time ago we mentioned in these pages that it had become quite common to meet the claim of the friendless widow with the allegation that her husband had died of *delirium tremens*. Such, it seems, was the defence set up in the present case. "Per

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contra," says the insurance journal, "the plaintiff claims that he died of heart disease."* But no use. Mrs. Bickford is poor, and the New York Life is rich; and the result of the trial is, "a verdict for the defendant." It seems the New York has a query in its policy which runs thus: "Are your habits *correct* and *temperate*, and have they *always* been so?" The person taking the policy answers, "Yes;" then if he dies sooner than is to be "expected," it must follow that he was a bad character, and *ergo* that his widow has no claim on the company! We may be entirely wrong in our opinion, but it strikes us that the sort of "benevolence" evinced toward poor Mrs. Bickford is of a doubtful character.

Somehow or other the New York always reminds us of the Globe Mutual; not, indeed, that we think the latter has any disposition to go to law with the widow whose husband it has insured. But while the New York pursued a more honorable course than it seems to pursue at present, the gentleman who is now president of the Globe, was the actuary of the former company. While Mr. Morris Franklin and Mr. Pliny Freeman had the power in their hands the New York was respectably managed; but in our opinion it is now grossly mismanaged. Upon the other hand, the Globe is rapidly gaining the prestige which the New York had in in its palmiest days. The young company has been doing so well that it has already been obliged to seek more extensive accommodations to meet the large increase in its business. It has now one of the finest offices in the city, occupying as it does the best and pleasantest part of the Devlin marble building, in Broadway. Having heard much of the increased progress of the Globe, we have made some inquiries as to the facts. Although it is contrary to our habit to give details, we make an exception in the present case, because we wish to show that while those whose management excites suspicion retrograde, those who energetically pursue a straight-forward course are quite as liberally rewarded now as ever. To this we need only add that the business of the Globe for the first six months of 1869, as compared with that of the corresponding months in the previous year, is shown by the following table:

	Policies Issued.		Amount Assured.	
	1868.	1869.	1868.	1869.
January	296	468	882,535	999,711
February	333	455	914,561	1,210,692
March	372	352	884,007	945,480
April	386	359	961,943	1,046,274
May	382	395	888,189	1,011,450
June	411	377	1,208,683	1,048,307
Total	2180	2407	5,739,918	6,261,914

It is pleasant to record results like these, when, as in the present case, they can be regarded as the reward of energy, intelligence, and fair dealing. The president of the Globe has always been opposed to building large houses chiefly for show; he has often been heard to say, that he would rather do business for ever in the humblest house in the city

* Monitor for August, p. 616.

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than deprive one widow, by law-suits or otherwise, of what her husband had done his best to secure for her during his life time.

Of all our companies, none bear criticism, even when it is grossly unjust, with more dignity, than the Phœnix Mutual of Hartford. For our own part, we have never criticised it in any form, because we have never seen anything in its conduct or management that seemed to us worthy of any censure. And as it grows old it is distinguishing itself more and more by those qualifications and qualities which secured for it, almost in its infancy, an enviable prestige. Its fine surplus—already indicated—is the best proof that its policy holders are amply provided for.

Those who mark the career of the arrogant and pretentious will generally find, sooner or later, that humiliation awaits them. Very often, for example, we have advised the presidents of the United States of New York, and Economical Mutual of Providence, to stay away from the so-called Insurance Chamber, that they were only making themselves ridiculous by their speeches, while their legitimate business, if they had any, was unattended to at home. This they took very ill of us, but let them turn now to one of Mr. Sanford's tables (pp. xxxviii.-ix.), or to the part we have given above and profit by the marks set upon them in common with others of their class.

While the gentlemen alluded to, and some of their brethren, were being thus laughed at, other underwriters were commended for remaining quietly at their desks. Among the latter class were the officers of the Manhattan, the Security, the Continental, &c. As for the New England Mutual,* it will be remembered, that although its president had unanimously been elected chairman of the chamber, nothing could induce that gentleman to attend any of its meetings. The officers of the Phœnix Mutual, of Hartford, as well as those of the Knickerbocker and Equitable, of this city, were equally deaf to the appeals of Eadie, Bucklin, Morgan, Batterson, Stansbury, &c., &c.; and how great is the contrast to-day between those always "present," and those always "absent!"

In some instances we have already noticed the difference; as we happen at this moment to have some statistics before us, we will here show in passing, how two or three others have fared by attending to their own business. First take the Manhattan, and look at its surpassing surplus, as given by the Massachusetts commissioner, then at its comparative ratio assets to liabilities; then turn to the modest Security, which has issued 4,219 policies since the first of January, 1869, insuring $11,349,955, against 2,931 policies, insuring $7,822,197, issued during the corresponding period of last year. From the Security turn to the New York Continental, which is also pursuing the even tenor of its way, "with

* We have just seen the "Instructions to Medical Examiners," recently issued by this company. When we say that it is highly characteristic, we need not inform our readers that it is sound and creditable. Far from evincing any greediness for large numbers of premiums, the New England Mutual expressly declines to receive any which are not honest and legitimate in every respect.

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charity to all and malice for none," and which has issued up to the middle of the present month, (September,) 17,085 policies.

We have no statistics as to the work done, or left undone, by its two twin children, the Commonwealth and the Empire, but we are still of opinion that the former will prove worthy of its parent. The latter may do the same; but we confess we begin already to entertain some doubt on the subject. Some think that the president of the Empire has rather mistaken his vocation, and suggest that he would have been much more likely to succeed had he chosen some business in which strength of muscle would have been more useful than the thinking faculty. To this it is added that the vice-president has neither muscle nor thought to enforce his claims to the character of a good or satisfactory underwriter. We are sorry that we cannot refute either charge. But who will blame either the Continental or the Commonwealth for this, assuming that it is not all "slander," "malice," &c.? If a father cannot be responsible for his child, still less can a brother be responsible for his brother. The wisest course is to treat father, son, brother and step-brother according to their respective merits, or demerits, without any reference to the ties of consanguinity between them.

In general, however, we have great faith in parentage. Thus, for example, we did not hesitate to predict that the National would prove worthy of the good old Manhattan, and the offspring gives renewed force to this prediction as a year, or even a month, is added to its history. But we had known the officers of the new company personally, and, therefore, had not to depend on mere inference in forming our estimate. At all events, on the first of last January the National had issued 3,543 policies. The total up to the middle of September is 5153. During the whole of 1868 the number issued was 1321, whereas that issued during the part expired of 1869 is 1610. In January last its gross assets amounted to $438,247 97; during the intervening period they have accumulated to about $565,000. This shows progress, but those who know the president and vice-president of the National of New York do not wonder at it. They do not, indeed, expect any sensational "statements" from that source, but they expect ultimate success in spite of all obstacles; and we are convinced that their expectations will be fully realized.

The Eagle Life of Chicago, and the Traveller Life and Accident of Hartford are still compared to each other; but, for own part, we decidedly prefer Holland's company to Batterson's, chiefly because we have vastly more faith in Mr. Holland than in his rival—in a word, because, in our opinion, the former is more honest than the latter.

The Anchor Life, of New Jersey, is one of the very few new companies which are affording proof that they are judiciously managed. We felt persuaded, at the outset, that Mr. Fisher would succeed, and every fact relative to his company, which has since come to our knowledge, has

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tended to strengthen this opinion. We will now mention one circumstance which is significant. In an official table that lies before us, compiled from the official reports by the editor of the "Insurance Times," the National Life, U. S., and the Anchor Life, N. J., stand side by side. Both were organized in 1868; one boasted of a large capital, and of several "peculiar advantages;" the other boasted of nothing, but promised to do its work honestly. But under the head of "surplus," in the table before us, the boasting National appears with the sign *minus*, thus: —$14,156, while the unassuming Anchor appears without any mark, as follows: $21,403. This needs no comment, further than the remark that if Congress wants its protegé to succeed, it must confer on it some more "peculiar advantages."

In the world of fire and marine insurance there is nothing that is very interesting at this time. The most startling event since our last was the defalcation of Ballard. This was a great loss to the Security, but its policy holders will lose nothing by it. The company has abundance of money to meet all its engagements. We learn that the amount purloined has been fully replaced; but, even if it had not, none need have had any apprehension that the Security would fail to meet any just claim.

Now, as well as ever, we would much rather insure in the Security than in certain companies that boast, like some life companies of similar character, of having millions of capital. Thus, for example, our readers will remember that we have made several criticisms, in these pages, on the arrogant pretensions of the Home Insurance Company of New York. As usual, in such cases, we have been accused of having been actuated by the most diabolical motives. Occasionally, however, we see that even some of the company's own agents are equally "diabolical." As a recent illustration of this we copy the following paragraphs from the "Insurance Monitor" for August:

"Mr. H. B. Ten-Eyck, for many years the leading Insurance Agent of Keokuk, Iowa, has resigned his agency of the Home, and sends us his circular, which we print below. Mr. Ten-Eyck possesses the confidence of the community in which he resides, *and of the numerous companies he represents*, and is a gentleman of high standing and large experience, and we are sorry for his issue with Mr. Morton, whom we have known and esteemed since boyhood. Mr. Ten-Eyck's card is as follows:

"'INSURANCE NOTICE.—On the 14th day of April, 1869, I resigned the Keokuk agency of the Home Insurance Company of New York, which I have successfully conducted here for the past ten years. Under the management of its present General Agent, C. J. Morton, of St. Louis, who is little more than a *yearling* in the business of insurance, I do not desire to have any further connection with said company, nor do I desire *to represent any company who do not pay losses when I regard them as honest and fair.*

"'Keokuk, April 15, 1869. H. B. TEN-EYCK.'"

There is no danger that any respectable agent of the Ætna Fire, of Hartford, or of the Washington or Hope, of New York, would write such a letter as this. The most unpretending of these companies would not afford any faithful agent an opportunity of saying that it would refuse to pay losses which he regarded as honest and fair.

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THE object of mythology is to effect a union between the divine and the human, between spirit and nature. But in the very effort to express in words the idea of this connection, language is enriched and developed in an extraordinary degree; and it may be asserted that if it had not been for religion, lan-

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guage must have been confined to a few score words. The study, therefore, of the ancient mythologies, will always rest, in no small degree, on philology; and researches in the one entail labor in the other. It is for this reason that the Greeks and Romans never understood the origin of their respective faiths. Writers of the highest rank among the latter, like Cicero, did not hesitate to affirm that their gods were borrowed from the former.* And both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus believed that they were indebted to the Egyptians for their own. Yet if there be one ancient fact well established by modern scholars, it is, that the great gods of Greece and Rome are distinct, and cannot be studied together, and that there is an affinity so close between the Greek and Hindu mythologies, that to study them apart is to prejudice greatly the cause of history.†

The system of ancient theogonists was remarkably simple. Was a continent called Europa, straightway a Princess Europa is invented, who dwells in Asia Minor, and who is carried by Zeus, in the form of a bull, across the Hellespont, to the land that now bears her name. In the same manner the origin of the Ionians is to be traced to Io, whom Zeus embraces as a cloud; and the name of the Greeks, Danoi, to another princess, Danaë, an inaccessible tower, and Zeus again as a shower of gold. The Hellespont, in like manner, is so called because Hellas, in riding on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned there. The Palatine Hill in Rome takes its name after the same extraordinary system of derivations, from Pallas and Evander, companions of Æneas, who settled there.

The invention of these historians was not very acute. Zeus is called in too often, and princesses are invented with a too fatal iteration; but the generation for whom these childish tales were produced was not a critical one, and they passed unchallenged. And the moderns accepted them for a long time with an undeviating faith, that seems to us of the present era marvellous, till Niebuhr, in his lectures on

---

* De Univeristate.

† Schlegel, *Literature and Wisdom of the Hindus*, book i., p. 46.

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Roman history, broke the spell. Then the authority of the ancients, in this respect, vanished for ever, and the school of modern days began to analyse and to deduce, to induct and build up, without the slightest regard to the ancient writers. The laws of language were developed, and the workings and growth of the human intellect were systematized and made to bear witness to the secrets of the past; and, as a result, mythology became the brightest lamp that the historian finds to guide his footsteps in the gloom of remote ages.

The Hindu mythology is especially valuable for its antiquity, for its literary productions, and for that undeniable connection with Grecian theogony which Schlegel has pointed out, and which Max Müller has proved.* There was, indeed, a time when this value was doubtful. When, through the efforts of Sir William Jones, the learned jurist of Calcutta, the treasures of Sanskrit sacred verse were given to the world, men sought in it the key to an exact knowledge of early history, and more especially that of the Aryan race. But at a first glance the Hindu records seem so contradictory, fabulous histories are so mingled with narratives of real facts, the modern is so inextricably united to the ancient, that a reaction soon took place, and many scholars doubted if there was anything worthy of scrutiny in the Hindu theogonies; and some even denied, *in toto*, their antiquity. Of these, Dr. Bentley, of the "Quarterly Review," was the chief, and that periodical teemed with articles which had for their aim the utter extinction of Sanskrit investigation. But Bentley and his merry men and their opinions have passed away. An age has arisen which knows not that sanguinary critic, and stands in no fear of being killed like poor Keats. The common consent of all intelligent writers is given to the antiquity of the Vedas; and since it is with these and the religion to which they refer that the Greek affinity is strongest, the most material point may be considered undisputed. For whatever may be the philosophic value of Greek writings, so dear is the affection borne for everything Hellenic, that for the majority of readers, the subject of Hindu mythology is only valuable as it relates to Greece and Grecian myths.

* Max Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, book i.

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But it must be stated, that, from a philological view, the connection of the Vedas is strongest with the Latins. This does not so forcibly appear in the mythology as in the language, where word after word can be traced to a Vedic origin. Thus Agni, the Vedic god of fire, is found in *ignis*, whilst the Greek word seems identical with the German *feucr*. These resemblances are considered by competent authorities to point out that the Pelasgian races, those early forms of Hellenism, had a direct communication with the Hindu Aryans at the time that the Vedic was a spoken language. In this particular, Bopp, the learned comparative philologist, has done great service, by following up the hint given by Niebuhr, who saw in the Latin language the proofs of a mixed origin.

The time of connection between the Pelasgi and the Aryans in Bactria, must have been very remote. The era of the present Hindus is that of Vikramaditya, who certainly reigned some time before Christ; their date of this year being 1920, which would make it fifty-one years precisely before the Christian epoch. At that time Sanskrit was a dead language, and had been replaced by Pali. In the visit of Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus Nicanor, to the court of Sandrokottus, at Palibothra,* a very accurate and graphic sketch is given of Hindu social customs, caste, luxury and learning; and at that time, too, Sanskrit was a dead language. But at the time when the Pelasgi were Aryans in Bactria, Sanskrit had not been evolved, and it is possible that it arose out of the supremacy of the Brahminical caste, which was one of the causes of the Aryan emigration. Therefore the conclusion seems inevitable, from what we know of the origin, progress, and decay of language, that this earliest phase of Pelasgianism must have taken place many thousand years before the era of Vikramaditya.

The "Samhita," or collection of the Vedas, is a compendium of sacred poems in honor of the elemental gods of the ancient Aryan race. These hymns are not in their origin liturgical, but have been used as such for many centuries; and the divisions in which we now find them, into ashtakas

* The modern Allahabad, at the junction of the Jumna and the Ganges.

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and mandalas, is as arbitrary as the arrangement of our own 119th psalm, and for exactly the same reason—the convenience of the reader or singer. But they are not written in Sanskrit, but in a language which was a living one before Sanskrit had developed itself at all.* This is called the Vedic, or Bactrian,† because, at the time it was used, we know, from internal evidence, that the Aryans, or Hindus, occupied Bactria. By that name we mean the lands which stretch from the modern Cabul to the shores of the Indus. It is conjectured that the Aryans emigrated from the garden of Eden, or the land between the Euphrates and the Gihon, through the climateric change brought on by the deluge.‡ To enter into a detailed history of their wanderings would be unnecessary in a review of their mythology. It is sufficient for us, that at the time they inhabited Bactria they still worshipped elemental deities. Their gods were *Agni*, the god of fire (*ignis*), and *Indra*, or the vault of heaven (*Ouranos*)—these were the chief; the inferior deities, the *dii minores*, were *Mitra*, the sun, *Vaya*, god of the winds, *Varuna*, of the sea, the *Maruts*, or Winds, and the *Aswini Kumara*, or twin children of Bahvani.

With reference to these, it will be observed that the confusion of ancient and modern things, of which we have spoken, manifests itself here. The *Aswini Kumara* are recorded as children of Bahvani, yet Bahvani is not a Vedic deity, and could not belong to a religion of elemental worship. This has, unfortunately, not been pointed out by the French philologist, whose work on the Vedas is considered the standard authority. Yet Aswini Kumara are the twins of the Hindu zodiac, the Castor and Pollux of Hindostan, and, like them, symbols of the constellation Gemini. As the sons of Bahvani, or nature, they are offshoots of an astral cosmic religion, which has no affinity with the Vedic. We are therefore under the necessity of considering those hymns, where they occur, as of late origin.

Yet we have observed that it was precisely with the Vedic

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* Barthelemy St. Hilaire, *Les Vedas*, *Lib.* i., p. 17.

† Bunsen, *Place of Egypt in Universal History*, book iv. ‡ *Idem*

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phase of Hindu mythology that the Hellenic myths had affinity. Here is an undoubted case of identity with Castor and Pollux, and yet the Aswini Kumara must be rejected from the Vedic deities, because the worship of stars or constellations belongs to another system differing widely from the Vedic. It is plain, then, that the intruding element to which the Aswini Kumara belong, must also have intruded upon the Greeks, which, from the word Hellenes, we believe, were once exclusively sun worshippers.

Varuna is also given as god of the sea. Yet it is difficult to understand how the Aryans, an inland race, whose ears had never been filled by the music of the murmuring waves, and whose feet had never wandered on the yellow sea sands, could have worshipped a deity of the sea—an abstraction.

This acceptation is universal, from the oldest writer* on the subject to the latest. From a philological examination, it would seem that *Varuna* and *Ouranos* are identical; nor is there anything in the early hymns contrary to the opinion that Indra was the great unseen god, and that Varuna typified the vault of heaven. In the theogony of Hesiod, Ouranos is the husband of Gaia, the earth, and devours his children as fast as they are produced, the myth evidently meaning that there were previous creations which became again chaos. Chronos (time) mutilates his father, and prevents him from having more children, meaning that there came a time when the primal creating power ceased to act.

In the Hindu Varuna however, there is nothing cosmic; he is simply a celestial deity, who battles with the clouds. There is evidence here again that a foreign element, an astral-cosmic one, has intruded itself upon the Greek mythology, but, in this case, has spared the Hindu.

The earliest god of the Vedic Aryans is unquestionably Agni,† and probably had its origin in the discovery of the domestic uses of fire. It is difficult for the nineteenth century readers to carry back their imaginations so far as to realize a time when the use of fire was unknown. But to such an age the worship of anything so useful, so

* Pomey's *Pantheum Mythologicum.* † Barthelemy St. Hilaire.

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comfortable, would follow as inevitable. We find among the Greek domestic deities the *prytanei*, and it is recorded of Æneas that he carried from Troy his penates, the palladium, and the sacred fire. It is also recorded, in exceedingly doubtful Roman historians, that Lavinia, the mother of Romulus and Remus, was one of the vestal virgins who guarded the same pure flame, when she was surprised by Mars, and made the mother of the Roman twins.

In Persia, the Irans were so strongly wedded to this worship that when Zarathustra developed his doctrine of the dual principles Ormuzd and Ahriman, he was obliged to permit the adoration of fire as one of the forms of beneficence vouchsafed to man by the Deity. And so great is the devotion of the modern Parsi to this idea, that he refuses to smoke, since it would be a desecration of the sacred emblem; and when railroads were introduced into the Guzerat, there was a strong contention whether it were permissible to ride on the *fire-chariot*.

In Cutch, where the inhabitants are Hindus, mostly of the Suryawansi caste, the universal practice is to place small portions of food among the embers before commencing the repast. This is probably the relic of an old oblation to fire, though it must be acknowledged that Surya, the sun, is the principal deity of this people, and it may be an acknowledgment of the blessings given by the sun.

The idea entertained of Agni was peculiar. At first worshipped as a great God, he became afterwards the divine mediator between Indra and man—*the bearer of sacrifice*. In the hymn to Agni, composed by the seer, Vashista, this conception is clearly brought out.

"Like the lover of the dawn, Agni sends forth his rays, he develops all his fires. Pure, fertile, luminous, resplendant, he has come at the prayer of the worshippers who invoke him. Like the sun, Agni has shone with the dawn that brings back the day, and whilst the priests recite the prayer, he makes ready the sacrifice; for Agni is the holy deity who becomes the benevolent mediator between mortals and the gods.

"By him prayers and saintly meditations ascend to the gods. They

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raise themselves to Agni, to whom they supplicate with ardor, to Agni the agreeable, Agni the charming, the generous bearer of sacrifice.

"O Agni, bring to us Indra with the Vasus. Unite with him Rudra, and with Rudra, Aditi, who is the parent of all things, and the Adityas. Thus supplicates the rich Vrihaspati, with the poets who chant the praises of the protecting gods. The people in the midst of the sacrifice celebrate Agni, who makes our joy—Agni the ever youthful priest who gives us fire; for it is he who, morning and evening, has ever been the indefatigable messenger whom rich men employ to address themselves to the deities."

The picture presented here is a very pleasant one. It seems the Aryans worshipped at sunrise and sunset, and it is probable that this practice arose from sun worship. The hymns to the sun are more probably poems in which the author celebrates the beauty of nature in the early morning, and the glowing blushes of the dawn before her lover the sun-god Mitra. References to the sun-lover, who follows the blushing goddess, occur almost everywhere in the Vedic hymns, and one of the commonest titles of the sun is "lover of the dawn." The resemblance to the myth of Apollo, who pursues Daphne and overtakes her only to find her vanish amid the fragrance of the laurel, is undoubtedly identical with this myth. And the description of the Hindu sun-god, in his resplendant chariot drawn by shining coursers, is almost, word for word—is certainly idea for idea, similar to the Grecian myth of the chariot of Phœbus Apollo. The sun in many of the Vedic hymns is called the resplendant torch of the deities, the eye of Mitra the sun-god, of Varuna and of Agni. This would seem strong confirmation of the idea that Varuna is to be considered as Ouranos, the blue vault of heaven, and not the god of the sea.

Aditi, whom Agni is requested to bring in the train of Rudra, another name for Varuna, but afterwards appropriated by the robber Shiva, would seem to be the night—the fruitful mother of all existing things. The word Aditi is not-day, and the children of the night, the Adityas, in this early age were evidently regarded as beneficent beings. In later times they are ranked with the Asuras or demons, whose name has, by the bye, the same derivation, Sura being the name for the the sun's disk. There was an old Greek legend that all

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things were created by Nox and Erebus; the meaning being, probably, that all things arose from primeval darkness and love. This would seem hinted at in the hymn to Agni.

The hymns to Indra* are certainly of a later date, and reveal a changed condition, more civilized but less happy. The votaries request to be made rich in downright terms, and speak with unfeigned rapture of treasure cities and chariots laden with precious things. The Asenas are recognized as demons, under a leader, Sambara, who is destroyed by Indra. Indra also slays Ahi, and Bala, who was climbing to heaven, and is generally a warlike god. He leads the warriors to battle, and they invoke him in the combat. He sits upon a cloud, and slays his enemies with his lightnings. He accepts libations, offerings, and hymns, and appears in every particular to correspond, not with Zeus, but with Jupiter, the Pelasgian deity, whose actions and characteristics are as distinct from the amorous cloud-compeller who quarrels with Hera, as the mind can possibly conceive.† Any one whose researches have been carried back to the earliest records of the Greek and Roman people, must be sufficiently alive to the difference existing between them to feel that Jupiter and Zeus are distinct creations; so also Venus and Aphrodite, Mars and Ares, Mercury and Hermes. This error has, however, crept into the consideration of the Hindu mythology, and competent authorities have pronounced Indra to be identical with Zeus. Indra is represented everywhere, indeed, as the king of heaven and of men; but this is a characteristic common to all ruling deities, and applies to Jupiter, *divum pater atque hominum rex*, equally with Zeus, $\alpha\nu\alpha\xi$ $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\omega\nu$.

The change in the condition of the Hindus is also marked in the sacrifice. Indra receives now libations, sacrifices, and hymns. Formerly the offering was simply the burning of ghee (clarified butter) in the holy flame. It is probable that the libations were made exactly in the fashion recorded by Latin authors. It is difficult for any one who

* Barthelemy St. Hilaire, *Les Vedas. Hymne à India.* par Gritsamada.

† Schlegel, *Literature and Wisdom of the Hindus*, book i., p. 466.

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has not witnessed the funeral ceremonials of a Hindu, to believe how closely it follows the account given by Virgil in the Æneid, when the hero pays the last rites to a departed companion. The libations, the arrangement on the pyre, the conduct of the relations, the chanting of the priests, all are identical. It may, therefore, well be imagined, and with a reasonable hope of accuracy, that the ceremonials of Indra did not differ materially from those of Jupiter, the solemn protector of Rome.

That the Adityas became demons is not contrary to what we read in Greek and Roman mythologies. Plutarch's idea was, that the most virtuous human souls became heroes, and that these in course of time became demons, and of these a small number became divine, and were worshipped as deities by mankind. These demons, according to him, were good, beneficent beings, ministers and messengers of the gods.* Yet, in course of time the word had an evil signification, and the demons, though still servants of the *dii majores*, were only used to punish and to affright. Whether this explanation of the changed belief in the Adityas be as correct as the idea advanced by a German mythologist,† that the words Adityas Asuras, and Dityas Suryas, simply have reference to a line of princes who claimed descent from the sun as the Peruvian Incas, will be hard to determine. But one thing must be pointed out, that the Hindu does not recognize the demons as having any effect on human life, as our Greek and Roman friends believed. The doctrine of metempsychosis forbid such a belief; nor did they ever hold that the glorified souls of man became in any way connected with their theogony. This was also impossible, from the very nature of the theory of emanation; for this doctrine explained that all things emanated from Brahm, the divine essence, and would in time return to it again. The good or evil conduct of an individual would be rewarded by an advance to assimilation, or punished by a descent in the scale into some animal whose vices the human being had imitated. This was the doctrine of metempsychosis, taught, indeed, by Pythagoras

* *Opinion Philosoph.*, lib. i., c. 8. † Bunsen, *Place of Egypt*, book v.

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in Greece, but never having any effect on the Hellenic mind.

Nor was there any trace of this doctrine among the Pelasgians, who are confessedly nearer to the Hindu Aryans than any other; the theory of the Greeks, Romans, and allied races, being altogether dissimilar. It was an accepted fact among the ancients, that each individual had his tutelary demon, or guardian spirit, and, unquestionably, Plutarch points to this faith. That the spirits of the dead should minister to the living was a beautiful and noble idea. But it finds no parallel in any Hindu belief, and is only met with among the ancient Lithuanians, which has been received in modern times by Etienne Garczynski, the philosopher and poet of Posen. "Les ecrivains lithuaniens," says Micziewicz, "placent dans le monde spirituel le centre de toute action, et regardent le monde visible et les hommes comme des instruments." And, again, he quotes from Lithuanian writers: "Toute force reside dan le *genie* de l'homme." This was exactly the Roman idea of the tutelary demon. But the Hindu Asuras and Adityas are simply enemies of the gods, and contend with them in heaven, but never meddle with earthly matters. They are in no wise to be compared with the demons proper, but rather to the history of the Titans, and their great leader Jalandhara to Typhon.

Between the Vedic literature and the Sanskrit, in which the Smriti, or Institutes of Manu, are written, there is a great gulf, which history at present is powerless to bridge over. Between the death of one language and the birth of another, what events may not have transpired? Schlegel has pointed out that a language is never uprooted, save by some violent convulsion, and, though we do not know the fact, we may imagine that a long and dreadful series of intestine wars must fill that remarkable cleft. Nor can we say how or when the idea of Brahm, the divine essence, originated. The language of the Rig-Veda is so extraordinary as to warrant the supposition of divine revelation. "Eternel, tout-puissant, incompréhensible, infini, être qui existe de soi-même," is the translation of a French author.* Nor

* M. Langlois, *Le Rik-Veda traduit en Francais*, vol. i., p. 84.

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can we reconcile these words with any idea of human unaided intellect. We are forced to admit either that the Hindu possessed a divine revelation, or that the Brahminic philosophy of emanation arrived at the same result. Taken also from the Rig-Veda, the rendition of an English translator is as follows: "He who sees everything, but is never seen; he who is not to be compassed by description, and is beyond the limits of human conception; he from whom the universal world proceeds, who is the soul of the universe, whose name is too sacred to be pronounced, and whose power is too infinite to be imagined, is Brahm, the one unknown, true being, the creator, the preserver and destroyer of the universe."* This is unquestionably a picture of the true God. Nor has any Hebrew poet, however grand in his diction and inspired in his ideas, given a better.

The word too sacred for pronunciation was not Brahm, but *Om*. In the Parsi theogony, a mystic marriage takes place between Hom and Messies, and this is explained as the mystical union between the soul of man and the infinite God.† It will be remembered that the Hebrews had also a sacred name for the deity, which was never pronounced, and which, by an error of the translators, has been given as Jehovah, though it really was *Iao*.‡ The points of connection between the Parsi, Hebrews and Hindu are here too strong to be ignored, and it is presumable that that small and scant people known as the Hebrews are only an offshoot of the great Bactrian Aryans, and did not receive exclusively any divine relation, but simply shared in that made to the whole Aryan race.

We know that there was a dispersion of Aryans from Bactria by the Zend-avesta. Bunsen has very learnedly analyzed and compared this with the Vedas, and has come to the conclusion that there was a heresy among the Bactrian Aryans upon the subject of the supremacy of Indra, who is, accordingly, depicted in the Parsi writings as Aindra, an evil spirit of great potency and malignant disposition. The

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* Col. Vans Kennedy, p. 83.

† Bunsen, *Place of Egypt in the World's History.* ‡ *Idem.*

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great cleft between the Vedic language and the Sanskrit, in all probability was occasioned by this struggle. It may also be that there was an objection to the Brahmin caste, whose germ must, about this period, have just manifested itself, probably recommending itself to the people by great austerity of life and feigned piety. It is in this manner, according to the Puranas, or purely Brahmanic hymns, that the demons (Asuras) and all evil-disposed spirits deceived the good Brahma and the unsuspecting Vishnu, and won for themselves extraordinary powers as a reward, which they immediately put to the worst uses. Thus Maha Bali, a dwarf of immense pretension to piety, and possessing seven heads, approaches Brahma, with oblation, and cuts off, one after the other, six of his heads, whereupon Brahma, to reward such piety, promises him whatever he shall ask. He immediately demands the empire of heaven, earth, and hell, but is circumvented subsequently by Shiva, who approaches him in the guise of a pious Brahman.

From the hints offered by other historians, we may believe that the idea of an hereditary priesthood existed in Vedic times, that is, before the forced emigration of the Irans, the Pelasgi, and the Eirianns, or Irish. For we observe that the last mentioned had their Druids, and their bards seem identical with the Rishis of the Vedas. This word, translated *author* by Barthélémy St. Hilaire, is by others taken to mean *prophet*, or *seer*, and by some even is considered synonymous with *saint*. But if we remember the union between poetry and prophecy in those remote ages, and that fasting and an austere life were then deemed essential conditions of inspiration, (as it was until almost recent times among the Gaels of the Scottish mountains,) we shall see that *author*, *poet*, *prophet*, and *saint* are all attributes of the one character.

There is, also, in the various names Danoi, Argureoi, Dorioi, given to the Hellenes, a trace of caste. We may interpret these as warriors, merchants, and priests, and not as tribes, the word Hellenes being derivable from Helios, the sun. If, then, Hellenes means children of the sun, there is another strong link between them and the true Hindus,

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since both the warrior castes, the Rajpoots and the Bhattias of Cutch, claim to be "children of the sun."

Even among the Hebrews there appears the same tendency to form caste, as exemplified in the Levitical priesthood. The laws of Moses, however, transformed these wandering tribes into an agricultural race, of which every member had an inalienable ownership in the soil. Whatever was purchased had to be returned at the general jubilee; hence the temptation to buy or to sell was greatly diminished. This was an unique system, unknown to any other Aryan nation.

This tendency is not to be glanced at without consideration. It was one of the great distinctions between the Aryan and the Turan races. It was, in fact, the germ of stratification. The Turans were, above all things, a mob. Between the people and the despot there was no gradation. The people obeyed blindly and implicitly, with an unswerving self-negation abhorrent to self-respect, and smacking strongly of fetichism.* But the Aryan government had in it, at all times, something of the patriarchal idea, out of which it sprang. The king was not a god, he was a father. He was in *magno* what the chief of the pettiest tribe was in *parvo*. As the latter consulted his old men, so the former took counsel from the chiefs of the tribes. And the father of a family was as the chief of a tribe. Thus it was among the Jews, thus among the Kelts, among the Germans, among the Persians, among the Vedic Hindus, and, to this day, among the Arabs. These, as well as the Jews, have long been accepted as Semitic, but the community of ideas, institutions, weapons, and religious traditions has proved too strong for that error, and both Bunsen and Ernest Renan agree in separating them from the Semite.

The Brahmans, when once they became firmly established as a priestcraft, gained for themselves extraordinary authority by the doctrines of metempsychosis and emanation. The former is the natural consequence of the latter, which teaches that there is nothing definite or actually existing, save in Brahm, (the essence,) and that all other things are

* A despot, in Greek, was called τυραννος id est, a Turan.

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maya, or illusion. All things proceed from him, neither is there anything in the universe that is not from him and will not return to him. Those things which, by their nature, are inconsistent with the godhead, such as sin, pain, &c., are not really, but only seem to be, through *maya*, or illusion.*

The doctrine of metempsychosis is, that the divine spirit, emanating from Brahm, animates all living organisms, from men down to plants. The soul, quitting the body, wanders through an infinite series of existences, until, purified, it enters the body of a Brahman. There it is upon the threshold of beatitude, of which, according to one of the Purans, there are four; cohabitation, dwelling in the same place with the godhead; approximation, being permitted to draw near to his footstool; assimilation, becoming like unto him; absorption, highest of the beatitudes, being identified with the divine essence, as a drop of water returns to the mass of the mighty ocean.†

It is easy to observe the immense power such a doctrine must have given to the Brahmans, who were not slow to avail themselves of it. The Smriti, or Institutes of Manu, define clearly the rights and privileges of the priesthood, and, besides, embody a vast number of myths, cosmogonical and theogonical, which yet had for their main end the conforming and strengthening of the Brahminic power.

The division of caste is explained in this work, as arising from the creation of the world by Brahm. Vishnu, the preserving spirit, is represented as sleeping upon the serpent Shesha (eternity), that floats on the face of the waters; a lotus springs from his navel, whence issues Brahma, who produces the elements, forms the world, and gives birth to Shiva, the destroyer. He then produces the human race, the Brahmans from his head, the Kshatriyas, or warriors, from his arms, the Vaisyas, or merchants, from his thighs, and the Sudras, or laborers, from his feet.

But the inconsistency and chaotic condition of the Hindu records is nowhere better exemplified than in the accounts of the creation, of which there are many. In some Brahma is

* Col. Vans Kennedy, p. 24. † Sir W. Jones' Works, vol. 3.

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the creator, and gives birth to Vishnu; in others Shiva is the sole self-existent being, and the creator of all things. In others, again, Brahm, the divine essence, produces Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and gives the work of creation to the first, of sustaining it to the second, and of destroying it, in the fulness of time. to the third. But what is remarkably singular, is, that it is impossible to point out any time when Brahma, the creator, was ever publicly worshipped. From the adoration of Indra, in the Vedic period, we come at once upon the worship of Vishnu, in the Sanskrit, which is somewhat strange, since the worship of Indra was the *causa irarum, sævique doloris*, and the origin of the Aryan dispersion.

There is something singular in the ancient priesthoods of the Keltic races; there is a misty resemblance to the Brahminic, which requires consideration. Nay, more, it has been shrewdly suspected that among the Greeks, Danoi, Argives, and Dorians are not to be taken as distinct tribes, but as castes of warriors, merchants, and priests. If so, it might prove, on a careful comparison of Keltic records, that the emigration, of that early race was simultaneous; in short, that all the Aryan emigrations were simultaneous and *forced*, the emigrants being the heretics who refused to accord supremacy to Indra.

But that Indra should have been forgotten after the half of the Aryan people had been expelled Bactria on his account, seems extraordinary; and can only be accounted for by the supposition that he was still worshipped under another name—that of Vishnu. For the word Indra seems only a title, lord of Ind, and may have been abandoned after the conquest of Pankyala, by the Aryans. This province seems to have been the Punjaub, the land of the five rivers, which was bounded on the south by the river Sutlej. Heeren, in his account of the rock temples of Ellora, speaks of Indra as the specific god of the Hindus, the "Lord of Ind,' and Vishnu, conjointly with Shiva, as the gods of the universe. But though this distinction may have been understood at the remote time even, when the excavations of Ellora were in progress, it is evidently not original, but an

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adaptation to circumstances. It is clear that in the purely Vedic times there was no worship of Shiva; neither, indeed, was there of Vishnu. But the universal god of the Bactrians would seem to have been the true Deity, whose name, like the Hebrews, the Christians, and the Persians, they were unwilling to take in vain. When this pure belief had become, through the inevitable accumulations of years, encrusted with the worship of Agni, of Varuna, Indra, and others, the truth became dormant. But though the Word spake not, it influenced the religion and practices of the Aryans, which were everywhere mild, pure and full of grateful affection for divine protection. When, therefore, this universal godhead lay hidden in the breasts of the Brahmins, and the worship of Indra had become predominant, it still influenced the religion fast becoming depraved, and the rites of Indra were mild and pure. But this is essentially the characteristic of the adoration of Vishnu, in marked contrast to the atrocities of Sivaitic worship. We must suppose, then, that the Brahmans, conscious of their guilt in introducing the adoration of Shiva, attempted to represent the true God, the divine word; and clothed him hitherto unseen, unmentioned, but ever felt, in the attributes and with the forms of Indra.

This hypothesis, which has but little authority to support it, is recommended, however, by a circumstance which has escaped the notice of mythologists. Vishnu is called universally Narayanah,* which means "God of the Aryans." It has been shown that Indra was particularly the god worshipped in the later Aryan period, and it certainly seems a natural consequence that the two, Vishnu and Indra, are one, or that Narayanah refers to the true God.

If Brahma never received popular worship, being essentially a deity of the records, and not of the temples, it is not so with Vishnu. Although in later times the worship of Shiva became predominant, and the adoration of Vishnu was considered old-fashioned, and hardly respectable for a Brahmin who desired to stand well in the community, yet his

* Col. Vans Kennedy's *Researches*.

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worship has been perpetuated by his avatars, or incarnations, in various forms. Of these he informed his adorers that the full number would be ten, nine of them having elapsed, and the tenth being now anxiously expected by the faithful.

The first three were under animal forms; the first as a fish, when he informs a pious prince of an approaching deluge, in which the world would be submerged and its inhabitants drowned. He gives him instructions to build an ark, and to enter it with his family and couples of all living things, and to rely upon him for succor. The account is remarkably similar to that of Genesis, though tinged with a burlesque extravagance never found in the Hebrew sacred writings. The fourth incarnation was in the form of a dwarf, and the others under human form. But the seventh, eighth, and ninth are famous avatars; the seventh was Rama, the eighth Krishna, and the ninth Buddha.

Rama is a warrior god, and the battles which he fights are apparently against demons, and for the recovery of Swerga. It is, however, believed by Bunsen,* that these contests were not celestial, by any means, but an actual contest carried on in the Doab, or land of the two rivers, by princes who claimed to be descended from the sun; and that Rama was a leader who pretended to divine origin to increase his authority and the enthusiasm of his followers. But it is fair to say that Bunsen sees dynasties of kings under the most hopeless myths, and will not accept as gods any who cannot be traced to Phœnicia. It may be, as he suggests, that the Ramayana, in which the exploits of Rama are recorded, does really refer to such a contest. But there is one reason why some hesitation should be felt before accepting his theory; and that is, that Rama is only one in a series of avatars, and to explain away this would necessitate the explanation of all the others. But the distinguished mythologist, Max Müller,† has believed that the Ramayana is founded on the same subject as the Iliad, and that both refer to the expulsion of the opposers of the Brahminic caste and the dominant worship of Indra.

* *Place of Egypt in Universal History.*
† *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature.*

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The introduction of Hunaiman, the monkey god, and the army of monkeys mounted on bears, which charges the squadrons of elephants led on by the demons, seems, however, to require a different explanation from that offered by Sir William Jones. He considers it merely the luxuriant play of Hindu imagination; but it can scarcely be imagined that the presence of the monkey god in the Hindu Pantheon is due to the Ramayana. Had Hesiod and Homer never lived, the Greek mythology might have lost some poetical adornments, but not one solid fact. They invented nothing, but gave in glowing rhymes and with undying images the beliefs of their respective times. And so with the author of the Ramayana epic. Had Hunaiman held no place among the Hindu gods, we may be assured that he would not have fought side by side with Rama. The truth would seem to point to an alien origin. The Hindu gods are elemental, and can be traced to the theory of emanation. The Turan deities are astro-cosmic, changing into anthropomorphic; but animal worship, the belief that all animals, or any specific animals, had a god who cared for their interests and would severely punish any ill treatment of them, that belief is negro fetish, and altogether dissimilar from either Aryan or Turan.

This trace of negro religion in western India will be fully borne out by a consideration of the lower classes of the Malabar coast, of western Madras. Their hair is woolly, their features distinctly African, their brain of negro contour. Nor does this fact refer solely to the Madrassis. Among the islands of the eastern archipelago it recurs, until in Papua the resemblance is so marked that the discoverer called it "New Guinea."

The eighth avatar is that of Krishna. This incarnation is, perhaps, even more celebrated among the scholars of Europe than that of Rama, owing, probably to the luxuriant poetry which describes his feats of arms and his amours. He has been thought by Bunsen to be identical with Hercules, but his characteristics are all those of Apollo. Krishna first revealed his divine nature when, as a herdsman, he was keeping the cattle of Garga, a *prohita*, or officiating priest of Vishnu

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His master invoked the holy name of Narayan, and Krishna ran to him with more than mortal benignity in his countenance.* There is evidently a strong point of connection with the Greek myth of their god Apollo, who kept the herds of King Admetus. This is still further strengthened by the characteristics of both deities, for it is not so much in the outward form and the mere symbols that we are to trace the connection of foreign mythologies. It is rather in the character and conduct of the deities. Thus Krishna, like Apollo, is the patron of poetry and music, and his amours with the pastoral muses, the Gopyas, is the theme of the famous poem, the *Gita-govinda.*

This poem bears a curious resemblance to the Song of Solomon, and the passion of Krishna for the amorous Radha bears, according to Brahmanical scholars, the same interpretation as the affection of the deity for the human soul. The general amours of Krishna with the Gopyas may also be understood as referring to the desire of the human intellect for those arts which soften the understanding and bind together, in sympathetic harmony, the masses of humanity. Everything which is too warmly colored, and is unchaste, is explained as *maya*, or illusion.

Krishna is known by many names, but more habitually by that of Heri, around which title much confusion clings. It appears to belong more especially to Shiva, and in the Naraduya Paran. Vishnu, speaking of the latter, says:

"But who can declare the greatness of him who assumes the form of the Lingam (phullus)? For that form represents both Hara and Hari; since there is no difference between them, and he who thinks there is commits a sin."

Shiva also, in another Paran,† says:

"Though I am the sole self-existent god, incorporeal, immutable, still do I assume various forms. Amongst the skilled in divine knowledge I am Brahma; amongst those exempt from maya I am that ancient god, Hari."

It must be confessed that this is puzzling. If it was not that Shiva proclaims himself as the sole self-existent deity,

* Sir W. Jones' Works, vol. 24, p. 216 to 250.

† Col. Vans Kennedy's *Researches.*

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it might be imagined that Heri was Time, but Shiva, as Time, is *Kal*, a word never used in this Puran. The idea that Heri is identical with Homs, the Egyptian Apollo, or sun-god, has been scouted by Bunsen, who believes Hom to have been of Phœnician origin. Herodotus declared that he could see no identity between Homs and Phœbos Apollo. Pomey, in his Pantheum Mythicum, declares the identity of Krishna with the latter, but does not trouble himself about the word Heri. Perhaps the explanation may be found in the meaning of the word, for *hara*, in Sanskrit, has the meaning of agent, or doer. Thus, likewise, hara is a writer, or clerk; bolnehara, an orator. Heri would, therefore, have the meaning of active principle, and, as a title, would probably be synonymous with *hero*. It may be that the Greek word heros has the same derivation.

Formerly, in England, when a man was forcibly robbed on the highway, he raised the hue and cry in the following style: "Haro, hue and cry. Help, every true man. I am forcibly withheld from mine own." And in France and in the Channel Islands it was once the practice for the complainant to cry out in any public assembly: "Haro, haro, à mon aide, mon prince. Haro, on m'a fait tort." This has been explained as referring to a Norman prince, a Berserker, one Haro, but it is capable of receiving a very different explication.

If a philologist were asked to explain the word *hue* he would at once admit that it was part of an old invocation to the Deity, "Allah hu," cry the Osmanlis of to-day as did their Turan forefathers. Ta-ho is the Chinese name for the Deity. Hari ho is the name by which Shiva is known in Thibet. In the sentence, "Ho, every one that thirsteth," *ho* would be classed as an interjection, yet its connection with hue is indisputable. There can be little doubt that it means "hear us," and that "Haro, hue and cry" is the forgotten relic of an old Pagan invocation, as truly as "O Baal, hear us," was an invocation for the Syrians.

How it came to be known in England is a question foreign to the subject. Yet, *en passant*, we may credit the Danes with it, seeing that Skandinavia, their country, gets its name from

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Skanda, one of the names of Shiva. But with reference to Krishna, we must believe that Heri is applied to him in a complimentary way by the poets, in the signification of celestial hero, and that it has no connection with "the ancient god Heri," mentioned in the Kurana Puran.

The ninth avatar is that of Buddha, which took place apparently in modern time—that is, for mythology. His appearance has been fixed at varying dates, but the average is about nine hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. The Buddhists, however, claim a far higher antiquity than that awarded by the Brahminical books, and say that Buddha is older than any Brahman deity. They maintain that the Brahmans came from other countries, and established their own religion mainly by the power of the sword on the ruins of the more ancient one of Buddha.* Heeren has remarked that the most finished rock temples of India are dedicated as well to the worship of Vishnu and Shiva as to that of Buddha; the sects of the former still existing, but the latter were expelled from Western India.† In the famous grotto of Elephanta a figure of Buddha is represented with a woolly head. He is seated in his usual cross-legged style, and between his legs is the fore part of a ship filled with strangers.‡ In Salsette, in a pagoda, there is another image of Buddha. He has there long ears, woolly hair, and the inevitable ship in his lap.

Now the grottoes of Ellora are of red granite. In fact the whole mountain range extending in a horse shoe form for five miles from point to point, has been cut into a series of grotto temples, two or three stories in height, one above the other. These are all dedicated to various gods. The largest is called Kailasa, the heaven of Shiva.

In Karli and some other rock temples, the material is of a clay porphyry, the very hardest, most enduring kind of stone. Yet many of the sculptured representations have been so acted upon by the atmosphere that they can with difficulty be recognized.§ Yet here again images of Buddha are found. This would seem to substantiate the Buddhistic claims.

* Coleman's *Hindoo Mythology*, p. 184. † *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 3, p. 67.
‡ Coleman's *Mythology*. § Stobæus *Eclog. Phy.*

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The Buddhist faith imputes creation to chance, and denies the existence of a Supreme Being. Virtue and goodness are their objects of worship, and these are adored under the forms of pious and learned sages, who have progressed according to the theory, to a condition of beatific rest. The doctrine of metempsychosis is firmly held, and to a degree that seems absurd. Hospitals are erected for the reception of animals, reptiles, insects, even the most loathsome and annoying, and these are daily fed with care by the attendants. So great is the Buddhist fear of destroying anmal life, that he lives only on flour, butter, cheese, fruits and sweetmeats, and it is recorded that a pious Jaina, to whom a mischievous Englishman showed a drop of water under the microscope, voluntarily starved himself, refusing both food and water.

How such a faith became connected with Vishnu is something which the Brahmans find it difficult to explain. The rather lame hypothesis has been started that Vishnu became Buddha, to lead two heretical sects into a heresy that would ensure their damnation. But the proofs in favor of the higher antiquity of Buddha are too strong to be controverted. From the denial of a Supreme Being, from the care of animals, from the deification of man, from the woolly head of the figures of the deity, and his distinctly African features, we draw the conclusion that Buddha, under perhaps some other name, was the original man god of African fetichism, even as Hunaiman is the monkey god.

The grotto temples of Ellora honor alike Vishnu and Shiva. Historians of mild analytic powers have believed that there was a time when Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva received equal adoration.* It is true that in the Purans the equality between the two latter is strictly enforced, and the pains of hell are promised to whoever shall deny this. Thus in the "Padma Puran" Shiva says:

"He who thus worships Vishnu, in fact worships me, and whoever thinks otherw se shall be condemned to hell; for Vishnu Shiva, Shiva Vishnu are but one form, though existing separately."

Nothing is here said about Brahma, and it may fairly be

* Col. Kennedy's *Researches*, p. 185.

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doubted if Brahma was ever worshipped at all. Hence the theory of the Trimurti, or Hindu trinity, fell to the ground. But it may also be questioned if Vishnu was not at one time the paramount deity of India, his worship being supplanted by Shiva. Their temples are, indeed, side by side at Ellora, and the heavens of Kailasa and Vaikuntha are equally represented. But Shiva is even there everywhere predominant, with his consort Bahvani. The fact that these extraordinary structures are only to be found in western India, whereas the Brahmans clearly came from the north, should demonstrate to every one that the religions of Shiva and Vishnu were not one but twain. In fact Shiva ought to be looked upon as an interloper, as a poison that crept into the veins of Hindu mythology, and destroyed it.

Schlegel has remarked, that at a very early period the Hindu language suffered considerable foreign admixture from the various tribes that dwelt in the south and west (the Carnatic and the Mahratta country), and who became incorporated with the body of the nation.* These tribes were Turan, who are spoken of by many authors as Cushites, and their religion, similar to the general belief of the Turans, spread over Asia, Africa, and Europe. If Shiva is god of those tribes of whom Schlegel made mention, then his worship would be found identical with Turan worship elsewhere.

This view, which all must admit is reasonable, is singularly easy of proof. The earliest faith of the Turan nations was a belief in two active principles, male and female, from whose union all things proceeded. In the Hebrew the verse, "And the earth was without form and void,"† should have been translated, "And the earth was *tohu bohu*." Now these words, according to Bunsen, were the earliest names of the male and female principles. *Hu* being admitted to be an invocation, the monosyllables *to* and *bo* remain. It must be noted that all early forms of language are of one syllable, and if others are found, they are not genuine, but belong to a later age. This is plain from the very nature of the growth of language. Now *to* is still found in the Chinese, and *bo* survives in India, as Bohwani, the bride of Shiva, accepted

* *Literature and Wisdom of the Hindus.* † *Genesis*, c. i., v. 2.

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by all writers as the personification of the producing power of nature. The idea involved is simply the birth of all things from chaotic conditions; and, indeed, in its highest sense, may be taken to define, in a clumsy manner, the chemical theory of affinity. But for the mass it only meant a great male god and a great female goddess, whose symbols were the *lingam* and the *yoni* (the phallos and ithiphallos), and who were visibly represented under the forms of a bull and cow, probably the strongest and most fruitful animals known to those fierce and cruel nomads.

Whether the bloody human sacrifices which distinguish this worship arose from the sanguinary disposition of the Turans, or from a perception that in all births there is the germ of death, and that the Lord of life is also the Lord of death, is hard to determine. But it is probable that the sacrifices came first from the Turan habit of slaying their captives, and the philosophy came afterwards from the Aryans, who adopted it from their neighbors, to excuse or to explain it.

At what time this simple faith of the primal generative powers became blended with astral worship is also lost in the mist of ages. The Turan warrior shepherds guarding their flocks by night, as they gazed over the vast plains of central Asia, watched with wondering,awe struck eyes the panorama of the heavens, and the solemn sweep of the stars around the pole. Hence arose the notion that the heaven of Shiva was situated there. Little by little, after generations of awed watchers, the belief stole into the hearts of these bearded warriors that the stars were gods whose tireless eyes watched over the destinies of the human race. And so the constellations were named. Chief among them was that of the Bull, or Taurus, by which they symbolized To. Hence their cosmic god, though the name To was lost, was always known as the bull. Thus Baal is frequently called Baal Tor; and thus the chief god of the northern nations is Thor, and Zeus was invoked as *αξιε ταυρε*,* "*worthy bull.*" Amun, the Egyptian cosmic god, was worshipped under the visible form of a bull,

* Bunsen, *Place of Egypt in Universal History*, book 5.

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who afterward was considered as a separate god Apis. And Shiva has for his *vahan* the sacred bull.*

In the Sivaitic mythology, which preserved far greater unity than any other from its slighter admixture with star worship, we find names almost as ancient as those quoted—those of Hara, Hari, and Hari Gauri. Of Hari mention has already been made, but Gauri has indubitable reference to a cow. Hari Gauri is explained by the Brahminical writers as Shiva and Bohwani—that is the cosmic bull and cow—To and Bo. Now the earth, in one of the Purans, appears before Vishnu in the form of a cow. The Sanskrit word for cow is *gai*. We, therefore, may explain Hari Gauri as the generative influence of the sun upon the fertile earth. We have already remarked that in Hesiod there is a myth of Ouranos and Gaia, in which Ouranos devours the offspring of their union as fast as they are produced, till Kronos, a child reared in secrecy, mutilates his father, and prevents his begetting further offspring. Bunsen and others have clearly shown the meaning to be that in chaos there were many creations which disappeared until the last Kronos or definite time, when the creative power was either destroyed or became dormant. Here the earth is called gaia, and the connection between the Hesiodic myth and the Sivaitic fables may be considered indubitable. Also in the Phœnician mythology Hastoreth (Astarte) means "the throne of the cow." † Isis, among the Egyptians, is always represented with a head-dress of cows' horns and a globe between them, symbolizing clearly the earth.

But it is not alone in mere nomenclature, or even in external symbolisms, that this connection of the Greek with the Turanian part of the Hindu religion, will be found. The worship of Zeus was accompanied with human sacrifices, and cruel rites, such as gashing the body of the votary with knives, and the sacrifice of strangers. Hence he is ironically called "the hospitable," and the friend of hospitality; and it must be repeated that Zeus is also triopthalmos, having an eye in his forehead like the horrible Shiva. This has

* Coleman, p. 86.

† Bunsen, *Place of Egypt*, book 4.

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been forgotten by those who have believed that Jupiter and Zeus are one. Jupiter is paternal, grave and solemn, bearing in his right hand the lightning, and drinking out of the celestial cup. So Indra, the Bactrian god, is depicted, and in the Vedas repeated mention is made of his quaffing the celestial *soma*.* Jupiter descends to no low amours. Zeus is constantly engaged, like Shiva, in intrigue, and perpetually quarrelling with Bohwani, as Zeus with Hera. Jupiter's rites are solemn and pure. Zeus is not only adored with bloody sacrifice, but with public prostitution, as is Shiva. And, further, Zeus, like Amun, is worshipped between the pillars, the Sivaitic emblem of the lingam. That there was a material taint ef Turanism, even in the Latins, was inevitable from their neighborhood to the Etruscans, a mixed race of Turans and Aryans, of Phœnician extraction. This will be seen in their female deities, a thing unknown to the Aryans, who, having been blessed with a divine revelation, never did nor could associate ideas of sex with their deities. It was altogether from Turan sources that the principle of the Shaktis, or female energies of the gods, crept into the Hindu mythology, and those derived from it. In the Puran's Saraswati the bride of Brahma is the patroness of the arts and learning, but is altogether an abstraction, taking no part in the divine history. The name, also, is derived from the ancient name of the Jumna. Lakhsmi, the energy of Vishnu, is the goddess of love and beauty, and is, in every attribute, similar to Aphrodite. All the others, and there are thousands, in a theology which numbers thirty-three millions of deities may easily be reduced down to Bohwani, the consort of Shiva, and the Turan *Bo*. Schlegel† has hazarded the conjecture that the Phœnician Hastoreth, the Phrygian Cybele, the Ephesian Artemis, and the German Hertha only differ in unessential points from this sanguinary goddess. Her picture is by no means a pleasing one. She is represented as having four arms, with which she brandishes weapons of destruction, and a human head. She wears a chain of human heads, alternately black

* Drink extracted from the moon. † *Literature and Wisdom of the Hindus.*

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and white, that reaches from her neck to her thighs, and around her waist is a cincture of gory human hands. It must be admitted that the nations above quoted worshipped her under more agreeable forms.*

Coleman and Vans Kennedy both state that there is a sect in India which worships exclusively these Shaktis, but they are in error. That they are adored secretly and in the most bestial manner there is no doubt, but it is by men of every caste and every sect, and is an orgie which words cannot describe. Every law of Manu is, for the time, abrogated. Every one, Brahmans included, eats meat, and drinks strong liquor from the same cup. And, when the festival is concluded, the votaries return home, but never recognize each other publicly or otherwise. It is very possible that the secret worship of Cybele was of a similar character.

As Schlegel has pointed out the identity of Artemis and Bohwani, it may be well to inquire how this goddess came to be associated with the moon. It probably arose from a misconception of the cow's horns of Isis, which the Ephesians believed to be a crescent moon, not knowing the mystic meaning of the emblem. For as Chanda the moon, in the Hindu theogony, is a male, it is obvious that there has been some misconstruction.

Of the many children of Shiva and Bohwani, few are worthy of note save Ganesha and Iswara, though the latter seems most frequently considered as Shiva himself. Ganesha, now known as Ganapati, has a special sect of his own, and is represented in his temples with the head of an elephant. He is the god of the human intellect, and is distinguished in the Hindu mythology by what a Yankee would term cuteness. Sir William Jones considered him to be identical with Janus, as also did Pomey in his Pantheum Mythicum. We know so little of the Roman god that it is hard to decide upon the correctness of the hypothesis. Ganapati, as special god of humanity, certainly seems to have the same bearing as Buddha towards fetichism. But there is a slight difference between

* Hekate may also be taken for Bohwani, who, in her combat with Bali, the Hindu Typhon, assumes a gigantic figure with a hundred arms. And Briareus may have a similar origin.

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the man-god and the deity who cares specially for the human intellect. It is very slight, doubtless, yet from the seeming identity of this god with the Tartar deity Hans, and with the Babylonish Oannes, it would seem that he is distinctly Turan, and, therefore, Jan, or Janus may be one and the same with Ganesha. Niebuhr has pointed out that the two heads of the Roman deity were given him so that he might survey with equal eye the welfare of the Rhamnes and the Quirites, between whose towns his temple was built. And he thinks further, that this deity belonged to the Sabines, who were Gaels. As the Gaels were Aryans, and Ganesha is Turanic, he must have been adopted by the Kelts and Germans from the Turanic element which they dispossessed in Europe.

Iswara, whether son of Shiva, or Shiva himself, is universally recognized as Bacchus. It is strange that a nation who have from the remotest historic times, abjured the use of liquor, should have in their Pantheon the prototype of the jolly conquering god Bacchus. But there is no doubt of it, for the universal testimony of the ancients is, that Bacchus came from India, bringing the care-destroying cup. There is a goddess who presides over drinking; but this is easily explained, as at the worship of the Shaktis, intoxication is a solemn act of religion. The command is "drink, drink till you fall on the ground, then rise up and drink again." But Iswara takes no part in these rites, nor is he a distinguished deity among the Hindus, though Shiva frequently speaks of himself as Iswara. The worship of Bacchus, or, rather, drinking, was not a vice of the Turans, for the simple reason that they for a long time were unacquainted with the secret of fermentation. At present they manage to make a drink from a mushroom, and also from milk. Marco Polo and Friar Rubrequies, both mention, though not approvingly, the fermented mare's milk at the Khan's table. Probably in Xanadu a better beverage is used. From these facts, we must doubt the Turanic origin of Iswara, and rather believe that when the western Hindus, that is, the Turans, became acquainted with wine, they immediately added Iswara to the family of Shiva. But wine, as almost every art and invention, will be traced to an Aryan brain.

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In the Hindu mythology we find clearly the traces of that older, purer faith which was the special characteristic of the Aryans, but disfigured by the Turan worship of Shiva. The resemblance, therefore, of the Hellenic and cognate races, is due to two things; first, to their Aryan ancestry, from which they derive the idea of Apollo, or the sun god, as distinct from the Turan worship of the sun itself; and, secondly, to the same influence that corrupted the Hindu ethics and religion. This latter resemblance does not necessitate actual communication between the Hellenes and Pelasgi on the one hand, and the Hindus on the other; for history teaches us that no such after communication took place. But having a fundamental common fund of traditions, originally, as we may believe, derived from divine revelation, and being acted upon by the same disturbing element, analogous results followed. Thus, though the worship of Zeus and of Shiva are identic, and the two gods are doubtless one, we must not conclude that the Greeks learned it from the Hindus, but both acquired it from the same bad source—the Turans. Jupiter, however, who, we hold, is synonimous with Indra, was a belief which the Pelasgians inherited from their ancestors, who once lived in Ariana, or Bactria.

Unfortunately for the cause of history, nomenclature has too strong a hold upon the human mind. Accustomed to regard the Turans as the enemies of Iran, writers have failed to perceive that the Khamites are the same people. The word Mongol has also been a fruitful source of error, since it has acquired a meaning calculated to lead astray. The term has been given to the wandering Tartars of central Asia, and accordingly writers even as great as Micziewicz speak of races as mongol which are distinctly Aryan. The fact is, that there are Aryan nomads as well as Mongol, if Mongol is to be used to designate Khamites. The golden horde which exists to this day is Aryan; the Cossacks of the Don, and many of the tribes called Uralian, are of the same stock. Yet most unfortunately the word is taken universally as Khamitic. This will account for the strange fact that almost all writers, save Bunsen, have failed to recognize that Europe was peopled by Turans before the Aryan

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dispersion. This was the race of unbelievers whom the Hebrews, most distinctly an Aryan nation, were commanded to root out. The Zend-avesta, and the ancient songs of the Irans, bear witness that they conceived they had the same injunction; and from scattered hints, we may conjecture that the Hindus believed they had received the same mission.

The misfortunes that befell the Hebrews was the inevitable result of disobedience. The sons of God (Aryans) intermarried with the daughters of men (Turan), and begat a race of giants. So runs the word of revelation; and the mixed race was indeed one of extraordinary development. The Phœnician, the Etruscan and the Egyptian, must be numbered among the nations of this admixture; also, in all probability, the Arab and the Syrian. All of these tyrannized over the Aryan people, in some instances destroying them; in others, retarding their increase and stunting their intellectual development. So particularly with the Hindus, whose union with the Turans of the west culminated in a condition of moral wretchedness, to which the wide earth yields no parallel.

But to ascribe to the Hindus proper the horrible bestial worship which for a long time characterized their religion, would be to ignore all their sacred works, more especially the earlier. Though man is prone to degenerate, it is not within the bounds of possibility that a nation once blessed with divine inspiration, could descend so low as this people, unless under some strong influence from the outside. The same argument would lead us to believe that the Almighty did not, in his infinite wisdom, consider the Turans fit to receive a revelation of the truth. They were abandoned to their own devices, and the result was—Shiva and Bohvani. To this delightful pair belongs everything that could raise a blush or excite horror in humanity. The amiable sect of the Thugs adored Bohvani, and strangled their victims to do her pleasure. The Japanese practice of *hari-kari*, is simply an offering of one's own body to Hari and Gauri; that is, Shiva and Bohvani. The rites of Juggernaut, the immolation of captives under the car; the whirling of human beings on the hooks; the burning of widows; all these things were choice oblations and adoration

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for this terrible couple. Blood and lust were the principles of the religion. Let us ask ourselves if the same faith could have produced the noble sentences which indicate the nature of Brahm?

ART. II.—1. *Galerie des contemporaines illustres.* DE LOMÉNIE. Paris.

2. *Portraits littèraires.* Par CHARLES-AUG. SAINTE-BEUVE.

3. *Histoire de Port-Royal.* ST. BEUVE.

4. *Vie, Poésies et Pensées de Joseph Delorme.* ST. BEUVE.

5. *Galerie des Gens de Lettres au Dixneuvième siècle.* CH. ROBIN.

6. *Nouveaux Portraits littèraires.* GUSTAVE PLANCHE.

7. *Ouvres complètes de* VICTOR HUGO. Paris.

Madame de Girardin, daughter of the accomplished Sophie Gay, and spouse deceased of the present editor of the *Liberté* newspaper of Paris, invented, in years gone by, a cruel simile touching the breaking of the bond of friendship between Victor Hugo and Sainte-Beuve, when both were at the threshold of their literary lives. "*Sainte-Beuve était un poêle ou Victor Hugo mettait du bois,*" said the sarcastic authoress of "Le Vicomte de Launay," and added, with the accent of doom forecast: "*Victor Hugo n'en met plus.*" Although she did not live to witness the serene triumph of Sainte-Beuve's later years, Madame de Girardin realised before she died the failure of her implied prediction; for the reputation of him who was one day to write the "Causeries de Lundi," continued to develop itself after his separation from Hugo, and at the time of his demise he was regarded as the foremost of that renowned and cultivated craft, the literary critics of France.

Charles Auguste Sainte-Beuve was born, and for the first fourteen years of his life resided, in Boulogne, that old, ugly, Anglo-French town; that cheery haven which so many sea-worn travellers to the Continent have reached with rapturous relief, to leave it behind them in their flight toward Paris, with, quite possibly, that same unconcerned delight in which Sainte-Beuve quitted it half a century ago. He never re-

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visited his native place, which does not appear to have been for him an over-hallowed spot, nor one of rosy reminiscences. Boulogne meant his infancy, and his infancy meant poverty in a dreary sea-side city, where he was reared by his mother and aunt, who were English calvinists; his father, a government clerk on a moderate salary, having died while the future critic was yet unborn. Educated with all the rigor of calvinistic principles, the child-fanatic, who sometimes rose in the night to iterate his prayers, nevertheless became the sceptic who, in 1868, so eloquently and sturdily defended Renan and his works. The young puritan was promptly made acquainted with some of the English poets, for whom he evinced a great fondness, particularly Wordsworth and Crabbe, and he terminated his ancient classics, carrying off prizes for Latin verse, at the Bourbon and Charlemagne colleges. Upon leaving college he walked the Paris hospitals, and studied medicine, which first unsettled the religious teaching received at maternal hands, and his subsequent reading of the encyclopedists undermined it more completely. Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Condillac, and others, were his favorite masters, and while yet but a youth, his enthusiasm for them, and the calling of *un homme de lettres*, was such that he cast aside the surgeon's knife for the gray goose-quill of the journalist, in which capacity he commenced his remarkable career on the Paris "Globe."

Victor Hugo had already written the "Odes et Ballades," and if not then the lyric king that he was ecstatically styled by his admirers of a later era, he had acquired a lustre and a repute which placed him at the head of a literary clique, consisting of Barthélemy, Méry, Alf'de Musset, de Vigny, and others, who called themselves the *romanesques*, and who, in 1823–6, made vigorous war upon the *classiques*, for the empire of lettered France. Forced to elect, Sainte-Beuve decided for the latter, and his onslaught upon the "Odes et Ballades" is recited to this day by those envious of Hugo, whilst it procured for its author, at the time, the advances of the poet, glad to welcome so clever an adversary to his house, and the celebrated *réunions intimes de la rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs*. During his intimacy with Hugo, and his school,

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Sainte-Beuve published (1828) his "Tableau de la Poésie Française du Seizième Siècle," which was undertaken with a view to compete for the prize offered by the French Academy for a work on that subject. His original design grew into a larger plan, and the term set for the prize was passed, but France gained thereby a much more elaborate treatise. In 1829 the "Poésies et vie de Joseph Delorme" made its appearance, being an autobiography purporting to have been written by a medical student, who had died of consumption. The eccentricity and exaggeration of the phrase, and the *motif* of this latter publication, excited equivocal remark, if not downright disesteem. In the autobiography Sainte-Beuve adverts to the indications in himself of the germs of the very disease of which he died forty years later, and foreshadows coolly his own fate. "Les Consolations" (verse), which came out in 1830, were pretty much of the extravagant complexion of the "Poésies Delorme," but served to keep the neophyte before the public, as did his quarrel with Victor Hugo, which took place about this time. More or less scandal was mixed up with the account of the sudden estrangement, the truth of which has, in reality, never been known. But he of "the eagle's eye and the heart of the hare," as Cousin, innocently enough, once described his friend, quitted the sanctuary of Hugo and the *romanesques*, of which up to this time he had been an assiduous frequenter, never to put foot there again; and denying from that moment his whilom gods, he pointed a series of newspaper articles, disdainful and irreverent, for them and their temples.

Whatever the cause, the bad blood in the hearts of both Hugo and Sainte-Beuve lasted bitter to the end. At the public ceremony of induction to the chair, at the French Academy, so thronged by the literary and fashionable worlds of Paris, by a singular fortune, in 1845, it was upon Victor Hugo that the duty fell of replying to the admission speech of the honored and now radiant Sainte-Beuve; and, as was and is the complimentary custom, in that reply, to review with genial nicety and more or less emotion, the chief efforts of the freshman which had won him academical distinction. Hugo's

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chance and memory, upon this occasion, were only too good. In his florid and impressive style he spoke at length of almost everything and everybody, yet managed, blandly but utterly, to ignore the literary labors of the *recipiendaire*, the frown and flutter of his dismayed friends who were come to hear him complimented, down even to the diminished presence and clouded aureola of the ireful new member.

It was in reference to this severance, and Saint-Beuve's manifestoes of hostility, above alluded to, that Madame de Girardin spoke the words quoted at the commencement of this paper; and though pestered and exasperated by the continued ridicule and rebuke of members of the Hugo set, among whom such adepts as Alphonse Karr were not the least pertinacious, Sainte-Beuve continued, and with great distinction, his avocation in the "Revue de Paris," and the scholarly and brilliant "Revue des Deux Mondes."

In 1830 he contributed to the "National" newspaper, and shortly after was an intimate friend of Lammenais, under the influence of which profound but mystical thinker, he published, when not far from thirty, his novel, "Volupté," a wild and crude, if clever painting, of the spiritual experience of Lacordaire.

Notwithstanding that he had been one of the most earnest of the staff of the Democratic "National" at a previous epoch, M. Sainte-Beuve deprecated the events of 1848, in which the *soi disant* protector of his youth, Victor Hugo, glorified; yet, like that protector, he became reconciled to the revolution and the presidency of Louis Napoleon, and, in all sober conscience, clung to Napoleon III. and the empire, which Hugo, outwitted and disgusted, has so irrationally and obstinately assailed. Capricious and vacillating, Sainte-Beuve had undoubtedly proved himself to be, yet, as the other has never claimed to be celestial, otherwise than in a lyrical way, how one-sided a pretext, if it be the reason why, ever since their rupture and the days of the *salon rue Notre-Dame des Champs*, Hugo's steady and dazzling literary fame has been persistently put forward to dwarf, by contrast, that more modest but most estimable field of letters, in which Sainte-Beuve served and shone. Be it that, however, or the critic's relative

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failure as a poet—let the reason be what it may—the fact of this perpetual confrontation is notorious; hence the junction of these two names at the heading of this article, and hence, of necessity, a few cursory remarks upon Sainte-Beuve's great contemporary, the author of the "Chatiments" and the "Misérables."

The other is senior by only about two years, but more precocious. Hugo's prestige as a poet is of earlier date, and the Academy of Toulouse crowned him for his "Moise sur le Nil," in 1820, when he was but eighteen. His massive reputation of to-day, however, is not a universal one, far-reaching though it be. Let those of his extollers, old or new, who—unable to topple the eminent French critic from his pedestal—inveighed against the religious, the political, and the literary turpitudes of the writer of "Volupté," seemed to rely upon a general belief in the infallibility of their great republican model, the voluntary exile of Guernsey. For all that, the immortal sonneteer is anything but free from politicalblemish, if flawless and resplendent otherwise.

"L'Evénement" newspaper, which made its first appearance on the 31st of July, 1848, was known from the start as the Hugo paper, and to have been created to sustain Victor Hugo, in a possible contingency, as head of the state. If not an out-and-out Orleanist at its birth, it was, at all events, devoted to the election of Orleanist candidates for the chamber. Proudhon, the socialist, was contemned in its columns as "a miserable advocate of the people," which possibly might have been owing to the fact that the quaint philosopher, who admired Boileau, was no rhapsodist for Victor Hugo.* The last-named had sung, the year before, in bewitching verse his adulation of Charles X., and, after the fall of Louis Phillipe, the "Evénement" became a beacon light for the mob, and, eventually, a supporter of Louis Napoleon† for the presidency, and waged doughty war for Bonapartism. In its

* Proudhon declared that a Rhine boatman, whom he heard rhyming and whistling at his work, improvised Hugo's *Orientales*.

† The introduction of its new conviction in the *Evénement* has the true Hugo ring: "*La gloire de son nom est une lettre de change qu'il faut qu'il acquitte. M. Cavagnac* (an opponent), *lui c'est un inconnu. M. Louis Bonaparte, on sait par où le prendre; on peut le saisir par son nom et le manier!*"

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leaders, perhaps from the very pen of the author of "Napoleon le Petit," was boundless praise lavished upon the prince, declared to be "the choice of God and the choice of the people;' '" a Cæsar destined to make France the queen of nations!" Only when it came to light that Louis Napoleon, chosen, had a native will which Louis Napoleon yet to be voted for, had suppressed, and that he would prove no puppet for Victor Hugo to manipulate, did the latter wheel about and compose that wretched calumny which lies between the covers of "Napoleon le Petit."

Of late years, Victor Hugo has been regarded by frenzied disciples as the paragon republican of ancient and modern history. "The black bread of liberty we prefer," he says, "to the white bread of servitude," an exclamation worthy of the time of Leonidas. But M. Hugo can have but about that appreciation of the black bread of liberty which a blind man has of colors, since he has never known want, nor been otherwise than pecuniarily successful in his business with his publishers. His father, a general, made a count by his king, lived until the son was twenty-six, and before the latter was thirty he was accorded a pension of fifteen hundred francs—equivalent to six hundred dollars of the present day—for his volume of *Odes et Ballades;* and Charles X., at the author's personal solicitation, when about to marry, granted the poet a further annuity of fifteen hundred francs, no part of which did he ever look upon, so far as known by the imperial treasury clerks, as the repellant bread of servitude. The "Rappel" newspaper, originated in Paris under the recent law, which grants even license to the turbulent Gallic press, is the old "Evénement" revived, with the same editorial staff, the two Hugo sons, Charles and François Victor—who, with all the Hugo ebullition, have not a grain of their father's genius—a M. Vacquerie, and others. It signalizes itself among the journals of the capital by its gross personal attacks upon the emperor and his family, whilst it is boisterously red in its socialist proclivities. In case of a revolution, it stands ready to support Victor Hugo's claims to the presidency, short of which his partisans would not dare to proffer him; for the author of *Les Misérables* is a declared and aspiring party chief.

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M. Sainte-Beuve was never a politician, in the sense in which his overshadowing coeval has been and is. The senate was the goal of the critic's political ambition, and his political claims lay in a temperate but unswerving devotion to Louis Napoleon, at a critical moment, and in his contributions, expounding imperial policy, which long held place in the "Moniteur," then the official journal of the empire. Nor was his devotion without sacrifice to himself; friends and connections he forsook in numbers when, in 1852, he came out as a champion of the new order of things. And few of the political writers of that eventful period, opposed to imperialism, who have not been probed and nettled by his caustic pen, though his fealty was not only never bought, but, to the last, was poorly requited by the government he served.

In 1853, he was appointed to inaugurate, at the college of France, the course of Latin poetry, which had been suspended years before. His favorite Virgil would, naturally, have formed a large feature in this labor, which was one of love as well as of honor and profit to him. But those modern Gracchi, those insatiable patriots, the students, had, as was afterwards demonstrated, something in their heads more pugnacious and aggressive than eclogues and bucolics. In M. Sainte-Bauve, as he then appeared, they pretended to see only the apostate of 1848—he whom they no longer loved—he, who with Armend Carrel, had been "to the foot of the Guillotine, to collect there the last words and testaments of the republican fathers," and who, nevertheless, had suffered himself to be decorated with a cross of the emperor's order, and on the *fête* day of Napoleon! The crowd was great, and when M. Sainte-Beuve, accompanied by M. Ampère, showed himself upon the platform, a storm of cries and whistlings of the most ominous description greeted them, during which the newly-made professor gravely unrolled his manuscript. He commenced reading, but the noise redoubled, and was now varied with choruses from the street songs then in vogue, and, as he persisted, finally the seats were torn from the floor and the doors were unhinged, with a menacing crash. "You dishonor the repu-

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tation of the youth of France," cried the indignant lecturer. "It is you who have dishonored the literature of France by your political conduct," vociferated the republican students. "You have insulted me, and I withdraw," rejoined Sainte-Beuve, mortified and astounded. "Which is precisely what we demand," was shouted in answer, and, in spite of the protestations of M. Ampère and others present, the grieved, and now unpopular professor abandoned his place, and relinquished at once what had been a coveted charge.

Four years later, however, he accepted the post of *maitre des conférences* at the normal school, where he was much liked and respected. Tardily, but finally, his bidding to Compiégne reached him; he went there, and quitted the emperor with joy in his heart, and the promise of his coming elevation, which made him senator in 1865. For nearly twelve years had he waited for this elevation, to which so many ordinary intellects have attained, sometimes almost without delay or effort. He was raised to it when it had become impossible to ignore his superior ability and augmented claims, and when it would have been shameful to refuse him. For this took place only when he was relatively wasted by a protracted and arduous life of unceasing occupation, and when, from sheer exhaustion, he was no longer at his apogee. The senate reached, and Sainte-Beuve's political ambition was compassed—once there, and his life, if still busied, was a perfect peace.

Of all the *proscrits* of 1851; of all the notable opponents to Napoleon III. and his dynasty, whether legitimist, Orleanist, democrat, or *rouge*, no one, for a decade back, has made himself more conspicuous than the self banished bard at Guernsey. Necessarily his publications have contrbuted to that effect, and he meant they should; but his pompous letters and political communications, his flourished refusal to accept the emperor's amnesty for political offences, his receptions and vaunted asylum to mouthing tacticians who got scared away from home, his advertised charities, and the endless mutterings or warnings of the sage of Guernsey—in a word, his vast and constant attitudinizing has made of him one of the most consequential, if not the most dangerous, of the sworn and banded foes of the Bonaparte régime. Of a

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certain political church he is the god; and, inviolable as the kaiser or the pope, his followers bow to his fiat with shaking knees. His edicts are promulgated in superb language, it is true—brief, metallic, and oracular. One which was printed in the "Rappel" of the 15th October last, is a fair example. It related to an intended meeting, eleven days later, to protest against the non-convocation of the chamber, by the government—which protest would have been an incipient but unwise revolution. Abbreviated, it reads thus:

"Personne, le 26 Octobre, ne doit descendre dans la rue. . . . Que le peuple s'abstienne et le chassepot est paralysé, etc., etc. Tel est mon conseil. . . . . Un dernier mot: le jour ou je conseillerai une insurrection j 'y serai. Mais cette fois je ne la conseille pas.—*Hugo.*

His inconsistency may have been the cause which raised up doubters in the same sincerity as Victor Hugo, when they came to view his professions in the past by the light of some of his acts. A flatterer of royalty when his personal ends were gained, and Louis Napoleon's old and fond confederate, what wonder that not a few are skeptical of his thirsty democracy or his sonorous invective against the Bonapartes of the present day? What a reflecion upon his sagacity, in the minds of many, even of his republican friends, must have been his ostentatious patronage of a person like Rochefort! A revolutionary scribbler whose calibre was measured by a squib; whose political theory sacrificed all principles to success, and who inspired a precious band, in which, unfortunately, are many like him — men avowedly as unscrupulous as the editor of the scurrilous and extinguished "Lanterne." Samples are they of that wild agrarian stamp which surges in demoniac masses from the depths of the earth, at the first tocsin of a Paris insurrection, and whose chiefs M. Griéroult of the "Opinion Nationale," and himself a democrat, denounces as "*valtiguere,*" "scourges of democracy," and "would-be apers of Danton and Robespierre." * Such

* "There is nothing more unlike 1793 than 1869," are the words of the "Opinion Nationale." "The business of that epoch was to overthrow the feudal and catholic world; the work of the present day is to reconstruct . . . . . and those who wish to ascertain the relative measures of the two undertakings, have only to compare the great destroyers of those days with their imitators of the present: Mirabeau and Danton — Rochefort and Vacquerre!" (one of the editors of the *Rappel.*)

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is the party which the lion of Guernsey aims to lead, thereby exposing the weak punctilio of a selfish and thwarted ambition* in the choice of means to aid it. The brotherhood was in great number at the congress of Lausanne last September, where met in conclave the fire-brands of Europe, mostly of the socialist persuasion, and fitly selected Victor Hugo as their president. With childish gravity he urged his idea of a European United States — with Hugo chief magistrate, of course — an idea born of his soaring genius and his inflated nonsense. On the other hand, the unblushing parsimony of the august hero of Guernsey, as concerns the solid fruits of his intellect — which was so publicly shown up and condemned at the announcement of *l'Homme qui rit;* and the exorbitant price charged by the publishers, following the directions of the author — has given rise to a speculation as malicious as plausbile, touching the fiscal position of the poet-politician. The author-millionaire, it is averred, has nothing more damaging to the sale of his books to fear, than the destruction of the empire. The day of the establishment of the republic, it is clear that Victor Hugo would have to abandon his character of exile and *emigré*, and go home to France. There, it is doubtful whether he could ever again so well invest his poetical genius and histrionic patriotism, as he has of late years done at Guernsey. The bread of exile has been simply a gold mine for him; he has been told so by venomous detractors, who further pretend that, returned to France and freedom, he would be just as republican and social as ever, if it continued to be of the same importance to his purse.

For years, then, Hugo has been prominent as a party man, and the popular notion of his desires, if not his designs, is rarely contradicted. His wealth is considerable, and daily increasing; and he leads two lives at his comfortable mansion at Guernsey: the one of the admired author and constant student, represented by his publications; the other that of a political *poseur* — a martyr of the stage, with an eye to compensation.

* He was candidate for president of France in 1848, but was forced to withdraw before Louis Napoleon.

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During the years from 1861 to 1865, had any one desiring to renew his subscription to the Paris "Constitutionnel" happened to have gone to the office of that journal, of a Sunday afternoon, say from two to three o'clock — no impossible occurrence in Paris, by the way — he would have espied behind the iron fencing to the desk-tops but a solitary individual. Absorbed in his occupation, that individual would have discovered to the visitor only his *calotte*, or little black cap which covers the top of his head, whence escaped a few locks of gray hair, which must have been blond before silvered with age. The person in question was M. Sainte-Beuve, busied at correcting the proof of his *causerie* to appear in Monday's, paper. After having revised the proof with minute attention and untiring pains — in the lonely silence of that great hall, with its vast ceiling, painted by one of the Coypels, which is the outer office of the establishment — M. Sainte-Beuve — *l'oncle Beuve*, as the poet Beaudélaire used familiarly to call him — returned to the little circle of his fellow-contributors to the "Constitutionnel" and others, which formed for an hour or so in the rear office, on the afternoon of the day mentioned. Besides Sainte-Beuve, the group regularly comprised Nestor Roqueplan and Paulin Limayrac, a trio which, of all Paris, was perhaps as well fitted as any to inspect and appreciate the literature, and judge the politics of France of the nineteenth century. Laurentjean, Achard, Aubert, and other lesser, but still considerable lights, swelled the coterie of which Sainte-Beuve was an idol and the oracle. Théophile Gautier, Philarête Chasles, Edmond About, Jouvin, A. Duchesne, Jules Janin, Aug. Villemot, Fiorentino, Sarcy, Paul St. Victor, Claretie, Aubryet, and scores of others—most of whom are, or were, popular authors and well-known journalists—are names which represent a force in matters of literary and art criticism unequalled in the world, and a guild which acknowledged Sainte-Beuve as its illustrious leader.

Criticism in France is a fine art by itself, of which no mere pedagogue can pass professor. A long, serious apprenticeship, with native and manifest ability at the outset, are the

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first acquirements for the humblest of its grades. Not in France, as in America, and frequently enough in England, does some bookish knight, his visor down, yet invested with all a critic's might, vault into the arena of literature and art, and blaster forth his dicta with undisputed force; nor, as here, can the flippant sciolist qualify with lofty doubt, or befog with sapient phrase, the opinions of a plastic or indiscriminating class of readers. The public which Sainte-Beuve addressed have long been accustomed to criticise the critic; competent to refute, or quick to modify an unjust judgment, the cultured community has a voice which, whenever raised, is never passed by unheeded. French criticism does not merely expose the faults, but, in friendly temper, it ferrets out, and in an intelligible manner examines, *de vous à mois*, the beauties of a production. It classifies with signs and numbers understood by all. Satire and art, if apt to be over-estimated, are, on the other hand, never confounded with baser stuff; whilst sterling erudition, and that homely, often traceless, toiling after fact, are recognised and duly prized. As the most confident charlatan could not withstand the scrutiny of the average-educated French classes, so no prestige, however lustrous, would blind them to a writer's positive imperfections.

Few men have been more criticised than the prince of critics, Sainte-Beuve himself, and perhaps no author was ever more sensitive to censure or derision. The Duchess d'Abrantès nicknamed him Sainte *Bévue;* and in the "Figaro" of the day, referring to his secession from Victor Hugo and the *romanesques*, Alphonse Karr, in an anonymous article headed, "l'Affreux Bonhomme," berated him with claws and beak, and followed him up with irony and bitter fun—phrases from which diatribe are still extant, as for years the subject of it was often dubbed by witty haters, *l'affreux bonhomme* "That good soul of a critic," said the "Rivarol" newspaper, in 1842, reviewing Sainte-Beuve's first numbers of the "Historie de Port Royal," "who plucks and pecks at the works of others, in all the wisdom and charity in which a *dévote* plucks and pecks at the acts of her less self-delighted neighbor." And again: "That Jansenist who dares to chant

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his yellow and sickish prose only under cover of the arches of Port Royal," are Sainte-Beuve and his book graciously yclept.

The French critics of the day, with no assumption of infallibility, are acute, cultivated, and, in the main, conscientious men. Indiscriminate praise, or sweeping censure, is their horror, as the balance of defect and merit, patiently sought for and brought down, is their real and only test. The society of mutual admiration, as we know it in America — especially in the "modern Athens" — there keeps low its well-cuffed head, though if reciprocal puff be rarer as a systematised thing, the records of French criticism do not show the fraternity to have always been immaculate. The *Cid* had its Scuderi, and for a long time Corneille was persecuted by a d'Aubignac; whilst Bossuet, and Fénelon too, had a Faidit—unfit or knavish judges. Racine was condemned by clever rivals, and as England had a Denny, so France was infested by a Desfontaines, who excused his cunning, but illiterate abuse, upon the plea that he had to live in some way. Janin and Fiorentius (an Italian), of our time, plausibly explained acts of theirs which had been stigmatised as corrupt—where their interest was said to have colored their verdict—but a spot on both will always linger. "An excellent critic should be an artist, one with much science and taste, and without prejudice and envy," says Voltaire, but he adds that it would be difficult to find such. So difficult, indeed, that even the great satirist, all critic *hors ligne*, that he set up to be, was possessed by what he should have lacked to personify his compact formula, for he assuredly had envy. The French standard of the present century, as maintained by Gautier, Nillemot, and Jouvin, is one of fundamental laws, with purity, experience, taste, and common sense as articles of faith. Without being Quintilians, perhaps, these are three veteran masters we have named, whom none who know them would deny to be such, not even the witty sneerer at Rousseau, could he wake up and scan their model yet thorough and impartial examinations. Masters, too, of a temper and a justice superior to the measure of Voltaire's pen, and of the plainest prose wherewith to render

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an exquisite perception; masters, by the side of whose swift and simple style the commentaries of Ruskin are tangled and profuse, Mathew Arnold is labored and common-place, and Colley Cibber a pretentious drone.

In France, then, where there is no Paternoster Row and few mere panygerists like Brimley, or finical *inutiles* like Helps—in France all who are recognized as critics are held by a fastidious public to the code. All, with rare exceptions, are tested, reliable and potential men in their various departments, and all, with Sainte-Beuve to head the list, have a large and important place in French *belles lettres*.

The function of criticism he inculcated as he exercised it—with a single-minded order and devotion, which, to the reviewers of the paper-knife school, who can cut up a book which they have not cut open, would appear fanatical and fabulous. Yet his indulgence went hand in hand with his sincerity, and both kept company with his distinctive canons of taste which presided over all his interpretations. His facial expression prompted, and his incomparable talent, his tact, and his unpedantic learning legitimatized the deference paid him by old and young of his own and other cliques. There was in his countenance a certain combination of the prelate and the diplomatist, denoting an absence of animosity, and that ever-present delicacy which marked his sallies and his conversation. His large, pointed nose indicated the sturdy inquirer and examiner; whilst another shade to his features, and a rapid movement of his nostrils showed how little he brooked opposition to, or even divergence from, his literary rescript. Skittish like a blood-horse, irritable like a poet, individual like a pretty woman, the least thrust or reflection straightened him upon his members and put him on his defence. He has also been likened to one of those great iron boilers with the exterior painted white or black, which appear to the ordinary spectator to be cold and calm, and inoffensive. But within their sides struggles a formidable, if prisoned force, which is ever ready to break forth. From the smallest issue conceivable—one opened with the prick of a pin—a jet of boiling vapor will spurt out, sharp and unexpected, to scald and sting the unwary trifler. Sainte-Beuve

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was something of that sort—that is Sainte-Beuve from fifty to sixty years of age, who, knowing the strength of his arm, rarely pardoned an emulous offender, but treated him as the Turk would the Moor. Yet, again, like a good-hearted woman, for a word that had touched him, or his suspicion that he had been over harsh, or *that he had conquered*, and the argument and the epigram gave way to social conference and the kindly jest. Opinions passed upon any man, great or small, inevitably disagree, but it was generally conceded that, by himself, the *père critic* was amiable and full of feeling. Proud and difficult with his literary equals, his consciousness of sovereignty taught him a winning consideration for his inferiors.

In the life and times of Louis XIV. he learned the theory of war. With Ampère he studied mathematics, and political economy with Proudhon—two friends whom he ever loved—and, save a speech or two in the senate, his public life outside of his lectures and his writings was zero. For the imperial family he had a true regard, and a strong bond of friendship existed between the princess Mathilde, that enlightened patron of the arts and letters, and their most brilliant devotee. Upon entering the senate he resigned his post with the "Constitutionnel" and a salary of 20,000 francs a year, (his other income amounted to a few hundred dollars only) and considering himself a rich man at present,* he made certain improvements in his modest residence of the rue du Montparnasse, where, with a single servant, he had lived for years. His study remained simple and unadorned as in his younger and poorer days, and was also used as his bed-chamber. Here he breathed his last, with barely the comforts of modern life about him, such was the primitive plainness of the man.

"Les Châtiments" of Victor Hugo, is by many considered his *chef d'œuvre;* not only on account of the skill and sublime beauties of many of its passages, but because it is perhaps the only book where the passion of the author seems real. Elsewhere, when M. Hugo speaks of his affections, his children, or his reveries, one suspects that the native senti-

* His pay as senator was about $8,000.

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ment is colored for effect. Doubtless it is to his verses and his plays that M. Hugo owes his literary pre-eminence; still, as a poet and a playwright, we have no need nor intention to discuss him here, since his prose alone concerns us in this paper. His characteristic features, as found in his novels and other works, are so salient and striking, that a few of the commoner ones, we think all will allow, require little trained or refined sagacity in order to appreciate them. His "Napoléon le Petit," is a weak and unworthy production from so great a hand — wild denunciation, false prophecy, and a leaden dagger were aimed to stab with sarcasm or the author's scorn. Incorrect in its details of the 2d of December, 1851,* its reckless spite at men and things keeps pace with its inexactitude. In most of the other narrations of Hugo, his partiality for the tragic, the melo-dramatic, or even the shocking in life and nature is perceptible. "Notre Dame de Paris," "Les Misérables," "Les Travailleurs de la Mer," "L'Homme qui rit," abound in emotional, gorgeous, or horrible incident; albeit many of his former readers have, at present, a much diminished admiration for sensational and fantastic writing. For them the milder and more strictly historical, though likewise dramatic quality of the elder Dumas, may prove monotonous; Sue is sometimes positively silly, and both are apt to cloy, whilst the individual philosophy of Victor Hugo, as preached in numberless pages of "Les Misérables, or "Les Travailleurs," is heavy in the extreme for everybody. As the schemes and situations of his fictions are depicted with high art and great impressiveness, so is his peculiar theorizing developed with power and vivid illustration, though he seems to care little to persuade. The result is that with all his imperious prolixity, he gains few converts to the right as against the wrong which he decrees, even among those who devour his thrilling romances with wonder and delight. Taking, then, his prose works to compare them with the prose productions of Sainte-Beuve, which is the only means of approaching the semblance of a plane, would be like comparing a huge man-of-war, with her portentous

* The writer of this article was an eye-witness of events Hugo pretends to narrate during that eventful day of the *coup d'état*.

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sides and bristling armament, to a pleasure yacht, with its fragile grace and rakish, yet peaceful fashion. Both are ships, as both Hugo and Sainte-Beuve are writers. Meyerbeer's "Prophète," abounding, as it does, in the grandest music, and in palpitating and gorgeous display, and "Le premier jour du Bonheur," of Aubert, which wins by its gentle harmony, and dapper and more tender charm, ought not to be forced to a common test. Yet some such contrast is thrust upon one by the references to, and regrets for his quarrel and known dislike of Hugo — as of dimming consequence to his else brighter mark in letters — in the various obituaries the critic encountered in the Paris press. Far be it from us, to attempt to depreciate the literary renown and empire of Victor Hugo, whose vast originality as a delineator of graphic plots and weird studies and fancies, and whose cunning marvels in verse we, quite possibly, have not the spring and rebound of nerve needful to span or properly investigate. We seek, rather, humbly to state our mind that the broad, and often sombre genius of the poet, playwright, romancer, and political conspiritor all combined, when flaunted forth by jealous enthusiasts as a sort of smothering pall, to stifle and conceal the less muscular talent of Sainte-Beuve, only serves as a background, after all, to bring more distinctly into view the subtle, yet sinewy prowess and radient qualities of the author, the artist, and the judge.

If he who wrote the "Tableau de la Poesie Francaise," and "La Vie de J. Delorme" at the age of twenty-four or five, was then but "a stove into which Victor Hugo put the wood," as Madame de Girardin so maliciously declared, in 1844, when forty-five years of age, the author of "Portraits Littéraires" has lighted, from fuel of his own furnishing, a fire of popular enthusiasm in his behalf, which, followed by the "Causeries de Lundi" (1851–57), when he was fifty-three, grew to be a blaze by the glare of which Hugo, the superior, might have read a new version of his "Moise," and some other minor pieces, even so far away as Germany. In, 1840 was commenced the "Histoire de Port-Royal"—which is ecclesiastical chronicles of that Jansenist faith, whose votaries have mostly faded away (except, perhaps, in a few

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Dutch villages) though the Jansenist theology once ranked a genius like that of Pascal among its upholders, and agitated educated France. This was first delivered as lectures at Lausanne, in Switzerland, and the work was only finished in 1862. In 1845, his "Portraits Contemporaires" was issued, and they have lately been translated and published in this country; but must be read in connection with his "Causeries" to reach a fair estimation of the gifts and versatility of Sainte-Beuve. There is a tender grace which especially pervades his composition in the "Portraits," and this, with his finesse, appears to form a first and natural impulse, hardly betokening that keen, but ever courteous raillery oftener perceptible in the "Causeries." This latter, though a virile power of the author, was one less exercised by him, whilst that genial refinement, which he seems most to delight in, gleams through one and the other of these works.

Not only for Victor Hugo did Sainte-Beuve lack sympathy. To a far greater man he has denied the superior merit now generally allotted to him at home. That skilled teacher in mental vivisection, the author of the *Comédie Humaine*, never forgot certain sharp, it may be unreasonable, strictures passed by Sainte-Beuve upon his earlier writings. Balzac's dislike for him was reciprocated by Sainte-Beuve. It was Balzac who, in the *Revue Parisienne*, in 1842, pointed out the blunder of Sainte-Beuve who, in his *Histoire de Port-Royal*, made Corneille and Chevreau dine together at Port-Royal, instead of the Palais Royal; an error of singular absurdity, which, Balzac declared, merited for him who made it, the Sainte-*Bévue* of Madame d'Abrantès.

But it seems to us that we can hardly be surprised that Sainte-Beuve was not impelled by an intuitive predilection for one who had conceived the "Historie des Treize," "Ou ménent les mauvaise Chemins," "Une Ténébreuse Affaire," and other gloomy or painful chapters from his tale of our every-day existence. The shocks of ignorant superstition, the dismal in vice, or the harsh in life, no matter how extraordinary, or lamentable, or true, had never intense attraction for him who preferred, and the more so as he grew older, the contemplation of what was sunny, and mild, and

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gracious — the fairer side of nature. Anarchy in the streets, and the freaks of that bloody jade, called liberty by the French, he hated as he did mental anarchy, the Philistine mind and the barbarism of a spurious literature. His principal works proclaim this, as well as his earnestness, his sincerity, and his self-respect. His nice and appreciative mind certainly denoted the feminine instinct, and with the facts of his gossiping curiosity, his passion for elegant and airy composition, his great attention to detail, and marked preference for the society of women, earned for him at one time, among his contemporaries, the appellation of *Sœur Sainte-Beuve*. The brune and the blonde in turn had each been sovereign in the poet's heart, and "*Est ce qu'on choisit quand on aime?*" he once replied to a noble dame, who marvelled at such poor discrimination in his selections.

For the same reason, as specified, probably, most of Hugo's literature especially the prose, was even more distasteful to the fastidious critic, than that of Balzac, as it is not redeemed by that varied and unstrained wisdom, nor qualified by that fascination of analysis, which is so truthful, so rarely uncouth, and so instructive in the "Comédie Humaine." It ought also to be said, that the simpler beauties of "Modeste Mignon," and such precious and accomplished hints upon matters of art, as are contained in "Cousin Pons," and other tales, had modified, in the latter years of his life, Sainte-Beuve's first notion of the author's talent, so that he ceased to murmur when the genius of Balzac was asserted and admired.

Besides those of his works already referred to, Sainte-Beuve published his "Panseés d'Aout," in verse, in 1837; "Portraits de Femmes," in 1844, and an "Etude sur Virgil," in 1857, which, with his "Nouveaux Lundis," 1861–65, his contributions to the "Dictionaire de la Conversation," to the "Athenæum Français," his unfinished study of Prudhon, and numberless prefaces and essays, comprise the bulk of his literary labor. His poetry was finished and penetrating, but not remarkable; his "Etude sur Virgil" was considered worthy of his reputation as a classical scholar, but his master-pieces, as before said, are his "Portraits" and

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his "Causeries." In these are to be found the elements of the writer's sentiment and sway; his fine apprehension of the pains and joys of the heart, and his witty wisdom of the world, and all are sketched with a deft and chaste use of the French language peculiar to him, erst the poet and novelist who sat in Madame Récamier's *salon* as one of those chosen by the author, to listen to, and pronounce upon the manuscript of Châteaubriand's autobiography. "An Aristippus," says an ardent English eulogist, "minus the vices of that disciple of Socrates, who has criticised almost every great name in European letters, ancient and modern, with scrupulous attention, delicacy, acuteness, etc., etc. We know absolutely nothing of such criticism in England!"

Buloz, who was intimate with Sainte-Beuve, said of him: "*C'est un mouton enragé: la rancune l' étouffe et il n' a pas la force de la vengeance,*" and we have already alluded to his dictating vanity. This latter was, however, spasmodic, and confined chiefly to his efforts in consolidating and simplifying the critic's place and art, and to his literary dictum. If not an universally popular man, Sainte-Beuve was certainly not soured like Balzac, nor irascible like Hugo. The preoccupation of the last ten years of his life was the senate, or his place there, which did not give scope for much political hate or strife or unneighborly practice. In religion he was called a Jansenist, *un libre penseur;* but by conviction, not from flippant or fashionable unbelief, for in "La vie de Delorme" he speaks of his scruples at that early age, about entering a catholic church. Cousin, Erefantin, Lammenais, Lacordaire, were at different times the companions of his studies, and by many intimate with him, were declared to be but guides and fellow-travellers in his adventurous journeys after the new and marvellous. "In all my explorations," he says, "I have never surrendered my will nor my judgment. *Mon désir de tout regarder de près m'entraîna à cette série d'expériences qui n'ont été pour moi, qu' un cours de physiologie morale.*" In another place, alluding to the same subject, he is reported to have said: "*En un mot, j'ai observé curieusement et d'aussi près que possible l'intérieure de toutes les souricières, mais je ne suis entré dans aucune. On ne m'a jamais*

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pris." Even his defence of Renan's Life of Jesus, has been palliated by a casuistic admirer, who declares it to be "a defence of the head, not by the heart." "*Dans son foi intérieur il la trouvait médiocre,*" says the excuser, "but he wished by his obstinacy to impose on those about him."

One reason that he was looked upon as an unbeliever, was that he never replied to any such charges. He was for a long time, while intimate with Proudhon, called a socialist, and he never contradicted the report, yet subsequent events proved clearly that he was never in any way mixed up with the maxims or the schemes of Rollin, or Blanc, or Hugo. His right of thought he deemed sacred, and not to be questioned, and for liberty of conviction, and of speech, within limits that excluded license, he was ever ready to combat.

His activity was uncommon, and his craving for occupation, doubtless, shortened his days. His articles in the "Temps" newspaper continued to within a short time of his decease. A discourse that he had prepared for the senate he had printed in that journal, when he realized that he would probably never again occupy his seat in the assembly. "Vous voyez je suis cloué dans mons fauteuil," he remarked to a visitor, during his last confinement, "je ne vis plus-j'assiste." His death occurred on the 14th October last, after a painful illness, accompanied by surgical operations.

To the last his philosophy clung to him. His will expressly stated that no religious ceremony, nor any address, should take place at his funeral. He wished simply to be borne to his grave without any deputation from the different bodies to which he had belonged in life, and he even expressed his preference for an early hour of the morninig—nine o'clock. "Je ne veux pas qu' on débite du mauvais Français sur ma tombe," it was circulated he had said, and it expressed a poignant apprehension for the great French critic. His wishes were executed to the letter. "*Adieu Sainte-Beuve,*" were the only words uttered by one friendly voice, as the coffin of the life-long journalist and celebrity in letters disappeared from view.

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ART. III.—1. *Sketches of the rites and customs of the Greco-Russian church.* By H. C. ROMANOFF. With introduction by the author of "The Heir of Redcliffe." 8 vo. London. 1868.

2. *A history of the Church of Russia.* By A. N. MOURAVIEFFE, chamberlain to his imperial majesty, and under procurator of the most holy governing synod, St. Petersburgh, 1838. Translated by the Rev. R. W. BLACKMORE, chaplain in Cronstadt to the Russian Company, and B. A. of Morton college Oxford. 8 vo. Oxford. 1842.

3. *Geschichte der Russischen Kirche.* (History of the Russian Church,) VON PHILIPP STRAHL. Halle. 1830.

When Constantine the Great removed the seat of his vast empire from Rome to Byzantium, he probably did not foresee that he was laying the foundation of the ruin of Roman greatness. And when he made Christianity the state religion, he as little anticipated that by changing his capitol he was planting the seed of a schism, in the church, which was to last for centuries. So little can we see ahead! So short-sighted are mortals! Yet these were the almost immediate results of his new policy. For the bishop of Constantinople claimed equal rank with the pope of Rome, and of course, the latter insisted on his own preëminence. These disputes became embittered by the heresies which rent the church, in which controversies the two metropolitans generally took opposite sides. The Arian and the Monophysite heresies, the contention between the Eastern and Western churches as to the mode of observing easter, the iconoclast controversy, the subjugation of Italy by the barbarians, and the rise of the Saracenic empire, all contributed to keep alive the feud between Rome and Constantinople, until the breach became incurable.

We shall trace in the sequel the evil effect this schism had upon Russia, not only as to her political relations with the rest of the world, but as to her social and domestic characteristics. The former branch of the subject has been well handled by ecclesiastical historians, especially by Mosheim, Neander, Hesse, and Strahl, and by Karamsin, the national historian. The latter branch is dealt

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with in Madame Romanoff's "Sketches," and it has the more interest from the fact that but little is known in other countries of the social relations of the Greek church to the Russian people; and what is known comes to us principally through the prejudiced testimony of the English traveller, Dr. E. D. Clarke,* who could see nothing good in Russia, and that of the Marquis de Custine,† who is almost equally illiberal.

Madame Romanoff is an English lady, married to a Russian officer who is stationed in the remote province of Perm, on the frontier of Siberia, at the foot of the Ural mountains, This portion of the Russian empire is scarcely known to tourists except by name; but it is in such portions that the national habits have been preserved in their full peculiarity, unaltered by foreign influences. A residence of many years in the district has enabled her to become intimately acquainted with the domestic life of its inhabitants, especially with that of the clergy and the middle class of nobles; and she has made good use of her knowledge by giving to the world pictures, or "sketches" of what particularly struck her. These sketches are disjointed, and apparently were written as the occasion prompted. Put in the form of tales, they enable the writer to introduce lively dialogue; and thus we gain an insight into the modes of thought and expression current among the Russians. Their constant use of terms of endearment shows that the family ties are very strong with them. A diminutive is invented for every proper name, and by this pet appellation the person bearing it is generally distinguished. Thus, Romàn becomes Romuschka, and Nadejda becomes Nadinka. Tyàtinka and Maminka are the appellatives by which children greet their father and mother. And generally, there is among them a tendency to bestow affectionate epithets upon friends and domestics, which strongly reminds us of the French, who are ingenius in inventing such names. As a knowledge of the Russian

* *Travels in Russia, Turkey and Tartary.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. London. 1810.

† *L'Empire du Czar*, and *La Russie.* Par le Marquis de Custine. Paris. 1843 and 1853.

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church is essential as a preliminary to the correct understand- of the influence of the national church upon the people, we shall glance at Madame Romanoff's book.

The objects which the authoress proposed to herself in writing it were two, viz., "To present the English with correct descriptions of the ceremonies of the Greco-Russian church, and at the same time with pictures of domestic life in Russian homes." She appears to have thought that her countrymen stood in special need of enlightenment on these points, an opinion apparently shared by Miss Yonge;* and the English public may therefore be grateful to both ladies for their efforts to enlighten them. We, also, may derive some advantage from their labors, while controverting Miss Yonge's statement that "in the memory of many of us the Greek church was almost ignored." We presume that she here means that its existence was almost unknown, otherwise her meaning is by no means clear. Now, none but the very ignorant could fail to know that Russia was a vast empire, and that she had a national church which was commonly called the Greek church. To ignore its influence or its existence would have been absurd. To those who are merely superficially acquainted with the history of Russia it is well known that the power of the Russian clergy, over the masses of the people, was so great that Catharine II., licentious as she was, found herself forced to comply, outwardly, with every rite of their church. Some idea of this power may be formed from the fact that during Suwarrow's campaigns in Italy the Russian soldiers were made to believe that those of them who fell in battle against the French rebels and infidels, would come to life again at the end of three days, and find themselves happily restored to their homes, free from the obligation of serving in the army for the rest of their life. And during the Polish insurrection of 1830-1, the Russian priests impressed upon them the belief that the last judgment would come if the Poles should prove victorious.

The "Sketches" are highly characteristic, and have the appearance of being drawn from life, so much so, indeed, as

* See Introduction to the Sketches.

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to suggest the idea that they are translations from Russian originals. We do not assert that they are so, for we have no means of knowing whence Madame Romanoff derived them; but they are decidedly un-English in their style. This is especially the case with the first of them, "Romàn the Reader," which depicts the hardships and trials undergone by a studious youth, the son of a poor parish priest, in his efforts to educate himself and get employment. After sundry failures he is appointed "reader" in a parish church, but is struck dead by lightning shortly after on his way home. As a story it is as meagre as can well be; but it illustrates several phases of Russian life, particularly among the clergy, and shows by what peculiar customs and traditions they are bound; and this is the subject with which we are more immediately concerned. One usage, in particular, is curious, and we give it in the authoress's own language:*

"Yes," said Romàn, suddenly brightening, as if he had recollected something all at once; "there *is* one thing, as we have touched on the subject, that is always revolting to me—marrying for a place. No! if it were for a ten-thousand-roubles-a-year place, I would not consent to marry any woman unless I liked her, respected her, in a word, loved her."

"And what do you mean by marrying for a place?"

"Do you not know? Ah! that is one of our systems, one of our ways of getting our maidens provided for. For instance, a priest, with an unmarried daughter, dies. Well, she *may* be a nice, amiable girl, that any one might be glad to have for a wife; she *may* be elderly or ugly; worse, still, if she be ill-tempered, or in bad health. The consistory knows every bride in the diocese; besides, the mothers send petitions to the Vladika,† begging that a bridegroom may be found for her daughter. The candidate for the place is informed that if he chooses to take the girl, the place is his. A married man gets a refusal at once; though, to be sure, if he knows that there is a bride there, he does not think of asking for it."

"Good God!" cried Michael, "what an abuse! go on, brother!"

"The candidate thinks, 'who knows, perhaps the girl may please me?' and off he sets, perhaps some hundreds of versts, to look at her. There are cases on record, that candidates, with mothers and orphan brothers and sisters on their hands, have not been able to make up

* *Sketches*, pp. 36–37.

† "Or sovereign," a title applied to an archbishop.

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their minds to such conditions. And the position of the poor girl—what must be her feelings? Other candidates, just for the sake of 'daily bread,' as I say, marry cross old frights, for whom nobody sued during the lifetime of the father, and I leave you to imagine the domestic happiness that is to be expected. It is a fact."

"Is it possible?" murmured Michael, shaking his head.

"And sometimes the girl is pretty and agreeable; the fellow absolutely falls in love, thinks himself a happy man, marries, and finds himself mistaken. Yet some of these marriages prove very happy; but it is an exception to the general rule."

"I never happened to hear of this horrible plan before. I am astonished at its being permitted by the authorities."

"Not only permitted," cried Romàn, who had his "fever" on him; it is one of the greatest evils that exist in the ecclesiastical class. It extends even to readers. But wait a bit," he continued, setting his teeth and clinching his fist; "their turn will come! Give us time! We must have reform, too; *we need it, God knows, more than all your lay departments of service put together.*"

It should be observed, that Romàn is a church reformer. Throughout the tale he is represented as having a keen perception of the evils connected with the Russian church, and he ultimately joins the party of progress. He died, according to Madame Romanoff, on the 19th July, 1864; hence he did not live to rejoice over the imperial ukase of the 22d May, 1867, whereby this custom, which he so strongly condemned, was prohibited, as well as the long-established rule of places in the church, descending from father to son, or from one relative to another. Nevertheless, the evil consequences of these customs will be felt for many years to come. The principal good done by modern innovations has been to break up that uncompromising orthodoxy which was exacted from every Russian, together with blind submission to the will of the Czar. The Russian is examined as to his orthodoxy every time he goes to confession. Before he is permitted to recount his sins he is thus addressed by the priest: "Tell me, my child, dost thou believe as the catholic and apostolic church, which was planted in the East, and from thence has overspread the world, and in the east and here is immoveable and unchangeable, as taught and delivered, and dost thou not doubt of any of the traditions?"* The per-

* *The Rules and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*, by I. G. King, D. D. London, 1772, p. 227.

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son thus catechized need have the courage of a Luther to reply otherwise than is expected of him; for if he should not do so he would be forthwith reprimanded and threatened with excommunication unless he recanted and repented. Nor is this threat an idle one, nor the sentence unmeaning. Among the Russian people an excommunicated person is looked upon as an outlaw, not entitled to any civil or religious rights or privileges; and among the rich and powerful classes of the empire—until very recently—though there were, and are, many who are, in fact, unbelievers; yet even they were obliged by the force of public opinion to conform outwardly. The Russian assumes it as an axiom, an article of faith, to believe in the infallibility of his church; and to doubt this is so unpardonable a sin that the disbeliever cannot proceed in his confession nor obtain absolution. Never was there so doggedly orthodox a nation, notwithstanding the fact that heretical sects and hordes of visionary enthusiasts, strongly resembling those of the middle ages in western Europe, have, from time to time, appeared among them, and occasioned much trouble and alarm to the government.

The servility and slavish habit of submission thus created by the power of the church, was adroitly turned to account by the czars, and made the means of riveting their chains on the people. From usurpations on men they proceeded to usurpations on God, and not content with the divine right which they enjoyed in common with other monarchs, they claimed to be the vicegerents of God on earth, and demanded a share of the obedience and worship paid to him. A Russian could obtain remission for every sin except one committed against the czar. The priest might be silent upon all other sins, and leave the chastisement of them to God; but crimes of a rebellious nature must be brought to light and not left unpunished. In the year 1724 Peter the Great issued a decree for the guidance of the secular clergy, article vi. of which runs thus: "Priests shall not reveal anything made known to them at confession, nor upbraid their penitents with their sins should any quarrel subsequently arise between them. Offenders in this particular shall not only

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be degraded, but receive corporeal punishment. Treason against the sovereign or the state is, however, excepted, if the guilty does not show signs of repentance, but persists in his criminal designs, *in which case the priest is bound to give information against him.*" By this artful manœuvre the priests were converted into government spies and informers. But to what depth of degradation must they have fallen to be thus arbitrarily made the tools of a tyrant!

To trace the history of this degradation is not a very inviting task, but it may be profitable to do so, as presenting a remarkable chapter in the history of the human race. Unfortunately, the Russian historians are not always trustworthy; they seem to have had the fear of their church and of the emperor always before their eyes; and they, especially their ecclesiastical writers, have been unable to free themselves from the superstition and the absurd traditions instilled into them from their infancy. One of the most learned of them, Andrew Nicholaèvitch, who was appointed by the Emperor Nicholas I. under-procurator of the governing synod of the Russian church, a most important officer, is a notable instance of this. M. Mouravieff, although a layman, devoted himself to the service of the church. In 1830, while yet a young man, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and wrote a description of that country, which he published in 1832. His subsequent works were "Letters on the services of the Eastern catholic church;" "A History of the first four ages of Christianity;" "An exposition of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed," which has received the formal approbation of the synod; "Letters on the salvation of the world by the Son of God;" "A treatise on the law of the Æcumenical church in relation to the Roman and other patriarchal thrones," and "A history of the church of Russia."*

Now here is a man, one would think, every way qualified, by long and close study of his subject, to present to the world sound and useful information respecting it. Yet, on opening the last named volume we are met by the following paragraph: "The Russian church, like the other orthodox churches of the East, had an apostle for its founder. St.

* Translator's Preface, p. x.

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Andrew, the first called of the twelve, hailed with his blessing, long beforehand, the destined introduction of christianity into our country. Ascending up and penetrating by the Dnieper into the deserts of Scythia, he planted the first cross on the hills of Kieff, and 'See you,' said he to his disciples, 'these hills? On these hills shall shine the light of divine grace. There shall be here a great city, and God shall have in it many churches to his name.' Such are the words of the holy Nestor, the monk and annalist of the Pechersky monastery, that point from whence christian Russia has sprung. But it was only after an interval of nine centuries that the rays of divine light beamed upon Russia from the walls of Byzantium, in which city the same apostle, St. Andrew, had appointed Stachys to be the first bishop, and so committed, as it were, to him and to his successors, in the spirit of prescience, the charge of that wide region in which he had himself preached Christ. Hence the indissoluble connection of the Russian with the Greek church, and the dependence of her metropolitans during six centuries upon the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, until, with its consent, she obtained her own equality and independence in that which was accorded to her native primates."*

It has seldom fallen to our lot to meet with passages in history so replete with baseless assertion. There is not the slightest historical evidence that St. Andrew ever was at Kieff, or even at Byzantium. The traditions to that effect were the inventions of the fourth and fifth centuries; that is to say, these traditions then assumed a definite shape, for a number of them had been floating about in the christian world from the time of Eusebius, of Cæsarea, the great historian of the early church. About the middle of the second century Hegesippus committed to writing everything he thought worthy of preservation in the apostolic traditions.† Eusebius has related these and others in his ecclesiastical history, written about the year 324, and this is the earliest mention of the visit of St. Andrew to Rus-

* *History*, p. 7. † Eusebius, ii. *Ecc.* ii.; 28; iii., 16, 19; iv. 7 s., 11, 22.

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sia, which is about as authentic as that of St. Paul to England. M. Mouravieff, however, does not have recourse to Eusebius, or Hegesippus, or Iranæus, or Tatian, who were among those likely to have heard anything respecting the fate of the apostles; but he anchors his faith upon the annals of Nestor, a Greek monk of Pechersky, whom he styles the father of Russian history, and who died about the year 1116.* This is taking history at second hand with a vengeance. But more than this! The "Annals" of Nestor were themselves collected and put together by the patriarch Nikon (A. D. 1653–67) more than 500 years after their author's death, and by him revised and corrected, along with many other ancient records, which were found to be full of errors and discrepancies. From this musty source our historian garners up the fact of the appointment of the mythical Stachys by St. Andrew to be the first bishop of Byzantium, to whose charge he committed all Scythia! But the climax is in the deduction. "Hence," says he, "the indissoluble connection of the Russian with the Greek church!" As there was no Greek church, properly so called, until the reign of Constantine the Great, or nearly three centuries after the death of Christ and of St. Andrew, it would be as well if M. Mouravieff would account for the preservation of the charge given to Bishop Stachys, of Byzantium. The labors of St. Andrew, in Scythia, must have been almost thrown away, since, notwithstanding them, and the existence of the Greek church, which he founded, M. Mouravieff himself states that, *so far as is known*, Askold and Dir, two princes of Kieff, and the companions of Ruric, were the first Russians who embraced christianity,† about the year 866. What can be said of a historian who gravely tells us that when, in that year, the Russians made their appearance in armed vessels before the walls of Constantinople, the patriarch Photius took the virginal robe of the mother of God from the Blachern church and plunged it beneath the waves of the strait, when the sea immediately boiled up from underneath and wrecked the vessels of the heathen, who, struck with awe, believed in that God who had

* Preface, p. 7. *History of the Church of Russia*, p, 32. † History, p. 8.

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smitten them, and became the first fruits of their people to the Lord ? *

With regard to the real origin of the Russian church, the truth appears to be, that it owes its existence, as a branch of the Greek church, to the accident of the geographical position of the country. Excluded from the western world by her remoteness, by the difficult and inhospitable routes through which she was to be reached, and by the barbarism of her inhabitants, Russia, during the early ages of christianity, had no communication with christian nations, save through the Greeks. Hence she derived her notions as to what constituted christianity. She could not well do otherwise than become essentially Greek, as regarded her national religion. Askold and Dir were converted at Constantinople, and they returned to Kieff to sow the seeds of christianity there. Eighty years after their time, mention is made of the church of St. Elias, in that city, where Prince Igor and the Byzantine ambassadors swore to the observance of a treaty. The Emperor Basil, the Macedonian, sent a bishop to the Russians. And in Codinus' catalogue of the sees, subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, the metropolitan see of Russia appears as early as the year 891. It was to Constantinople that the widowed Princess Olga took her way, (A. D. 965,) to gain a knowledge of the true God, and there she received baptism at the hands of the patriarch Polyanctes, the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself standing sponsor. Having taken the name of Helena, she received from the patriarch instruction in christian doctrine, and returned to Russia (which she governed during the minority of her son Sviatoslaff,) to spread the new faith and to add one more illustrious woman's name to the long roll of those heroines who did so much to establish christianity in other lands. She acknowledged the patriarch of Constantinople as the head of the church in Russia, and in this she was followed by her successors until the year 1583, long after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. In that year, on the death of Dionysius, metropolitan archbishop and regent, the

* Ibid.

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archbishop of Rostoff, Iob, was made patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia, and the Russian church became independent of the patriarch of Constantinople.

Now if there had been no schism between the sees of Rome and Constantinople, the Russian church would have formed part of the universal christian church, just as the churches of France and Spain would have done. But as it happened that there arose an inappeasible quarrel between them, Russia naturally followed in the footsteps of her instructor and mother, the Greek church. There is no need to trace the history of this schism: it may readily be found in the pages of Gibbon, Mosheim and Neander.

It would scarcely help us to understand the present position of the Russian church, affected as it now is, and has been, by a variety of political and social convulsions, extending over many centuries, whereby the character of the Russian people has been considerably modified. It will be well to point out wherein their church differs from the Roman, and to trace the fortunes of it from the time when it assumed a national character. And this is what we propose to do in the present article; yet there is one important consideration connected with the schism between the eastern and western churches which must not be lost sight of,—and that is, that Russia was a great loser by it; for, as she took sides with Greece, she was cut off from the community and advantages of European civilization and sympathies. She thus became isolated; and, consequently, all the reforms and aspirations of the rest of Europe passed unnoticed by her. Even the Crusaders appealed to her in vain; and the patriarch of Constantinople, from personal hatred to the Latins, transferred his see to Nicea, in Bithynia, rather than have anything to do with them. Had the Greeks and Russians coöperated with the Latins in the attempt to drive the Saracens out of Palestine, that object might have been achieved; but, as they did not, and, on the contrary, did all they could to thwart the Crusaders, they were punished ultimately by the oppression of themselves by the infidels. The Greek church was enfeebled by oriental apathy and ignorance, while the Latin was preserving the intellectual treasures of

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antiquity. In the west were progress and the germs of freedom, but in the east were slavishness, corruption, and venality. The taint spread to Russia, and poisoned her vitals. What would have been her destiny had she received her faith from Europe instead of Asia?

At the time of the introduction of christianity into Russia there were two religions struggling for empire. One was the worship of Peroun, the Thunderer, the ancient religion of the Slavi; the other that of Odin, the religion of the Scandinavian pirates, who ultimately subjugated the Slavi, and gave them the name of Russians. The latter being the religion of the hated few, soon disappeared, and christianity was left to contend with Peroun alone. But the worship of Peroun was the religion of the multitude, supported by long usage and identified with the popular democratic institutions, while christianity was the religion only of the more enlightened class. Thus the Princess Olga, with all her zeal, was able to do but little, even with her son Sviatoslaff, and she was forced to content herself with indoctrinating her young grandson, Vladimir (afterwards surnamed the Great), who, thus trained, watched his opportunity, on his accession to the throne, for establishing the new faith. In concert with the elders of his council, he sent chosen men to make inquiries into the merits of the different systems of religion then prevailing, and thus prepared the public mind for what he intended should follow. While these agents were prosecuting their inquiries, Vladimir suddenly attacked Cherson, in the Tauride, a possession of the emperors. By stratagem he got posession of the city (A. D. 992). Then he sent to Constantinople to demand the hand of the Princess Anna, and the emperor consented to give it to him on condition that he embraced christianity. The prince acceded; the envoys reported favorably as to the Greek church to the Russian people, and the scheme was ripe. Vladimir and his suite were publicly baptized by the bishop of Cherson, at that city. He returned to Russia, with his bride, and erected in Kieff a church, that of St. Basil, on the very mount which had been sacred to Peroun, adjoining his own palace. Thus was Russia "christianized." (?)

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Now what was the christianity thus imported into Russia? It was that which had been formed by a succession of councils and decrees of emperors. In the main, the doctrines of the eastern and western churches were the same, with the exception of certain views as to the two natures in Christ, the observance of easter, the administration of baptism, and the ceremonials of the church service. The canons of the councils which the eastern church adhered to, the ecclesiastical laws of the Greeks, and some portions of their civil law, together with the scriptures, were taken as the basis of ecclesiastical administration in Russia. The oriental systems of monasticism and asceticism were likewise adopted, and tithes were established by Vladimir for the support of the clergy. The country was apportioned into bishoprics, and the bishops were ordained by metropolitan bishops who had received their ordination from the patriarch of Constantinople. The right of judging causes was granted to the bishops and the metropolitan of Kieff, and they judged according to the *Nomocanon* of the Greeks.* At the grand ceremony wherein these grants and privileges were conferred, Vladimir said—"If any one shall transgress this, my ordinance, which I have enacted in conformity with the ancient Greek *Nomocanon*, may the curse light upon him!" The ordinance more especially referred to in this anathema was the law which he proclaimed, viz.: that no one of his successors, nor of the boyars, nor any other person, even unto the end of the world, should venture to encroach upon the jurisdiction of the clergy. This ordinance was deposited, in writing, in the church of the Holy Mother of God at Kieff. It is given at full length in the notes to M. Mouravieff's work.†

The sovereign of Russia thus divested himself, his successors, and his nobility, of extraordinary judicial powers, in order to confer them on the clergy. He gave them jurisdiction in almost every case of crime and heresy, disputed property, wills, legacies, marriage and divorce;

* As to this *Nomocanon*, a short account of it will be found in the preface to Beverege's *Synodicon*. Also in Hase's *History of the Christian Church*, pp. 135-260.

† *History of the Church of Russia*. Notes, pp. 357-8.

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but reserved to the sovereign the right to punish treason and rebellion. The bishops were empowered to supervise the measures, weights, scales and balances of the town and the market, Heavy fines could be imposed on all offenders, who were also threatened with everlasting punishment hereafter. In judicial matters between a person belonging to the church and another man, the tribunal appointed to judge the cause was to be partly civil and partly ecclesiastical; but in matters in dispute between "persons belonging to the church," the metropolitan or bishop was to have sole jurisdiction. The list of persons belonging to the church was sufficiently comprehensive; it comprised "the stewards (tiouns) of their estates, the priests (popes), deacons and their children, the wife of a priest, and the whole body of clerks; moreover, the monk, the nun, the woman who bakes the holy bread, the cloistered pilgrim, the physician, the man who by a holy miracle is restored to health, the slave whom his master releases for the good of his soul, the stranger, the blind and the lame; especially the monasteries, the hospitals, and establishments for the care of guests and strangers."

This may be called the charter of the Russian church. By it the clergy, at one bound, acquired an amount of power which the Roman church, after centuries, failed to gain; and, in addition to the enormous privileges before-mentioned, each bishop possessed the right of appointing all the priests, deacons and inferior servants of the church in his dioceses. If they were guilty of any fault, he had power to suspend them, and, after trial, eject them. He had also the right of appointing all the archimandrites or abbots and abbesses to the religious houses in his diocese, of raising them to higher rank, or depriving them of it. The metropolitan had no right to interfere in the affairs of the diocese; the only power he had over a bishop was to try him, if any accusation were brought against him, and, if he were found guilty, to degrade him.* The bishops were, in fact, independent princes, their relation to the czar being undefined, but they owed him allegiance, and had no control over his public policy, and

* Mouravieff, *History of the Church of Russia*, pp. 359, 360.

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very little over his private conduct, as the history of Russia testifies.

We can now understand how it came about that the church possessed so much influence over the people; and if we add to this the ignorance and superstition of the masses, the tyranny of the boyars, who held almost absolute power over the serfs, and the despotic and generally cruel character of the czars, there will be no difficulty in accounting for the personal appearance of the Russians, as described by travellers. Destitute of all legislative protection, beaten like hounds by their boyars, on the least provocation, and frequently on none at all, having no right of property on which they could rely, subject to the harrowing knout for any offence against the laws, it is no wonder that they became habitually sullen and melancholy, that their features became distorted and degraded, their countenances mean and repulsive, their minds narrow and their feelings deadened. Under the iron rule of their czars, and the want of anything like real instruction in christianity from their ignorant and servile clergy—the bulk of the latter being as servile towards their superiors as themselves—they have become a distinct race, wholly unlike the peasants of the western Slavonian tribes.

We ought also to take into account the cruel oppression they suffered from the Tartars for so long a period, though we think that the effects of the subjugation of their country by the golden horde have been overrated. Surely their degradation could not have been much greater during that period than it was in Yaroslav's time (A. D. 1019–54). That prince framed a code of laws which were, however, but modifications of, or improvements upon the old traditional laws, and which exhibit fully the darkness and barbarity of that age. This code divided the population into three classes—the nobles, the freemen, and the slaves. For the murder of a boyar, or thane of the duke, the highest penalty was 80 grionas; for a page of the duke, his cook, or other domestics, for a merchant, or a sword-bearer of a boyar, and for every free Russian, without distinction of origin, 40 grionas; for a woman, half the usual fine. No fine for killing a slave;

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but if killed without sufficient cause, the value to be paid to the master; for a serf belonging to a boyar, or free Russian, 5 grionas to the owner; for a superintendent of a village, an artisan, a schoolmaster, or nurse, 12 grionas; for a female servant, 6 grionas to the master and 12 to the state. Prisoners of war, and their posterity, were condemned to perpetual slavery. Insolvent debtors became slaves by law; and all freemen who married slaves unconditionally, participated in the servitude. Horse-stealing was visited with imprisonment for life. But the most characteristic penalty was that of 12 grionas for pulling a man by the beard, or knocking out a tooth.*

What can be said of a state of society wherein a man might murder a lady for three dollars, a woman of the middle class for a dollar and a half, and a female servant for one dollar and thirty-five cents? The degree of barbarism which this indicates was too low to be elevated by such teaching as the Greek church, itself corrupt, ignorant, and servile, could impart. We find, accordingly, that recourse was had to numerous rites and ceremonies in order to impress the minds of the savage population. Magnificent churches were built; splendid vestments were worn by the clergy; the worship of images of saints became common; the use of bells was introduced; and so much of the wealth of the nation was absorbed by the priesthood for these purposes, that in the twelfth century there were more than four hundred churches and chapels in the city of Kieff alone! † The proportion was equally great in every city in the empire, and as the rule grew up that the sons of priests, and the inferior orders in the church, should follow their fathers' profession, and that the daughters should marry among members of these orders—though this was not imperative—the priesthood became exceedingly numerous; and, notwithstanding the immense wealth of the church at large, very many of the lower orders were poor. Those who will take the trouble to read Madame Romanoff's book will obtain a good notion of the condition of these ecclesiastics.

* *History of Russia* (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), vol. 1, p. 88.
† Mouravieff, *History of the Church of Russia*, p. 32.

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"Romàn, the Reader," is a tale designed to illustrate it. The "reader" is the lowest in rank among those who officiate in the Russian churches. There are two classes of "readers," viz.: lay and clerical. The latter are sons of the clergy, born and brought up to the church, and they are appointed and ordained by the proto-pope, or high priest of the district, after due examination as to their fitness. The lay readers, or *ponomàrs* (unordained), are also appointed by the proto-pope, but are only so on trial, and they must undergo an examination before consecration. Their duties are simply to read the litanies aloud, and they are not allowed to lay their hands on the "antimins," or communion-cloth—an indispensable appendage to the altar. This antimins is so holy a thing that it is to be touched only by priests and deacons. It is consecrated by and obtained from the archbishop, and is brought from him in a case made for the purpose, which is worn on the breast of the bringer during the journey. *

The reader in time becomes a deacon or village priest, without priest's orders; but on taking holy orders he becomes a full priest. The next step is that of proto-pope, or high-priest.; then that of bishop; then archbishop, metropolitan and primative. Few men of humble origin can look forward to elevation to the highest offices of the church; these were formerly in the patronage of the patriarch of Moscow; but in the year 1721, Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate and established in its place the Holy directing Synod, an ecclesiastical college which was to take cognizance of matters connected with religion, but finally refer their decisions to the sovereign, who thenceforth became the head of the church. In the ordinance he issued under the title of "Spiritual regulations" the motives are explained which induced him to effect this change, and the laws enumerated by which the conduct of the clergy was to be governed. These regulations constitute the basis of the established church of Russia as it now exists. They distinctly state that no one but the sovereign shall be recognized as its head, and the bishops, on

* *Sketches*, p. 51.

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entering on their spiritual office are required to swear to this article. They are, moreover, bound by oath to observe all the statutes and canons of the church, and likewise, by article six, to teach and enjoin the priests within their dioceses to prevent the increase of schism, superstition and foreign rites, and by article seven they are prohibited from interfering in secular concerns on any pretence whatever. In connection with this bold measure of Peter, we may mention, that he also taxed the clergy like the rest of his subjects, reduced the number of monks and nuns, converted many of the monasteries into hospitals for invalid soldiers, and caused the Bible to be printed and distributed. He further procured from the patriarch of Constantinople, and through him from the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, the recognition of the Holy directing Synod as a patriarchal institution, equal in dignity to the patriarchal office.* Thus Russia, being the only great political power of the persuasion of the Greek church, obtained the tacit acknowledgment that she has a protectoral right over the rest of the oriental churches—a right which she has exercised on many occasions since the time of Peter, sometimes with benefit to Greek christians of Turkey, but always with danger to the peace of Europe.

Notwithstanding the daring and comprehensive schemes of Peter, however, his measures have failed to infuse any degree of independence of character into the Russian priesthood. They have adhered to their routine life and ritual, and produced no original thinkers, or men of great literary eminence as the Roman Catholic church has done. They are like the Levites, a class to themselves. Madame Romanoff happily illustrates this feeling in a speech which she puts into the mouth of her hero, Romàn.† In a dialogue between him and his friend Michael Haraldin, wherein the latter tries to arouse some aspiration in Romàn's breast, and insists on the sin of entering into holy orders for the mere sake of a living. Romàn exclaims:

"What! not enter the church! How am I to live, then?" "As you

* Mouravieff, *History of the Church of Russia*, p. 287. † *Sketches*, p. 34.

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please; as you can." "But I have just lost my father. My mother and sister look to me for support. I am the only son. My father left us nothing but a small house and its contents. What can I be? What am I fit for?" "Do not be in too great a hurry, Romàn Dmitrièvitch. Neither you nor I can decide here, in a few moments, what you ought to do, or what you are fit for. Take time to reflect. Consult with your own heart and conscience. Ask yourself if you wish, above all things, to be a priest, and compel yourself to give an answer—a clear, honest answer!" "I never thought of being anything else," replied Romàn, with a gesture of impatience. "We are like the Levites you know. We sons of the clergy are born and brought up with the prospect before us, of following the same calling as our fathers, grandfathers—ancestors, in fact; we grow up with the conviction that priests, deacons, or readers we must be. Our parents do not approve of our becoming laymen; many will not give their blessing to such sons as feel an insurmountable aversion to the church—fancy that! Perhaps the fellow might make a good military man, civil servant of the crown, or something; but if the father deprives him of his parental blessing, what can he do but be ordained? And then our marriages. I do not suppose you would find half a dozen fathers or mothers in our whole diocese but would sooner see their son married to the ignorant daughter of a country reader, than an educated girl of the nobles. But there, what's to be done? And the consistory, and vladika! they cannot endure departure from the church. Lastly, finally, and in conclusion, the church will give me daily bread, without which, alas! man cannot live."

This interest is characteristic of the lower orders of the Russian clergy. How widely the Russians differ from the people of western Europe! But then their priests are allowed to marry, and to remain unmarried is not looked upon with favor, while among the clergy of the Roman Catholic church celibacy is rigorously enforced. This has the effect of deterring young men from entering into holy orders, and forces them to turn their attention to other avocations. Besides, the catholic clergy are for the most part poor and self-denying; at least in a worldly point of view, their laborious life is by no means enviable.

It is strange what a hold the system of perpetuating certain avocations in families has upon the Russians. Not only does the office of priest descend from father to son, but in almost every trade the son succeeds the father. Whole villages may be met with, inhabited entirely by one class of workmen: shoemakers in one, carpenters in

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another, tailors in a third. The Russians, in this respect, are truly oriental; unchangeable in their habits and tastes, and conservative in the most bigoted sense of the word. Like all Asiatic nations, splendor and glitter have great attractions for them; and this taste is gratified in the lavish decoration of their churches, and the gaudy display resorted to in their rites and ceremonies. They, however, omit, or rather, will not allow any organ or instrumental music in then; the choristers being the only means employed to produce harmonious sounds. Their churches are principally built in the Byzantine style, having a long body, a cupola over the east end, and the belfry at the west. Some have several belfries at the corners, and small ones have their bells hung in a little tower on the top of the cupola. Most of them are surmounted by a cross, and are frequently covered with bright metallic plates.

One characteristic of the Russian church is, that it does not allow worshippers to sit down. There are no seats in the churches, and both priests, readers, singers, and congregation are compelled to stand during the entire service.* What a contrast to our luxurious places of public worship, with their well-lined pews, spring-cushioned seats, hassocks, and foot-stools! Another peculiarity is, that the altar screens are hung with pictures in silver or plated *rizas*; that is, they are completely covered with metallic plates, chased and ornamented, which represent the clothing of the saints; and there are apertures left for the face, hands, and feet of the painting to be visible. Before each picture are candlesticks or suspended lamps of immense size, capable of containing thirty or forty candles. The priests officiate behind the screen, which has three doors in it, and when these are closed, nothing can be seen of the service. There is a throne before the principal or "royal" door, on which are placed the gospels, a gold or gilt cross for the congregation to kiss, a small chest, or catafalque, with a box in it containing the holy elements, and a silk handkerchief, in which is wrapped the antimins.

The conservatism of the Russians has in nothing been more strongly manifested than in their church. Since its

* *Sketches*, p. 83.

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foundation this church has retained the creed that was first delivered to it. For nearly 900 years there has been no alteration in its doctrines, services, rites, ceremonies and discipline. If, therefore, we would desire to know in what it differs from the church of Rome, we may compare it as it was in the days of Olga with what the catholic church is now. During the whole of the period which has since elapsed, both clergy and laity among the Russians have enjoyed free access to the Scriptures, and made use of the "Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom;" whereas in the west the Bible was for ages a sealed book. And when it was opened there sprang up a multitude of sects which rent Christendom with their disputes, and drenched Europe with blood; nor is the strife entirely over yet. In Russia, upon the other hand, there have been very few troublesome heresies, but an almost unbroken unanimity of belief. The Russian hierarchy claims an uninterrupted succession from the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, and from the apostles themselves; though not exclusively from St. Peter. The Greek form of christian worship has been planted by them wherever Russia has acquired dominion, and thus the wild tribes of Perm, Viatha, the Ukraine, Siberia, and Kamtschatka have received some of the light of christianity. The Russian church has, throughout her career, steadfastly supported and helped to preserve the state—through all dangers and difficulties, feuds and distractions, the wars with the Poles, the dominion of the Tartars, the civil wars of the Pretenders, and those of disputed succession. It is not too much to say that had the state been deprived of this bond of union, the great Russian empire would have been dissolved into a number of petty, independent states; or, perhaps, barbarous and wandering tribes, like those still found within her territories, and have ceased to exist as an independent whole.

The Russian church can accordingly boast of a countless number of patriots among her ministers—men who had cheerfully laid down their lives, or sacrificed themselves in every way for the honor and safety of the nation, and for the promotion of order and peace. But it is equally true that she cannot

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boast of many learned and eloquent men, who have commanded the world's admiration. We meet with no St. Bernard, Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, Benedict, Francis of Assisi, Abelard, Bossuet, Massillon, De La Salle, Richelieu, or Fenelon among her priesthood. We must be content with such men as the monk, Nestor, the patriarch, Nikon, the metropolitans, Cyprian, Macarius and Eugenius, Iob, Hermogenes, and Philaret—men known only to those who are familiar with the annals of Russia. There has been but little demand upon the Russian clergy hitherto for intellect, eloquence or learning. Such gifts would be wasted upon congregations unable to appreciate them. When the people shall wake from their long torpor, and become educated, men of a superior order will, doubtless, be forthcoming in their church.

Among the heresies which have troubled the Russian church, that of the Strigoluiks was one of the most remarkable; but M. Mouravieff passes it over with the slightest possible notice,* as though it were scarcely worthy of attention —a very unfair and injudicious course for a historian to take. This sect first appeared A. D. 1371. Its founders were a layman named Karp and a deacon named Nicetas. They taught first in Pskoff and then in Novgered, where they met with great success. They denounced the clergy for the disorders which prevailed in the church, and denied their power to bind and loose. They also denied the necessity of confession to a priest, saying that confession to God was enough. They maintained that St. Paul gave power to any one to teach, and rejected episcopal ordination, electing their own teachers. They denied that the clergy could impart the grace of the Holy Ghost to the members of the church, but claimed the power of imparting it themselves. They rejected the offering of oblations to the dead, or singing or celebrating service over them. This sect had many votaries, notwithstanding that Nicetas was degraded from the deaconate, and his partisans excommunicated; and Karp was thrown into the Volkoff by the populace of Novgered. It died out, however, after a while.

* *History of the Church of Russia*, p. 65.

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The doctrines of Calvin penetrated into Russia and occasioned great trouble in the church. Crafty teachers of those doctrines gave them out as part of the orthodox confession. Cyrill Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, although he condemned Calvinism, did not decidedly and openly oppose it, and for this he was anathematized by his successor, Cyrill of Berœa. But the agitation still continued, and a synod was convoked at Iassy, in Moldavia, which condemned the teachings of Calvin. The Russian metropolitan, Peter Mogila, with four bishops, confirmed the acts of this synod, and, by command of Parthenius, patriarch of Constantinople, his exarch, Meletius Syriga, revised and finally corrected the orthodox confession. This confession received the confirmation of the eastern patriarchs, and thus the peace of the Greco-Russian church was secured. The Reformation, which caused such terrible convulsions in Europe, produced no effect in Russia, and neither Lutheranism nor Calvanism has met with any success there. The orthodox confession was finally accepted throughout the oriental church, excepting the Nestorian. What would have been the effect upon Russia, had the Reformation penetrated there, is matter of curious speculation.

One of the peculiar characteristics of the Russian church is the extreme minuteness of detail in her ceremonial. In this respect there is considerable difference between her and the Latin church. In christening, churching, confession, commmunion, marriage, burial, ordination, consecration, adult unction, adoption, bishop's visitation, and other rites, the minutiæ are surprising. Take, for example, the mode of administering the Lord's supper, as a specimen of them. It is administered on Saturday, but the ceremony really begins on the preceding day, after vespers, when the deacon or priest reads aloud to those who intend to communicate the next morning, an address or exhortation, interspersed with psalms, ejaculations, and reflections. This address is called "the rules," and is immensely long. After the hearing of these 'rules' no food whatever ought to be taken until after receiving the sacrament. Confession has to be made either that evening after vespers, or on communion day, after matins. All persons

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who are entitled to wear uniforms, appear in full dress, but without their swords. Married ladies wear their handsomest dress, a lace shawl, or a mantle, and a cap with ribbons, but not flowers. Young ladies dress in white muslin as for a party, but it is the fashion for old ladies to array themselves in the clothes they intend to be buried in, with the addition of a shawl or a mantle, and a cap made for a living being, not for a corpse!

Before leaving home the communicants kiss everybody, servants and all. On arriving at church they take off their cloaks and furs, approach the altar-screen, prostrate themselves before the pictures in it, and kiss them. They return to their standing-place, for no sitting down is allowed. The liturgy proceeds in the usual manner. When the royal gates are slowly opened the deacon appears with the cup in his two hands, held on a level with his face, and covered with an embroidered velvet napkin. He then pronounces the words, "In the fear of the Lord, and in peace, come ye!" and all the communicants approach the steps of the altar of sacrifice, from which the Eucharist is administered. The priest then takes the cup from the deacon and pronounces very slowly the articles of belief on the subject, the communicants repeating them after him. The napkin is then removed from the cup, which contains tiny morsels of bread mixed with wine, to which is added a little warm water in remembrance of that which poured from the wound of Jesus. The priest takes in a spoon a morsel of this bread with a little wine, puts it into the mouth of the communicant, who has first to make a devout prostration and fold his hands across his breast, saying, "The servant of God, A. B., communicates in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The choir sings, "Receive ye the body of Christ, taste ye the fount of everlasting life" an indefinite number of times during the service. The deacon holds a silk handkerchief under the chin of the communicant to prevent the possibility of a drop falling to the ground, and wipes his lips with it afterwards; the communicant then kisses the edge of the cup, a type of the wounded side of Christ, crossing himself, but without prostration, in honor of the presence of the sacrament. He

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then goes up to a little table, where a reader stands with a tiny ladle always replenished with wine and water, intended as a sort of rinsing after the eucharist, and tiny loaves of bread, from the sides of which the morsels of bread used in the celebration were cut out with the spear. He lays on the salver an offering according to his ability, and employs himself in private devotions until the rest of the people have received the sacrament. The priest having concluded the liturgy, is at liberty to perform a short special service of thanksgiving for the spiritual comfort received, and to present the cross to be kissed.*

Religious people in Russia pass really fatiguing lives, if they attend all the services of the church. When young they must learn the short catechism, the Lord's prayer, the Nicene creed, the ten commandments, the hymn to the Holy Ghost, the Russian version of "Hail Mary," the hymn of praise to her, the morning and evening prayers before and after meat, the stories from the Old Testament, and the history of the Lord. There is no such ceremony as confirmation in the Greco-Russian Church;† the next step after baptism is communion, which the child receives twice a year until it is seven years old; then it is taken to confession, and receives a month's preparation from the priest for attending communion in church. After this the child ought to attend all the stated services when practicable—vespers, matins, and mass.

This endless routine of ceremonies and rights, with occasional exhortations from the priest, constitutes the religious training of the mass of the Russian people. They fast more than any other christians. There is the great fast or lent, which lasts forty-nine days; the Assumption fast, which lasts from the 1st of August to the 15th; the Petroffsky, which extends from Trinity Monday to St. Peter's day, (the 29th June,) and consequently differs in length, according to the time when Easter falls; and the Christmas, or Philip fast, which lasts from St. Philip's day (the 15th November,) to Christmas day. Besides these there are the Wendesdays and Fridays through-

* *Sketches*, p. 132–5. † *Ibid*, p. 117.

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out the year, except during certain weeks called "Sploshnaïa weeks," an untranslatable term. The Russians hold carnival for a week, called "butter-week," before the beginning of lent, which is on the Monday after Quinquagesima, but meat is not eaten for the last time until Sexagesima Sunday. During butter-week Russia is a scene of wild enjoyment. In the large cities there are morning and evening performances at the operas and the theatres, public ice-hills, fairs with shows, circuses, conjurers, and acting in the open squares; visiting, driving in sledges, private theatricals, costume balls and other amusements are resorted to, and no business is done.

The recklessness of the Russian character is fully illustrated at this season. The Russians enjoy furious driving and violent exercise, such as sliding down ice-hills at such a pace as to render the feat dangerous, and building citadels of hard-beaten snow to be attacked by one party and defended by another, the weapons used being blunt old swords, dead dogs, cats, hens, &c., and snowballs. In this last amusement, the mayor and city officials take part, and the vanquished are compelled to treat the victors to refreshments at the nearest tavern. The probability is, that such violent exercises and such complete surrendering of themselves to wild excitement at this season, are safety-valves for the long pent-up spirits of the people. Under so long a course of tyranny of the most brutal description, the Russian has become a being in whom all self-respect and independence of character has been stamped out; and it will take a long time for him to retrieve his humanity under the more enlightened government which now exists. The Emperor Alexander, has done much towards bettering the condition of his people. The abolition of serfdom on the imperial domains was a grand step, giving emancipation to twenty-two millions of peasants, but there is much more to be done in training them to be men. This is a work in which a well-educated and enlightened clergy would be the most effective agents, and it is to be hoped that with the rapid means of transit now springing up everywhere, even in the heart of Russia, that ancient and semi-barbarous nation may be brought into direct contact with all the civilizing influences of modern science.

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The Russians possess many noble qualities, which only need development and cultivation to place them in the foremost rank; but an unenlightened church is an anachronism which cannot stand much longer. There is so little real fundamental difference between the tenets of the Greco-Russian and the Latin churches that a union of the two would not be impossible. It is within the range of probability that something of the sort may be effected before very long; and for the sake of civilization, as well as religion, such a result is to be anxiously wished for by every friend of humanity.

The inter-communion between the Russian and the Anglican churches has never been broken off by any open act of either party, although the Greek patriarchs have for centuries ceased to hold intercourse with the British prelates. The separation has arisen mainly from each having erroneous notions of the other, or, in other words, knowing very little of each other. There are parties in the Anglican church for whom the glittering, showy ceremonial of the Russian church would prove attractive, and there are many more to whom it would be repulsive.

ART. IV.—1. *History of the Female Sex.* BÖTTIGER.

2. *History of Women.* 2 vols., 4to. ALEXANDER. 1779.

3. *Les Femmes.* 3 vols. SÉGUR. 1802.

It is seldom agreeable to argue with the ladies; to refute them is ungallant, and to pass censure on them is odious. Sometimes, however, they have to be argued with, refuted, and even censured, for their own good. We cannot but regard the present as one of these occasions; for we hold that the "woman's rights" movement is no honor to our civilization, but rather discreditable. If its tendency were to improve the condition of the sex, none would give it more hearty support than ourselves; it is precisely because it has the opposite tendency that we oppose it.

If we are wrong in this, a question or two may produce a train of thought that will aid in explaining the fact. We,

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therefore, ask, what is woman most esteemed, loved and honored for? Is it for her boldness? for her courage? for her independence of man, or for her readiness to compete with him publicly, late and early? In other words, is woman most endeared to man in proportion as she is like himself? Do men prefer women who are masculine to those who are feminine, or womanly, in their habits and manners?

It may be replied that there are a class of men who do. Those who want their wives and daughters to work and earn for them, value them, not in proportion as they are modest, timid and gentle, but in proportion as they are strong and willing to use their strength for the common benefit. But among this class there need be no clamor for woman's rights; the women have an undisputed right to do everything that is coarse and unwomanly. It is not necessary to go back to the savage state for illustrations of this; a tour among the poorer classes of the peasantry in any country of Europe would furnish abundance. The tourist would readily discover that women may work in the field from sunrise till sunset; that they may go out before their husbands in the morning and remain out after them in the evening; that those who have no husbands may work in the field as long as they are able, side by side with men, and get as much pay as men, when they perform as much labor. But are the women proud of all this? Do they boast of their equality with the men, or have they cause to boast? Do they excite the envy of the wives and daughters of their landlords or employers because the latter are such tyrants that they prefer doing the rougher work themselves. This, perhaps, will serve to explain why it is that the theory of "woman's rights" has so few votaries even in the most romantic countries of Europe.

But the peasant women are not merely allowed the right of doing every sort of work; they are also allowed the right of advising their husbands. Nor is this anything new or exceptional; it is no "modern improvement." Among all the principal races of mankind, "woman's rights" were fully conceded by the most barbarous. It may seem incredible to many that it was the most barbarous who were most

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liberal in this respect; but such, nevertheless, is the fact. The ancient Germans * and ancient Gauls † alike engaged in no important enterprise without consulting their wives.‡ There is no part of Guizot's excellent History of Civilization more interesting than that in which he shows, from the testimony of numerous historians, that woman's rights were well understood among our rude ancestors, both Teutonic and Gallic, more than two thousand years ago.§ True, the historian does not call the privileges enjoyed by the ladies of those distant ages "woman's rights." Cæsar and Tacitus, as well as Guizot, were evidently of opinion that the women of those times would have been much better off had their "rights" been somewhat more limited than they were; and there is good reason to believe that the women themselves, accustomed as they were to compete with men, even in the field of battle, would willingly have surrendered several of their "rights"‖ in exchange for just such tyrannical treatment as their fair posterity are so solemnly and vehemently protesting against at the present day.

But this is not the only evidence of the short-sightedness of our woman's rights advocates. They would have the world believe that they are in advance of the age, but we can assure them that only the credulous and silly part of the world believe any such thing. It is idle to deny that the intelligent and thoughtful regard them, at best, very much in the

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* The ancient Germans regarded woman as something holy and inspired, and consulted her accordingly as an oracle that seldom, if ever, was mistaken in regard to the future. We quote the words of Tacitus: "Inesse quinetiam *sanctum* aliquid et *providum* putant."—*De Moribus Germanorum*, c. 8.

† See Cæsar *De Bello Gal.* l. vi., c. xix., *et seq.*

‡ When Hannibal complained that the Gauls had done wrong to his countrymen, they replied that if the Carthaginians felt themselves aggrieved they must present their case to the Gallic women:

"Les Gaulois consultaient les femmes dans les affaires importantes; ils convinrent avec Annibal que *si les Carthaginois avaient à se plaindre des Gaulois, ils porteraient leurs plaintes devant les femmes gauloises, qui en seraient juges.*"—*Mém. de l'Académ. des Inscript.*, t. xxiv., p. 374; Mémoire de l'abbe Fénel.

It is well known that even the North American Indians regularly and carefully consulted their wives.

"Les Hurons, en particulier, *consultent soigneusement les femmes.*"—Charlevoix, *Hist. du Canada*, pp. 267, 269, 287.

§ *Hist. de la Civ. en France*, vol. i., pp. 215–225.

‖ The most degraded tribe of the Siberian women enjoyed woman's rights to

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light of the innocent frogs who were so clamorous in their demands for a king from Jupiter. We have shown that nowhere are the sexes more on an equality than among the rudest classes, and that it has always been so. If, instead of "equality," we use the term "liberty," there will be no change in the circumstances, since no women can be said to enjoy more liberty than those whose "inalienable right" it is to roam the forest. But this is equally true of man. If any mortal may be said to be entirely free it is the savage in his hunting grounds, armed with his bow and arrow; nor can he cease to be a savage without surrendering a portion of that freedom!

When man attains to civilization he submits to a certain restraint on his liberty, in order that he may be protected by the state. Woman surrenders a portion of her liberty to man precisely on the same principle; as a return for the protection and support which she receives from him she renders him obedience, and does what she can to contribute to his happiness. At least, she is expected to do those things. Seeing that her husband does not wish her to do men's work, or to place herself in a position in which her virtue would be in danger, she thinks it her duty to abstain, if only to please him. This is what she is supposed to do in a well-ordered community; and most cheerfully do we admit that in general the supposition is a correct one. Nor do we think there are any women more obedient, more gentle, or more faithful, than those of our own country; none are less disposed to oppose, set at defiance, or otherwise annoy their husbands. Although there are more advocates of woman's rights among the ladies of the United States than among those of any other country, it is true, at the same time, that there are fewer Xantippes or disagreeable wives; and we believe that if the matter were duly investigated, it would be ascertained that three-fourths of the latter class, if not a still

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the fullest extent, when their inhospitable country was first explored by civilized men. They fought in battle habitually with their husbands; but the historian tells us that they were not the less maltreated on this account:

"Les femmes tunguses, en Sibérie, vont aussi à la guerre avec leurs maris; elles n'en sont pas moins maltraitées."—Meiners, *Hist. du Sexe Feminin, en allemand*, t. i., pp. 18–19.

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larger proportion, are to be found among the advocates of woman's rights. Assuming this to be the fact, the question would arise, whether it would not be better, upon the whole, that our American Xantippes had pursued the course of their ancient prototype than that they do pursue. It seems that even the wife of Socrates attended pretty carefully to her domestic duties. It does not appear from the account of either Plato or Xenophon that she neglected her children, or required the philosopher to do the nursing or the dish washing. If she sometimes gave him a bath when he did not wish it, and was not particular whether it was clean or otherwise, we have the best evidence that she was attached to him nevertheless. Her deep grief at his condemnation showed that, no matter what she said or did to her husband, she was still a true woman at heart, and an affectionate wife.

Be this as it may, it is very generally believed among the most sensible and most intelligent classes of mankind, that women who are fond of hearing themselves speak in public, anxious to see their names in the newspapers, as reformers, and ever ready to inveigh against man as a tyrant, rarely, if ever, make good wives. Indeed it would seem that a large portion of our young men have adopted this theory; we prefer to arrive at this conclusion, rather than to say that there are so many old maids and neglected young widows among the women's rights sisterhood, only because they have fewer personal attractions than the sex in general, and fewer womanly qualities. It is probably nearer the truth to attribute the state of things alluded to, partly to one cause and partly to another: for several honest young men, who do not seem at all wanting in courage, have assured us that they would rather remain single for ever, than marry a peripatetic female reformer, but especially a reformer of the woman's rights type.

It is true that there are many young men, and old men, too, who regard the matter in a different light; but they form but a very small minority. This is fortunate, because it is this class — sometimes called the Miss Nancy class — that urge the women to forget that they are such. If there are more woman's rights women in the United States than in any other

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country equally enlightened, it is chiefly, if not solely, because we have more of this species of men in proportion to our population. The excess is the result of causes which might be easily pointed out; but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to remark, in general terms, that our climate and mode of life have a great deal to do with that phenomenon.

We are very unwilling to give any needless pain to either the men or the women engaged in the woman's rights movement, much as we dislike it; but, happily, it so happens that the feelings of neither are very sensitive; if the blush of modesty or delicacy ever mantles the cheek of either, after they have devoted a certain time to the cause, we think it is very seldom; and if anything like a blush does appear, we think its genuineness may be doubted.

Here we are reminded of certain facts which science has fully demonstrated. It is sometimes remarked, in jest, that this or that individual, in female garments, is but half a female; and, for a similar reason, it is remarked that this or that individual, in male garments, is but half a male—that he is half, or more than half, a female! In general the observation merely creates a smile; although it is a smile of assent to the justice of the satire, in a metaphorical sense, not one out of five hundred having the least idea that the fact may be literally true.

Now, if women are like men, or men like women, why should we blame either if it is the result of malformation, or of a *lusus naturæ?* It would be much more rational, as well as more charitable, to commiserate their condition. If there are any who think that we merely jest in attempting to account for some of the woman's rights phenomena in this way, they can easily ascertain for themselves that the assertion we make on the subject is substantially correct.

From the most remote antiquity up to the middle of the eighteenth century, no doubt was entertained as to the reality of hermaphroditism; it was universally admitted, at least among scientific men, that in many instances both sexes were combined, in different proportions, in one individual. Not only had all naturalists and physicians, who had written treatises on man, spoken of it as an incontestible fact, but the

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most eminent artists represented it both in painting and sculpture. But in the earlier part of last century, all opinions which seemed in conflict with the general course of nature, were regarded as superstitious or fabulous; and, accordingly, hermaphroditism was denied or declared doubtful. But modern science has demonstrated, that, as in numerous similar instances, the ancients were right, after all. Several works have been written on the subject within the present century; but we need only mention that of Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire.* None who examine this remarkable and learned work will entertain any doubt on the subject. Those who may not be able to procure the treatise itself, as it is scarce in this country, may find an analysis of the part of it bearing on our present subject, in the supplement to the *Encyclopédie Moderne*, vol. v., article "Hermaphrodisme."

Saint-Hilaire fully describes the different kinds of hermaphroditism, designating them respectively, as "masculine," "feminine," "neuter," and "mixed;" and illustrating them with plates. Nor does the philosopher overlook the moral and intellectual characteristics of each variety. Even the peculiarities of the voice and gestures are clearly indicated. He shows that if many ancient authors spoke of women *who became men*, as instances of the marvellous, they did not do so either through ignorance, or a disposition to impose on the credulity of their readers.

Among the ancients the phenomenon under consideration was regarded as foreboding some terrible calamity in the family to which the individual exhibiting it belonged; and it may be doubted whether the moderns should not regard it in the same light, though for different reasons. Be this as it may, the great anatomists of our day regard it as a "*simple anomalie, arrête de développement*," &c. Sometimes the complications are such that it is impossible to determine whether the individual, in this condition, be male, or female. † For the proofs of this we

* *Historie générale et particulière des anomalies de l'organisation chez l'homme et chez les animaux*, 2 *vol*, *in* 8vo, 1856; t. ii. *des Hermaphrodismes.*

† L'hermaphrodism *neutre* comprend les cas dans lesquels les parties sexuelles ont une caractère tellement ambigu qu'il est *impossible* de *distinguer* si elles sont mâles ou femalies, en sorte qu'il parait évident que l'individu qui les possède n'appartient à aucun sexe.—*Compli de l'Ency. Mod.*, tome v., p. 411.

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must refer to the treatises alluded to — especially to that of M. St.-Hilaire — for we wish to abstain carefully from every remark and allusion that might have a prurient tendency, and confine ourselves exclusively to such of the scientific facts as are necessary to afford at least a reasonable clue as to what the real difficulty is, in certain cases, altogether independently of styles of garments.

In the mixed species other phenomena present themselves — phenomena which also extend to the voice, gestures, habits, &c. Again, to all external appearance, one may seem to be a man, or a woman, except so far as the habits or the conduct may excite suspicion, as intimated; and yet the experienced and skilful anatomist may be able to demonstrate that the fact is but partially true at best.* These facts are now so fully recognized, that they have been embodied in the medical jurisprudence of all the enlightened nations of Europe, so that it is by no means a rare occurrence for the physician to be called into court to tell, on his oath, if he can, what is the sex of a particular individual!†

Now, let the reader reflect for a moment, and try to remember what are the general characteristics of both the ladies and gentlemen who are the most active and zealous advocates of "woman's rights." It is not sufficient to examine those who go about from town to town to attend meetings, get up resolutions, and deliver speeches, although we humbly think that such examinations, occasionally made, under proper auspices, by medical men of acknowledged skill, virtue, and discretion, would prove the best remedy for those revolutionary hysterics yet applied. It is, however, also necessary to see who are the chief

* "L'hermaphrodisme *mixte*, au contraire, mérite*réelement ce nom*. Un individu sera mixte s'il présente réunis des organes mâles et des organes femelles, non pas réunis chacun au complete, mais partieillement, quelques organes mâles remplaçant quelques organes femalles, et réciproquement."

† L'hermaphrodisme donne lieu à des *questions de médecine légale fort délicates* et que nous ne pouvons *qu'indiquer*; c'est aux médecins appelés par les tribunaux à *rechercher*, autant que *cela est possible*, sur un individu vivant les caractères propres à déterminer le sexe. Toutefois nous devons dire, pour la décharge des médecins appelés à résoudre ces questions, qu'il y a des *difficultés considérables* et quelquefois *insurmontables* à *préciser* le *sexe*; car rien à l'extérieur ne peut faire *deviner* l'état des organes intérieurs. Ainsi, lorsqu'à un appareil génital féminin complet s'ajoutent à l'intérieur quelques organes mâles, le médecin ne saurait reconnatre l'existence de ces derniers; la difficulté est encore plus grande quand l'individu est *neutre*.—*Complément de l'Encyc. Mod.* t, v., p. 411.

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aiders and abettors of the movement among the members of the press, the clergy, the medical faculty, the bar. We think that if the investigation be impartially made, and extended in this manner, it will be found, in nine cases out of ten, that those who are in favor of woman's rights, are, or have been, equally in favor of various other visionary projects. Those who consult the work of Sainte-Hilaire will see that the sex of an individual may be even doubtful; and yet he or she may possess a certain kind of talent, especially a talent for speech-making, and making a general noise in the world; nature being disposed to make amends in this way for her carelessness in arranging, or rather disarranging, certain details. Some may think that because they have a family they are entitled to exemption from examinations of this kind; but although such a plea would seem a very plausible one, science has proved, in a hundred instances, as the reader may ascertain, that it is by no means conclusive!

If, upon the other hand, we inquire who are opposed to "woman's rights," we shall have to place in that category the greatest women, as well as the greatest men of all ages and countries. The great philosopher, the great poet, the great soldier, the great scientific discoverer, the great jurist, the great divine—those who love woman best and esteem her most—are all equally opposed to woman's rights. In short, those who would be the first to die, if necessary, in defence of woman, would be the last to concede those rights, precisely because they are too precious of her to expose her to what would inevitably degrade her, even though no rude or lascivious hand should ever be laid upon her in her competition with men.

It is needless to enter into particulars on this point; the most short sighted can see for themselves, that, in accordance with the scientific facts just glanced at, it is the women who are most like men, and the men who are most like women, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred are advocates of woman's rights. Hence it is that when some of our journalists compare a woman ambitious to vote, to hold political office, and to reform her male neighbors by her public speeches — to a *crowing hen*, he does not merely perpetrate a joke, or indulge in well merited satire; for if the crowing hen were placed in the hands of any competent comparative anatomist, it would be found that if

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the poor feathered biped imitated some of the performances of the male of its species, it was not without substantial reason.

But, assuming that anatomy has nothing to do with the matter—an assumption which is certainly not justified by the facts —it requires but very little research and reflection to ascertain that the woman's rights doctrines confer no credit on either the men or the women who advocate them. A great many think that those doctrines have, at least, the merit of novelty; but we will show that such is not the case. Thus, for example, there is not a single "right" claimed at the present day by the most unblushing of our fair orators, but was claimed and enjoyed by the women of Sparta, nearly three thousand years ago.

Now let us pause for a moment, and learn what we can from this fact, for it is fully attested by the most reliable historians. Those authors tell us what the Spartan women were before and after those "rights" were conceded to them. They tell us that before they had any more rights than the women of other countries, they were equally distinguished for their industry and virtue; nor were there any more baautiful women of their time. In short, they were just such as those daughters of America are now, who worthily maintain the national character of the sex; for we hold that, if the woman's rights advocates be regarded as exceptions — what they really are — there are no women that possess the best and noblest characteristics of the sex, in a higher degree than our own. But what was the character of the Spartan women, after they had obtained their rights? what did they gain by their emancipation from the tyranny of man? It matters little which of the historians who relate the facts we consult; all bear testimony to the degradation brought on those excellent women by that very "equality before the laws" which is now so clamorously demanded by the advocates of woman's rights. The Spartan women had been at least as good as the women of any of the other Grecian states before they obtained their rights in the manner indicated; and so early as the time of Homer, the Grecian women had manners and customs which would do no discredit to the most refined and most virtuous ladies of our own time. The Homeric ladies wanted no rights; they enjoyed all they desired, and were

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content; and Thucydides assurses us* that the modesty and delicacy so admirably and fully portrayed by the poet had subsisted in Greece for ages. Homer represents no indecent scenes in the relations of the sexes; on the coutrary, the state of manners which he describes has never been surpassed. Andromache, Nausicæ, and Penelopé were but types of the women of the better class; yet they are regarded as models by the best modern and christian authorities. Certainly no women could be more feminine or more modest. Full of solicitude as Andromache is for the safety of Hector, in no instance does she attempt to go to see him without being accompanied by her maid; and never does her husband come home, but he finds her surrounded by her maids. Even Helen is everywhere represented by Homer as the victim of violence; nowhere as a depraved or faithless woman; and she never alludes to her abduction herself, but with expressions of deep regret and shame, and often bitter tears. Much as the suitors of Penelopé are condemned in the Odyssey, they make no indecent proposals to the wife of Ulyssees; they merely urge her to marry; and they do so solely on the ground that her husband is dead, and that there is no hope of his return. The very fact that all the states of Greece combined to make war upon Troy, to avenge the abduction of Helen, and compel her return, shows, at once, the high respect in which woman was held, and the odium with which "free love" was regarded.

The best authority on the manners and customs of the Spartans is Plutarch; indeed there is no better authority on any historical or biographical subject which he has treated. Plutarch agrees with all other ancient authors as to the exemplary character of the Spartan women before they got too many rights; and he tells us plainly how they lost this character. "They had, indeed," he says, "assumed great liberty and power *on account of the frequent expeditions of their husbands*, during which they were sole mistresses at home, and so gained *undue influence and improper titles*."† Aristotle informs us that when the women, once so exemplary that they were eagerly sought in marriage by the young men of all the neighboring nations, found themselves in the possession of

* Lib. 1. c. 3.

† Plut., *in Lycurgus.*

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their rights, even Lycurgus had to desist from the effort of bringing them under *sober rules.** We have interesting evidence, in various forms, that they exercised quite as much power in the time of Pericles, as our own woman's rights ladies so loudly and persistently demand at the present day. Thus the historian informs us, that on Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, being asked by a woman of another country how it was that those of Sparta were the only women in the world that *ruled the men*, her answer was: "*We are the only women that bring forth men.*"†

It is to this ascendancy, on the part of the women, that the Stagirite alludes, when he remarks that the surest sign of the decline of a nation is, to find its women ruling the men. But let us glance at some of the means by which this state of things was produced in Lacedæmon. Thus, for example, we are informed that "in order to take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, the consequence of a recluse life, the virgins were accustomed to be seen occasionally *naked*, as well as the young men, and to dance and sing in their presence on certain festivals."‡

Lest it might not be sufficient for the young virgins to appear naked among the naked young men, and dance and sing in their company, the former were also encouraged to "indulge in a little raillery upon those that had misbehaved themselves."§ In short, both young and old of the ruder sex had to submit with as good a grace as they could to whatever treatment the ladies thought proper to give them.

But be it remembered that we cannot blame the Spartans for having deliberately agreed to their own degradation; that the "revolution" had been accomplished during their absence, when there were none to oppose the revolutionists but the non-combatants—all the varieties of the Miss Nancy fraternity—who, for various reasons, were as anxious for the change as the women themselves. Some will say, that at all events, the Spartan women must have gained courage in this manner, according as they lost the more feminine virtues; and that the service they must have rendered the state, in time of war, should be taken into account. To the casual observer

* *Politics*, lib. ii., c. ix. † Plut., *in Lycurg.* ‡ *Ib.* § *Ib.*

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this may seem plausible; but we have the most satisfactory testimony that this is the best that could be said in its favor. It will be admitted that Aristotle is good authority on the subject; and what does he tell us?—"And as this boldness of the women *can be of no avail in any matters of daily life*, if it was ever so, it must be in war; *but we find that the Lacedæmonian women were of the greatest disservice in this respect*, as was proved at the time of the Theban invasion, when *they were of no use at all, as they are in other cities, but made more disturbance than even the enemy.*"*

There is no modern nation, need we say, in which women are treated with more deference than in the United States; not only are all our women "ladies," but a large proportion of our men are quite willing even to wash the dishes for them. Yet a great deal of progress, if such it may be called, has yet to be made before our people look upon their wives and sweethearts as such superior beings as the Spartan women became at one time in the eyes of the Spartan men. It was the latter who were in need of rights in Lacedæmon; only those who behaved themselves satisfactorily were allowed to keep company with the female members even of their own household. Even when a man got married, he could only expect to enjoy the society of his wife on particular occasions. Thus, we are told, that when the bridegroom staid a short time in his wife's apartment, on the night of his marriage, "he *modestly* retired to his usual apartment, to sleep with the other young men, and *observed the same conduct afterwards*, spending the day with his companions and reposing with them at night, not even visiting his bride but with great caution and *apprehension of being discovered* by the rest of the family."† Thus it was the men who were supposed to have modesty in the model republic of the ancient world, and not the women, after the latter had obtained their rights! It may be said that this timidity, or high deference, on the part of the men, is not incompatible with delicacy or virtue, on the part of the women, although the naked exhibitions alluded to above may justify some

* Aristotle's *Politics*, b. ii., c. ix. p. 65. † Plut. *in Lycurg.*

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suspicion in that respect. But the historian leaves us in no doubt; we are at no loss to understand what female equality, or rather female preponderance, meant. We have already alluded to the failure of Lycurgus, according to Aristotle, to bring the Spartan women under "sober rule." But the law-giver was also a philosopher. Seeing that the men were willing to be ruled by the women, when they got used to the yoke, he thought it well to have the latter on his side; he suggested that it would be well to extend their rights. Accordingly, we are told that "he laughed at those who revenge with wars and bloodshed the communication of married woman's favors; and *allowed* that if a man in years should have a young wife, he might introduce to her some handsome and honest young man whom he most approved of, and when he had a child of this generous race, bring it up as his own," &c.*

It seems the "emancipated" ladies considered this excellent logic; the men may not have liked it so well, even in their degenerate state, but what could poor fellows do but submit, who dare not be seen approach their wives' appartments until they were sent for, or allowed permits, like servants! It was some consolation to the men, if they sometimes felt a little uncomfortable under this regulation, that they had the assurance of their great law-giver that the Spartan race would be vastly improved by it.

What a tremendous excitement has been created recently throughout Europe and America, even by the unfounded accusation of incest against the illustrious dead! But the model republic whose manners and customs our women's rights advocates would have us imitate, legalized that very crime. If a Spartan lady of this "enlightened" period had a son and daughter that happened to like each other, both the law and public opinion allowed them to get married.† Now let the reader bear in mind the reply of the modest Gorgo, when asked how it was that those of Lacedæmon were the only women in the world that ruled the men. What the good lady meant was, that because her fellow-countrywomen

* Plutarch *in Lycurgus.*

† See *Strabo*, Lib. x. See, also, Montesquieu *Esprit des Lois*, Liv. v., c. v.

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enjoyed their rights in full, because they could form their own "affinities," because they could go about day and night, to teach the men, and take home with them any they happened to fancy, their offspring could not be otherwise than superior specimens of mankind. We may ask, in passing, has no such argument as this been adduced by our own woman's rights advocates? Do we hear nothing about "the rights of maternity?" Has no intimation been given by our peripatetic female orators and reformers as to the fine, strapping fellows all our young men would prove in due time, if the existing superstition and tyranny which restrain enlightened ladies from choosing their "affinities" were only set aside as they should?

None acquainted with the subject will deny that the whole matter was fully tested by the Spartans; nowhere else has the experiment been made on so large a scale. But how did the race exhibit improvement or superiority? Let the story of the Helots, even as told by their apologists, answer the question. Nothing is clearer than that in proportion as the women became licentious in the exercise of their "inalienable rights," the men became cruel and bloodthirsty. "The governors of the youth," says Plutarch, "ordered the shrewdest of them, from time to time, to disperse themselves in the country, provided only with daggers and some necessary provisions. In the day time they *hid themselves*, and rested in the most private places they could find, but at night they sallied out into the roads and *killed all the Helots they could meet with.*"*

Still darker is the picture drawn by Thucydides, and it is fully sustained in its worst features by the testimony of Aristotle. Not content with murdering their wretched, naked slaves in detail, in the manner indicated, Thucydides tells us that the Spartans selected such of the Helots as were distinguished for their courage, pretending that they wished to reward them. Under this pretext, they declared about two thousand free, crowned them with garlands, and conducted them to the temples of the gods. All were slaughtered in cold blood—not one was allowed to escape.

* Loc. cit.

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Such was the improved race—such the model republic—whose example our advocates of women's rights and "free love" would fain have the modern world imitate!

If we turn to ancient Rome, we shall find the same causes producing the same results. In the time of the republic, the Roman women were celebrated for their truly feminine qualities, for their modesty and their virtue. The Cornelias and Cordelias were but types of the Roman matrons of their time. There is abundant evidence of this in the pages of both historians and satirists. Livy, especially, fully describes the women of the republic; and Tacitus, Juvenal and Horace describe them in contrast with the women who became "emancipated from the tyranny of men." Law after law was passed for their gratification, always at the instance of men who wanted to raise themselves to power by their influence, or by men who were nearly half women themselves. It was these two classes who were always their allies in their "aspirations for liberty;" and nothing is more plainly demonstrated than that just in proportion as they were successful, did the women of Rome become infamous. In order to determine the morals of a people from their historians, it is necessary to examine their whole works; but it is different with the satirists. The latter direct their attention to particular vices which they think are most reprehensible, or most dangerous to the public welfare. That this is the course pursued by Juvenal is universally admitted; no other satirist, of ancient or modern times, combined in a higher degree the two essential qualities of honesty and fearlessness. Now let us hear a word or two of what he has to say in regard to his countrywomen, bearing in mind, in justice to his memory, that it is for no lack of respect or love for woman, that he utters those terrible denunciations against her; on the contrary, he does so because he is grieved at heart to see her so degraded, and wishes to warn posterity against the causes which produced that degradation. Juvenal, as well as Tacitus, shows that as long as the women attended to their domestic duties, and abstained from competing with men, they had no superiors anywhere. Alluding to the character of the women before their "rights" were acknowledged, or

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even thought of, the satirist proceeds: "Nor did hard toil and short nights' rest, and hands galled and hardened with the Tuscan fleece, and Hanibal close to the city, and their husbands mounting guard at the Colline tower, suffer their lowly roofs to be contaminated with vice.* Upon the other hand, he places, in relief, the cause of the change: "What modesty," he asks, "can a woman show that wears a helmet, and *eschews her sex, and delights in feats of strength?*"† Is this different in the nineteenth century? Can modesty or delicacy be expected from such modern ladies? The Roman dames, also, sometimes left their husbands to mind the babies, wash the dishes, etc. "But let her rather be musical," says the satirist, "than *fly through the whole city with bold bearing, and encounter the assemblies of men*," etc.‡ Sometimes they chose their own "affinities" openly, and travelled about with them. "Hippia, though wife to a senator, accompanied a gladiator to Pharos, and the Nile, and the infamous walls of Lagos."§ So licentious did the women become before very long after they obtained their "rights," that comparatively few men had the courage to marry at all. This is illustrated by the satirist but too faithfully. Purporting to address a friend, who is bold enough to venture, he proceeds: "Fall prostrate at the threshold of Tarpeian Jove, and sacrifice to Juno a heifer with *gilded horns*, if you have the rare good fortune to find a matron with unsullied chastity. * * * Is one husband enough for Iberena? Sooner will you prevail on her to be content with one eye."‖

But our female reformers will tell us that those whom we pretend to regard as their prototypes, were but ignorant, stupid creatures, who had no idea of colleges, seminaries, institutes, or even schools. But let us hear Juvenal, who was

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* Sat. vi.

† Quem praestare potest mulier galeata pudorem.
Quae fugit a sexu? —v. 252.

‡ Sed cantet potius, quam totam pervolet urbem
Audax, et coetus possit quam ferre virorum.—v. 398.

§ Nupta Senatori comitata est Hippia Ludium
Ad Pharon, et Nilum, famosaque moenia Lagi.—v. 82.

‖ Delicias hominis! Tarpeium limen adora
Pronus, et auratam Junoni caede juvencam,
Si tibi contigerit capitis matrona pudici.—Sat. vi., v. 47–49.

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a scholar and a philosopher, as well as a poet and satirist. The "girl of the period" opens her mouth, the incessant cruelties of men are her topic, there is nothing can resist her eloquence and learning; "the grammarians yield; rhetoricians are confuted; the whole company is silenced; neither lawyer nor crier can put in a word, not even another woman. Such a torrent of words pours forth you would say so many basons or bells were being struck at once. Henceforth let no one trouble *trumpets or brazen vessels;* she will be able singly to *relieve the moon when suffering an eclipse.*"

We think we have now fully shown what woman's rights really mean. If we turn to the great European nations of the present day we shall find that it is the women who enjoy most "rights" that have the most doubtful reputation at home as well as abroad. It is certain that no country in the world has presented nobler specimens of womanhood than France; every intelligent person can recall the names of French ladies, who, in all the relations of life, have proved a credit to their sex. But if the history of these exemplary ladies be examined, it will be found that they were trained in a very different manner from the generality of their countrywomen. They did not get, nor did they give themselves, the habit of running about like men. Thus it is, that while Frenchwomen in general have everywhere the name of being lax in their morals, there are no more excellent teachers of youth, no more faithful and devoted wives, no more affectionate daughters, no kinder mothers than are to be found among the women of France. But although the ladies of France enjoy more rights than those of any other enlightened nation of Europe, not excepting those of England, they certainly do not enjoy as many rights as the ladies of America. Both the laws and public opinion favor the latter vastly more. In illustration of this we need only say that in every particular of any importance, Frenchwomen must render obedience to their husbands; if they refuse to do so, they forfeit their protection. A French lady cannot even accept a donation or a legacy without the authority of her husband.* Yet, as we have said, they have more liberty than the women of any

* See articles 905 and 934 of the *Civil Code.*

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other European country; at the same time, it is not pretended that they are equal to the men, for all, save our woman's rights advocates, admit that this would be impossible, and contrary to nature. "L'egalité rigorouse n'existe pas, il est vrai, entre l'homme et la femme," says an eminent French jurist, "mais cette egalité est *impossible* elle *n'est'ni dans la nature, ni dans la destination sociale de l'homme, et de la femme.*"

In England, as all know, the women live much more private than they do in France; accordingly it is admitted by the most patriotic French authors that Englishwomen are more modest than their own countrywomen.* It is not because the women of England are naturally more virtuous, or more modest than those of France; it would be a slander on a great nation to assert any such thing. No doubt climate has some agency in producing the difference; but, beyond all question, the chief, if not the only cause is, that, while the women of France are pretty nearly "emancipated from the tyranny of man," the women of England are still more or less subject to that tyranny. It may be that it is because they do not know better that they seem to bear their yoke with so much resignation, and even apparent comfort. The law which allowed an Englishman to give his wife "moderate correction,"† with certain weapons,‡ is still on the statute-book, though now, like many another law equally rude, it is a dead letter. But even at the present day, a husband is empowered to lock up his better half in some safe room, if she misbehaves, and keep her there on bread and water until she exhibits becoming penitence.§ But the great English jurist, in reviewing the whole subject, fully corroborates the views of all other great thinkers of ancient and modern times. He shows that the laws constituting the "disabilities" under which English women labor are intended for their protection and benefit; and that they do protect and benefit them, he thinks sufficiently obvious. "So great a favorite," Blackstone says, "is the female sex of the laws of England."

* As an instance, see Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, Liv. xiv., c. xxvii.

† *Modicum castigationem adhibere.* ‡ *Flagillis et fustibus acriter verberarem uxorem.*

§ *Vide Blackstone's Com.*, B. I. II.

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No intelligent, sensible person need be informed that we are not actuated in writing this article, by any hostility to the sex. Nor do we oppose their competing with men in the highways and byways of the world, on the ground of their being inferior to men either intellectually or morally; indeed we have ever held that women are much better, morally, than men. They are more honest and more truthful, as well as more virtuous, and less disposed to the commission of crime. As to our depreciating their intellectual capacities, we think it will be admitted that we have always pursued the opposite course. And as a proof of our sincerity we could point to articles in different numbers of our journal, contributed by ladies, which are among the most brilliant contributions we have received; and their authors would bear us testimony that we did not value them anything the less, pecuniarily or otherwise, for their being the productions of women. It is precisely, then, because we think highly of the sex in every respect, that we are opposed to those habits and practices whose inevitable tendency is to degrade them.

Even the woman's rights advocates admit that women are not as strong, physically, as men; but we have shown that there are much more cogent reasons than this, why ladies who respect themselves, or their families, should attend to their domestic affairs as their mothers and grandmothers had done before them, and leave the voting, speech-making, office-holding, fighting, gambling, &c., to their husbands, brothers, and fathers.

Those who have a taste for intellectual pursuits, have ample opportunities for indulging it without any detriment to those qualities for which they are most esteemed and admired by the best of men — indeed by all men worthy of the name. It has afforded us pleasure, on many occasions, to remind our readers, in these pages and elsewhere, that there are no better teachers than ladies; it must be admitted that in this pursuit, at least, they are quite equal, if not superior to men. In literature, art, and science, numerous ladies have distinguished themselves without in the least compromising their character for modesty or delicacy. In short, there is no intellectual pursuit to which they can devote themselves in

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private, or without having to work surrounded by men, to which they may not devote themselves, and with good prospect of success. But, whatever the pursuit may be—let it be intellectual or physical — in which the women have to be associated with the men, indiscriminately, no matter how exemplary may be the conduct of the latter, the former must necessarily deteriorate in their best womanly qualities.

We cannot, therefore, agree with those who think the medical profession a suitable one for woman, although we readily admit that no profession is more honorable or more useful. Altogether, independently of the incalculable benefit they render mankind in alleviating their sufferings, they have always occupied a high rank in the moral scale. But precisely because this is the fact there is no sufficient reason why a lady should endanger her virtue by attempting to become a physician; for, disguise it as we may, there is danger in it. And surely those who claim to be equal to men, especially in the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and the government of their passions, should not pretend, if they lose their virtue, to throw all the blame upon the men! This would be illogical and somewhat inconsistent, to say the least; and the day will come when the public will regard the matter in the same light, as it has long been generally regarded in Europe even in those instances in which the ladies losing their virtue have never pretended to be equal to men.

Be this as it may, most cheerfully do we admit that, far from being an evil, it were a positive good that women could be attended in all their diseases by learned, skilful, experienced and *modest* female physicians. But they could not; it is utterly impossible! How are the learning, experience and skill to be obtained? Can ladies, young or old, habitually attend clinical lectures with men—lectures delivered and illustrated by men necessarily in the plainest and most graphic language—and retain the natural delicacy and modesty of the sex? Who that has ever heard the demonstrator of anatomy address his pupils a half dozen times with the naked human body in view, would believe such a thing possible?

Be it remembered that there is nothing liable to disease

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which the student of medicine must not see. There is nothing which he must not examine—nothing which must not be fully described to him. Can any modest lady pass through such an ordeal, again and again, day after day, in the presence of men, without feeling that if she is not ashamed, *she ought to be?* Nay, if some young men so far forget themselves as to cry "shame" because she persists in witnessing such scenes, and listening to such descriptions and explanations, can she blame them much, on reflection, although all must admit that their conduct is ungentlemanly? It might be still worse if they suggested in her presence that she ought to be subject to an anatomical examination herself, in accordance with the theories of St. Hilaire and other medical philosophers. Then, if she does not expose herself in this manner, she cannot become a learned and skilful physician, and if she is not learned and skilful, or either, how can women more than men be expected to employ her and confide in her diagnosis or prognosis?

Finally, suppose her superior skill is universally recognized, will she be ready to go out at any hour, day or night, she is called, and willing to enter any place in which a sufferer may need her aid? If she is married, will her husband accompany her at night, or will she prefer to go without him, since his presence might suggest that, after all, there are some "rights" which she has not yet obtained? In short, view the matter as we will, it is surrounded with difficulties; it is in open conflict with modesty and delicacy. No doubt much good will be done by our female physicians; but when the day of reckoning comes—when the question has been fully tested—we are convinced that the mischief resulting from the same will be vastly more.

But undoubtedly it is themselves and their friends, not their patients, our female doctors will injure most. We can assure them that no men will fancy them, except, perhaps, the class alluded to above, physiologically, or their brethren of the "free love" school; and even these, however liberal they are in general in conceding rights, are not always to be relied upon. But if our female doctors would become teachers, or authors, then, if it

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were not their own fault, they might claim the esteem of the everest moralist, as well as the love of the most fastidious admirers of those qualities, which, when refined by culture and intelligence, are the only true and lasting ornaments of the sex.

Since the above article was put in type, a tragedy has occurred to which we may allude, briefly, as affording a startling, if not new illustration of the most prominent views we have put forward in that paper. The only novelty we can see in the McFarland-Richardson affair, is the extraordinary course pursued by certain ministers of the gospel. Nor can we pretend that we are surprised at even this. That it is shameful, is but too true; it should render its authors infamous in the eyes of every decent man and woman; and yet we cannot say that we expected much better from Mr. Beecher. That gentleman may not, hitherto, have expressly justified adultery and made marriage a mockery; but has he not for years been the zealous aider and abettor, directly or indirectly, of every "ism" whose obvious tendency is to strike at the foundation of the social system?

It affords us pleasure to place on record the fact, that, with one or two exceptions, all our journals that are possessed of any influence have denounced each of the principal actors in the disgraceful scenes alluded to, as their outrageous conduct deserved. But they will have to denounce many more, and for conduct still worse, if possible, if women's rights triumph; let those who doubt this interrogate Lycurgus and Plutarch, Tacitus, and Juvenal, for, thanks to the refining and elevating influence of christianity, no modern historian or satirist has yet witnessed the full development of woman's rights, as taught at the present day by various female associations, parliaments, &c., &c.

ART. V.—1. *A Lytell Geste of Robin Hode, with other ancient and modern ballads and songs, relating to this celebrated yeoman.* By JOHN MATTHEW GUTCH, F. S. A. In 2 vols., 8vo. London, 1847.

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2. *Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads now extant relative to that celebrated outlaw;* to which are prefixed *Historical Anecdotes of his Life.* By JOSEPH RITSON, Esq. 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1832.

3. *Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands.* Par AUGUSTIN THIERRY. Paris, 1851.

4. *Scotichronicon.* IOANNIS FARDUNI. Ed. Goodall, folio, Edinburgh. 1759.

THE poems, songs, histories, and essays relating to Robin Hood, the celebrated English robber-chief, form quite a literature of their own. We have before us a list of nearly thirty works on the subject; and there are, perhaps, as many more, the names of which we have not taken down. Many of these profess to give full and authentic particulars of the bold outlaw's life, which are disputed by others as false, or inaccurate. It is amusing to contrast them, and note the various theories which have been started, as to who he was, and when he lived; and, even, whether there ever was such a person as Robin Hood. There are six of these theories which we propose to discuss in their turn. The first is, that there never was such a man. The second, that he was the outlawed earl of Huntington. The third, that he was a yeoman, and not a nobleman. The fourth, that he lived in the time of Richard I. The fifth, that he lived in the time of Edward I. The sixth, that he lived in the time of Edward II. And since all these theories have had, and now have, their supporters, it is evident that a great amount of obscurity hangs over the subject.

The tendency of modern investigation has been to dethrone the old idols of the world, to deprive history of its romance, and to substitute dry matter-of-fact for the poetry of life. This stripping off of the gay and pleasing costume of the popular heroes of our youthful fancies may be right, and even profitable in the long run, since—as Dr. Priestly says—"the cause of truth must at all times be more beneficial to mankind than that of error." But the process is painful, nevertheless; and we confess that we should be sorry to discover that our prince of outlaws and robbers—*ille famosissimus sicarius,* as Fordun calls him—was nothing but

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a myth; that the dear old familiar names of Robin Hood, Little John, Friar Tuck, Maid Marian, Scarlet Much, the miller's son, Will Scathelock, and George-a-Green, never belonged to any beings more substantial than those which "imagination bodies forth." To relieve ourselves from this anxiety it is obviously necessary to investigate the foundations upon which the first of the six theories rests, viz., that Robin Hood never existed; for this conclusion once established, the other five theories fall with it, and "there an end." So ignoble a termination of our inquiries would remind us of the old joke of the seventeen reasons offered by the citizens of Dover for not saluting Charles II., on his landing; the first of them being that they had no guns, whereupon the king dispensed with the remaining sixteen reasons.

The strong, and, indeed, the only valid argument in support of the non-existence theory is, that no contemporary writer mentions Robin Hood. One of the earliest notices yet discovered of him, occurs in John Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, an imperfect and unfinished history of Scotland, written some time during the latter half of the fourteenth century—probably during the early part of the reign of Richard II., A. D. 1377--84.*

But whence did Fordun obtain his information? He wrote upwards of a century after the battle of Evesham, and he either relied upon tradition, or derived his knowledge from some record, the very name of which has perished. But the text itself gives us the clue to the source from whence Fordun obtained this knowledge of Robin Hood and Little John, viz.: the popular plays, songs, and ballads of the day. A writer in the "Edinburgh Review,"† commenting upon the passage, says: "It is very easy

* This note is as follows: "Hoc in tempore (that is after the battle of Evesham, A. D. 1265, in which prince Edward—afterwards Edward I.—cut to pieces Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, and his adherents) de exhereditis et bannitis surrexit et caput erexit ille famosissimus sicarius Robertus Hode et Littill Johanne, cum eorum complicibus, de quibus stolidum vulgus hianter in comediis et tragediis prurienter festum faciunt, et super ceteras romancias, minos et bardanos cantitare delectantur."—*Scotichronicon*, vol. 2, p. 104.

† Vol. 2., pp. 122–138.

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to dovetail the existence and adventures of a hero of the greenwood upon any passage which indicates the existence of a band of outlaws," and maintains that this is what the author of the "Scotichronicon" has done. To us it appears far more probable that the popularity of the outlaw had its origin in actual events; and that it became embodied in the form it would naturally take in a rude, unenlightened age, when there was no literature for the mass of the people; viz., in the ballads and plays in which they delighted.

But there is other evidence of the attachment of the yeomanry and peasants of England to their romantic champion, which is scarcely compatible with the theory that some one invented the story of Robin Hood, and that it became so popular, that the people in time came to believe in it as firmly as if it were gospel. This evidence is found in the names of places, and in the local traditions of many counties in England. The writer in the "Edinburg Review," before cited, admits this, while sneering at the fact; but he draws from it an inference the reverse of what we do. The list of places named after Robin Hood, or in connection with him, is quite a long one. There is scarcely a county in England, or any class of ancient remains, which, in some place or other, does not claim a kind of relationship to this celebrated hero. Cairns in Blackdown, in Somersetshire, and barrows near Whitby, in Yorkshire, and Ludlow, in Shropshire, are termed Robin Hood's butts. Lofty, natural eminences in Gloucestershire and Derbyshire, are Robin Hood's hills. A huge rock near Matlock, in Derbyshire, is Robin Hood's Tor. Ancient boundary-stones, as in Lincolnshire, are Robin Hood's crosses. A presumed laggan, or rolling-stone, in Yorkshire, is Robin Hood's penny-stone. A fountain near Nottingham, another between Doncaster and Wakefield, and one in Lancashire, are Robin Hood's wells. A cave in Nottinghamshire is his stable. A rude, natural rock in Hope Dale is his chair. A chasm in Chatsworth is his leap. Blackstone Edge, in Lancashire, is his bed. Ancient oaks in various parts of the country are his trees. Plumpton Park, in Cumberland, the forest of Feckenham, in Worcestershire, the deep glades of Sherwood and Barnesdale,

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and the innermost recesses of Needwood and Inglewood still resound with his exploits. Loxley, or Locksley, the presumed place of his birth, which is set down by the old writers as in Yorkshire or Nottinghamshire, is also claimed by Warwickshire and Staffordshire.

"Out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books, and the like, we do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time," says Lord Bacon,* and this aphorism is peculiarly applicable to the case of Robin Hood. We find all these testimonies bearing upon it. There are monuments to his memory and that of some of his companions. Gough has given a picture of the stone over the alleged grave of Robin Hood, in Kirklees Park, between Wakefield and Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, (at present the seat of Sir George Armitage, Bart.,)† It is a plain stone, with a sort of flowered cross on it, now broken and much defaced. The inscription is illegible; but this stone was probably removed at some remote period from its original place; for the late Sir Samuel Armitage caused the ground underneath it to be dug up, in order to ascertain whether a body had been under it; and it was then found that the ground had never been disturbed. Leland says that "Robin Hood was interred under some trees at a short distance from the house (Kirklees Nunnery, where he died); a stone being placed over his grave with an inscription to his memory: 'Kirkley monasterium monialium, ubi Ro: Hood nobilis ille exlex sepultus.'"‡

Leland visited the spot, and wrote his description of it in the time of Henry VIII., more than 330 years ago. Dr. Stukeley also, writing at the beginning of the last century, gives an engraving of Kirklees Abbey, *and of the trees among which Robin Hood was buried.*§ The doctor may have been led to believe this as a fact from his partiality for all that concerned the bold outlaw; but, nevertheless, the tradition itself can be traced back several hun-

* *Advancement of Learning*, book ii., vol. ii.

† *Sepulchral Monuments*, p. 108. ‡ *Collectanea*, i., 54. § *Itinerarium Curiosum.*

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dred years. Among the personages who figure in the story, is Maid Miriam, a name said to have been given to, or assumed by, the Lady Matilda, daughter of Robert, second Earl Fitzwalter. The legend is, that she fell in love with Robin, and ran away from her father's home to live with him in the greenwood. She is buried at Dunmow priory, in Essex, where may still be seen her monument. It is a mural tomb, shielded by a beautiful screen of dark old oak, which separates the nave from the chancel. On the slab is a reposing figure of the fair Matilda. The head is covered with a woolen coif; the neck is encircled with a collar, and a string of pendants falls upon an embroidered cap; and a rich girdle and long robe, with sleeves close to the wrist, and hands covered with rings, further indicate her rank. Angels were stationed beside her head, and a dog crouched at her feet. But rough hands have marred the tomb; the angels have been rudely broken, though the effigy itself has been spared.*

Robin Hood's companions share their leader's popularity. Little John heads the list as Robin's lieutenant and most devoted follower. William Scadlock, or Scathelock, George-a-Green, Pindar of Wakefield, Scarlet Much, the miller's son, and Friar Tuck, are next in esteem. Then follow Will Stately, Midge, Clifton, William of Goldsborough, Right-hitting Brand, Gilbert with the white hand, Arthur-a-Bland, and Allan-a-Dale, a minstrel. George-a-Green's exploits were very popular; and he figures as the hero of a signpost at many other places besides his native town. A short time since there was one of him at one of the oldest public houses in Gray's Inn lane, London; and the once famous Bagnigge wells, formerly the country resort of the cockneys, but now in the heart of the town, had over an ancient gate, leading into the garden, a sculptured stone with this inscription: "This is Bagnigge house, *near the Pindar-a-Wakefield.*†

A romantic history of George-a-Green was published in 1706. But Little John (whose real name was John the

* Gutch, *A Lytell Geste.*, p. 43. † *Ibid*, p. 36.

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Naylor), claimed greater celebrity. He stood nearly seven feet high, and was nicknamed "Little" in consequence; and he was not less remarkable for his drollery than his prowess. The cottage in which he died is still shown, at Hathersage, in Sherwood forest; and the churchyard of that town is his reputed burial-place. Two ancient, upright stones mark the spot where his remains reposed, previous to their exhumation many years ago (about the year 1785). A full description of this antique cottage will be found in Hall's "Rambles in the country surrounding the Forest of Sherwood." It is very small, and there is a tradition that his body stretched nearly across the floor when he was dead. His grave was opened by order of Captain James Shuttleworth, and a great thigh-bone was found in it, which measured thirty-two inches in length. This relic was re-interred; but some years afterwards it was re-exumed by a party of "great folk" from Yorkshire, who took it with them to Canon hall, near Barnesley. Up to that time Little John's cap was kept hanging by a chain in the church; but even that they took away—it was a green cloth cap. These doings, even if they *prove* nothing as to the fact of Little John's existence, show how strong is the belief in it at the present day. Mr. Gutch states further, that he was informed by Mr. Hall, that, some years ago, an old house was pulled down at Mansfield, and in its walls was discovered a sort of hiding-place, where the rotten remains of a bow, a green garment, a cap, and something besides were found; and were supposed, from their appearance and locality, to have belonged to one of Robin Hood's band.

Such was the popularity of Little John that both Scotland and Ireland claimed the honor of possessing his grave. Hector Boece (translated by Bellenden*), says: "In Murray land is the kirk of Pette, quhare the bonis of Little Johne remanis in great admiration of pepill. He has bene fourtene fut of hicht, with square membris effering thairto. Six yeris afore the cuming of this werk to licht, we saw his hanche-bane als mekill as the haill bane of ane man; for

* i. xxxiv.

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we schot our arme in the mouth thairof; be quhilh appearis how strong and square pepill grew in our regions afore they were effiminat with lust and intemperance of mouth." The Irish say that Little John took refuge in the neighborhood of Dublin, from English oppression. A hillock which, perhaps, was a barrow, that once stood on Astmantowne green, and was termed "Little John's shot," was a lasting evidence of his presence, and of his skill in archery. Some records in the Southwell family, attest that he was publicly executed on Arbor hill, Dublin, for robbery. Absurdly conflicting as these statements are, they still afford evidence of the widespread popularity, or, at all events, notoriety of the individual they relate to.

Now, it is very unlikely that there was no fire to cause all this smoke. It is not sufficient to say that some fortunate ballad-monger, in a happy moment of inspiration, invented the story of Robin Hood and his merry men, and gave them a local habitation as well as a name. The same method of accounting for such widespread fame as connected with a personage only doubtfully known to history, has been resorted to in the case of king Arthur, the ancient British hero, of whom so many traditions remain; but the bulk of evidence is in favor of his having been a real personage, and the localities still pointed out as the scenes of his exploits, are lasting testimonies to the reality of them. Lord Bacon specifies "names and words" as aiding us "to save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time;" and surely an abundance of them has been produced; sufficient to authenticate the belief that Robin Hood and his company were real personages, and performed most of the feats recorded of them. But if mere names are wanting, let us turn to the statement made by Mr. Spencer T. Hall, in his "Forrester's Offering;" himself a native of Sherwood Forest, the scene of Robin's greatest exploits. Commenting on the names of Robin's companions, Little John the Naylor, Much, Scathelock, Statley or Stoutly, and others, he says:

"If my reader smiles at the above names, and deem the history fictitious because they are used, I will at once refer him to any churchyard in the Forest, where he will find many similar on the gravestones; and, probably, inherited from some of Robin Hood's archers themselves.

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Nor am I alone in this opinion; it struck that graphic American writer, Washington Irving, most forcibly, while on a pilgrimage to Newstead Abbey. I have seen a public house in the very heart of the district, with the sign of 'Robin Hood,' and kept by John Little. One of my earliest playfellows rejoiced in the name of Jonas *Archer;* the name of the parish clerk of Kirkby, in Nottinghamshire, is *Shaklock*, and there are many others of the same name in that and the neighboring village of Sutton. *Hardstaff* is the name of the late Squire Chaworth's huntsman, at Annesley Park; and *Beardall* is the name of an innkeeper at Hucknall Torhard; a Mr. *Bowman* (there is a name! a sturdy man must the original *bow-breaker* have been!) keeps a public house at Nuncar gate, near Kirkby woodhouse; and similar names, identified with the locality, are as numerous as a parish jury-list!"

From names and words we pass on to "proverbs," the fourth item in Lord Bacon's list of evidences. Mr. Ritson, in his "Historical Anecdotes," appended to his work on Robin Hood, cites several relating to the famous outlaw, and gives the authorities from which he quotes. 1. "Good even, good Robin Hood." This is an allusion to civility extorted by fear. It is preserved by Skelton in his satire on Wolsey, beginning, "Why come ye not to court?" 2. "Many men talk of Robin Hood that were shot in his bow." This saying is found in Fuller's "Worthies." 3. "To overshoot Robin Hood," quoted in Sir Philip Sidney's "Defence of Poesie." 4. "Tales of Robin Hood are good enough for fools." This is found in Camden's "Remains." 5. "To sell Robin Hood's pennyworths." Fuller, in his "Worthies," says that "this was spoken of things sold under half their value, or, if you will, half sold, half given. Robin Hood came lightly by his ware, and lightly parted therewith; so that he could afford the length of his bow for a yard of velvet." 6. "Come, turn about, Robin Hood," implying that to challenge, or defy him, must have been the *ne plus ultra* of courage. It occurs in "Wit and Drollery," 1661. 7. "As crooked as Robin Hood's bow." To these Mr. Gutch adds: 8. "To go round by Robin Hood's barn;" implying the going of a short distance by a circuitous route. 9. "He makes Robin Hood's pennyworths." Of his stolen goods he afforded good pennyworths. 10. "Robin Hood's choice;" this or nothing. And to these may be added the singular saying which was at one time in use in the courts of Westminster:

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"Robin Hood in Barnwood stood," which implied a quibble. Shakespeare makes one of the outlaws in the "Two gentlemen of Verona" swear "by the bare scalp of Robin Hood's fat friar;"* and swearing by Robin Hood, or some of his companions, appears to have been a usual practice. Mr. Gutch cites an account of a man going to be hanged, who sang part of an old song of Robin Hood.† At Edinburgh, in the year 1505, one Sandy Steven was convicted of blasphemy, alleging that he would give no more credit to the New Testament than to a tale of Robin Hood, except it were confirmed by the doctors of the church.

After proverbs come traditions, which, as regards Robin Hood, are very numerous. Many of them have been already alluded to, but many more remain. It would take more space than can be allotted to this article, to give them in detail, and the doing so would not help to settle the question as to the reality of the existence of our hero, since the greater number of them are productions of later ages than the latest supposed era of the outlaw; and the exploits therein described in ballad form are probably the inventions of the authors of these poems. Mr. Gutch has presented the entire series, or "cycle," of Robin Hood ballads in his *Lytell Geste*. There are more than sixty of them, all written at different periods, and descriptive of different exploits and adventures of the outlaw and his comrades. Of these the earliest are "A tale of Robin Hood," or "Robin Hode and the Monk," and "Robyn Hode and the Potter." Then comes "The Lytell Geste," the most elaborate and famous of all. Upon these three are founded the subsequent ones. Mr. Wright, the eminent antiquary, in his essay "on the popular cycle of the Robin Hood ballads," gives it as his opinion that the compiler of the legend of the Lytell Geste obtained his materials for each *fytte* from ballads previously in existence. If this opinion be well founded, we are carried back to an indefinite period of antiquity. The manuscripts of these ballad-romances are to be found in the

* Act 4., sc. 1. † *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 154.
‡ Knox's *Historie of the Reformation in Scotland*, p. 368.

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public library at Cambridge, England, and Mr. Wright, from internal evidence, conjectures that they may be of a date rather earlier than the reign of Henry V.; but their greatest antiquity must be limited to the 15th century. If, then, the "Lytell Geste" were compiled from other ballads previously in existence, but now lost, it is possible that these same more ancient ballads were composed shortly after the time in which the hero of them lived, and the fact of their antiquity, and universal popularity is favorable to the supsupposition that Robin Hood was a real personage.

There is internal evidence that these ballad-romances faithfully represent the manners of the age in which they are supposed to have been written. The fondness for hunting, and for fighting with sword, quarter-staff and fist in trials of skill, the love of good cheer and jolly fellowship, of uncouth jokes and pranks, and an ill-concealed animosity to the churchmen and the overbearing Norman nobility, are highly characteristic of the English yeomanry of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The "Lytell Geste" embodies all these characteristics, and an analysis of it—(an excellent one is given in an article on Robin Hood in the Westminister Review,)*—will present them all, so that there need be no reference to the ballads which relate similar exploits, such as "Robyn Hode and the Monk," "Robyn Hode and the Potter," "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne," Robin Hood and the Stranger," "Robin Hood and the Bishop," "Robin Hood and the Butcher," Robin Hood and the Beggar," Robin Hood and the Tanner," and so on, all of which may be said to "ring the changes" on the same theme. Mr. Gutch believes that the "Lytell Geste" is the composition of a writer of the time of Chaucer, probably between 1377 and 1413,or from 80 to 100 years after the death of Edward I., to whom reference is made in it; but hitherto not a vestige of any manuscript has been discovered from which the early black letter editions were printed. Mr. Ritson says that it was first printed by Wynken de Worde, about the year 1489, in old quarto black letter. The poem is composed of 454

* No. LXV., March, 1840.

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stanzas, divided into eight fyttes or cantos, and the following is an outline of the story:

1st Fytte. Robin is in Barnsdale Wood with his faithful comrades Little John, Scathlocke and Much the miller's son. He sends them out to seek for a guest before sitting down to dinner. They meet with Sir Richard of the Lee, and bring him to Robin. The knight is in great distress because he has mortgaged his lands to the abbot of St. Mary's at York for £400, and the time for redeeming them having elapsed, he will lose them because he cannot pay off the mortgage. Robin lends him the money and gives him presents, and sends Little John with him, as his squire, to the abbot to redeem the lands.

2d Fytte. The abbot is in the act of acquainting his brethren that unless the knight redeems his lands that very day, they will be forfeited to the convent. The prior intercedes for the knight, but is snubbed by the abbot, the treasurer, the chief justice and the sheriff, who are all present and ready to confiscate the lands to the convent. While they are congratulating themselves on this accession to their revenues, the knight arrives, assumes an air of poverty, and pleads for time, but is reviled by the abbot. He then, to the surprise of all, produces the £400 and walks unceremoniously away. After a time he saves up £400 to repay Robin Hood, and sets off with the money and various presents to seek him in Barnesdale.

3d Fytte. This relates principally to Little John. The sheriff of Nottingham, having witnessed Little John's skill in archery, asks him who he is. Little John replies that he was born in Holderness, that his name is Reynolds Greenleaf, and that the knight is his master. The sheriff engages him for a year at a salary of twenty marks. But Little John having on one occasion been deprived of his breakfast, makes a great disturbance in the house, breaks open the buttery, beats the butler, and takes his fill of meat and wine. Thereupon the man-cook attacks him, and they fight with broadswords for an hour without being able to hurt each other. They then make friends and feast together. After this they break open the treasury, steal £303 and the silver

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plate and join Robin Hood in Sherwood Forest. Little John there finds the sheriff hunting, and persuades him, by an artifice, to follow him to another part of the forest. The sheriff is betrayed to Robin Hood, who makes him dine off his own plate, strips him of his clothes, and compels him to sleep a night in the forest. The next morning he releases him on his taking an oath to be a friend to Robin Hood and his men in case of need.

4th Fytte. The scene of this canto is laid at Barnesdale, on the afternoon of the day appointed for the repayment of the £400 loaned to the knight. Little John, Much and Scathlocke are sent out by Robin to stop travellers and bring them to dinner. They meet the treasurer of St. Mary's abbey with his retinue. Dispersing the latter, they force the abbot to accompany them to Robin. They then search his trunks and find £800, which they confiscate. The monk goes away amid jeers, and the knight arrives soon afterwards with the £400; but Robin not only refuses to take it, but gives him £400 more, relating how he has acquired it.

5th Fytte. There is a shooting match for a golden-headed arrow, on the outskirts of Sherwood Forest. This has been got up by the sheriff of Nottingham, in order to entrap Robin Hood. The latter attends with five men, but places 140 more in ambush. He wins the arrow, and the sheriff attempts to seize him; then ensues a fight in which the sheriff and his men are driven away, but Little John is wounded in the knee. He begs Robin to kill him in order to prevent his falling into the sheriff's hands; but Robin refuses. Much takes him upon his back and carries him a mile, when they come to a castle. Here dwells Sir Richard of the Lea, who gladly welcomes Robin and his men, and mans the walls to resist the sheriff and his troop.

6th Fytte. The sheriff of Nottingham, aided by the sheriff of Yorkshire, now calls on the castle to surrender. The knight refuses to deliver up the outlaws until he has learned the king's pleasure on the subject. The sheriff posts away to London to see the king, who tells him that he himself will be in Nottingham within a fortnight, and commands him to go back and assemble all the bow-men he can find

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Meanwhile Robin and his men return to the forest, and Little John recovers from his wound. The sheriff lies in wait for the knight, surprises him while hunting, binds him and carries him off towards Nottingham. The knight's wife hurries off to Robin Hood and implores his aid. Robin and his men hasten to Nottingham, where they kill the sheriff, release the knight, and take him to the forest.

7th Fytte. King Edward I., on his return from the Holy Land, takes a strong force with him to find Robin. After seeking him six months in vain, he is about to give up the pursuit, when a forest-keeper suggests that the king shall disguise himself, along with five of his best knights, in monk's dress, and let him conduct them to the outlaw's haunts. The king adopts this plan, is met by Robin and robbed of £20. Then he shows Robin the royal seal with a friendly greeting from the king. Robin invites him to dinner, feasts him on venison, and then shows him what his men can do in archery. Robin misses the mark purposely, and then asks the king to pay him the forfeit, viz.: a blow on the bare head. The king refuses, but on being pressed, knocks him down. By this they recognize the king, who pardons the knight and the outlaws, and engages them to enter his service.

8th Fytte. The king and his attendant knights, borrowing outlaws' dresses, then amuse themselves by frightening the people of Nottingham, and reinstate Sir Richard in his domains. Robin remains fifteen months in the king's court, but all his men, except Little John and Scathlocke, desert him and return to the forest. At last, Robin, yearning for his old life, obtains leave of the king to revisit Barnesdale for a few days; but when he arrives there he abandons the king's service and joins his old band. He lives twenty-two years after this in Barnesdale. At length, falling sick of a fever, he goes to the prioress of Kyrkesly (Kirklees), a kinswoman of his, to get bled.

This wicked woman is engaged in an intrigue with Sir Roger of Doncaster, and they conspire to murder him. Accordingly, she bleeds him, and locking him in his room, leaves him to bleed to death. Little John, fearing foul play, hastens to the priory, breaks open the door of the room,

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kneels at Robert's feet and begs permission to burn Kyrkesly Hall and the Priory. Robin refuses to grant it, but asks for his bow and arrows and shoots an arrow out of the window, directing that they shall bury him where it falls. He then dies and is buried according to his request.

Such is the outline of the "Lytell Geste," and, indeed, of Robin Hood's career as an outlaw. We may here mention that the traditional spot of his interment in the park at Kirklees has lately been secured by an enclosure of neat and solid masonry, supporting a strong and lofty iron railing, with a slender tapering pillar at each corner.

From traditions we pass on to private records and evidences. These are but slight, and scarcely worthy of credit. Such are the alleged relics of Robin Hood's bow, arrows, cap, chairs, slippers, etc., all of which have been mentioned by one traveller or another, apparently in good faith, but when we reflect upon the facility with which relics are manufactured, our faith in them disappears. Mr. Gutch selects a few of these notices by tourists,* and we cite them as specimens of credulity. "We omitted the sight of Fountain's Abbey, where Robin Hood's bow is kept." This is a quotation from Ray's "Itineraries," in the year 1700,† and it appears that this careful investigator did not even think it worth while to look at the relic, but was content with being told that it might be seen. The next traveller quoted was a little more curious. This is Mr. Brome, who published in 1700 his "Travels over England." "Having," he says: "pleased ourselves with the antiquities of Nottingham, we took horse and went to visit the well and the ancient chair of Robin Hood, which is not far from hence, within the forest of Sherwood. Being placed in the chair, we had a cap, which they say was his, very formally put upon our heads, and having performed the usual ceremonies befitting so great a solemnity, we received the freedom of the chair, and were incorporated into the society of that renowned brotherhood."‡

A pretty farce, this! No doubt Mr. Brome and his friends thereupon felt equal to any feat in archery. We ourselves,

* *Lytell Geste*, vol. i., p. 64. † p. 167. ‡ p. 85.

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once travelling in the highlands of Scotland, came upon a small cottage near the pass of Aberfoil, whence sallied forth an old crone with a very long and very old-fashioned gun, which she gravely assured us was Rob Roy's fowling piece, and we were very much edified at the sight; but it occurred to us at the time that if Sir Walter Scott had not written Rob Roy, and thereby attracted tourists to the spot, the gun would have remained rusting in the hiding place where its real owner put it. Here are two more specimens, one from Robert Dodsley.§ "On one side of this forest (Sherwood), towards Nottingham, I was shown a chair, a bow, and an arrow, all said to have been his, Robin Hood's, property." The other is from William Hutton.¶ "I was pleased with a slipper belonging to the famous Robin Hood, fifty years ago, at Saint Ann's Well, near Nottingham, a place upon the borders of Sherwood Forest, to which he resorted." In none of these cases, however, do the tourists say they believed in the authenticity of the relics. If the fame of Robin Hood depended on them, we fear it would stand but a slight chance of immortality.

Following the Baconian, order we come to fragments of stories, passages of books, and the like. Leaving out of question, for the moment, the numerous songs and sayings already mentioned or alluded to, we shall here consider such notices of the famous outlaw as are to be found in works on history. We have already quoted that remarkable passage from "Fordun's Scotichronicon," wherein he speaks of "Robertus Hode and Littill Johne," as "*ille famosissimus sicarius*," and as living in the reign of Henry III. There is, however, a still earlier mention of Robin Hood; it occurs in a very curious rhyming Latin poem, contained in Peck's supplement to Dugdale's "Monasticon," and bearing the following title: "Prioris Alnwicensis de bello Scotico apud Dumbarr, tempore regis Edvardi I. dictamen sive rithmus Latinus, quo de Willielmo Wallace, 'Scotico illo Robin Whood,' plura sed invidiose canit;" and in the margin are the following

* *Travels of Tom Thumb over England and Wales*, p. 82.

† *Journey from Birmingham to London*, 1785, p. 174.

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date and reference: "22 Julii, 1304. 32 E. I., Regist. prem. fol. 59 a." This manuscript is now in the British Museum. It proves that Robin Hood was celebrated as a popular hero so far back as the year 1304, the twenty-third of the reign of Edward I. Next we have the continuation and completion, as well as revision of the Scotichronicon of Fordun by his pupil, Bemer, abbot of St. Columb, who, in speaking of the events of the year 1266, says: "Isto etiam anuo grassati sunt acrius Angliæ, barones exheredati et regales; inter quos Rogerus de Martusmari marchias Walliæ, Johannes Daynillis insulam de Heli occupatant. Robertus Hode nunc inter fruteta et dumeta sylvestria exulabat."*

Here he is treated as a well-known historical character. The "Rimes of Roben Hod" are mentioned by the writer who calls himself "Piers Ploughman," who lived in the reign of Edward III., or about the year 1360, and is generally supposed to have been Robert Langland. He says:

> "I cannot parfitli mi paternoster, as the priest it singeth,
> But I can rymes of Roben Hode and Randolf, erl of Chester,
> But of our lorde or our ladye I lerne nothyng at all."

The last quotation we shall make is from a song on woman, found in a manuscript in the Lambeth Palace Library, which was written in the fifteenth century. It runs thus:

> "He that made this songe full good
> Came of the northe and of the southern blode,
> *And somewhat kyne to Robyn Hode*;
> Yit all we be nat soo."†

We might easily fill pages with extracts from subsequent writers, wherein mention is made of Robin Hood, but, beyond showing that the subject was very popular, they would prove nothing more than these we have made from writers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can do, which amounts to this: that some time previous to the year 1300 a person named Robin Hood was very popular and much talked about, and that he was an outlaw and robber, of singularly generous and humane disposition, who despoiled none but the rich and tyrannical, selfish, and dishonest, and

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* *Scotichronicon*, ed. Goodall, vol. ii., p. 104. † No. 306, fol. 135.

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who protected the helpless, fed the poor, and relieved the distressed; that he never was uncourteous to a woman, &c.

In 1852 the Rev. Joseph Hunter, an English clergyman, published a tract in which he traced out the history of Robin Hood, and attempted to prove that he lived in the reign of Edward II. (1307-27); also that he was an adherent of the earl of Lancaster at the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322. But the discovery of the MSS. above mentioned, dated 1304, wherein Wallace is styled the Scottish Robin Hood, is sufficient to disprove Mr. Hunter's theory. He thinks that the "Lytell Geste" was written by Richard Rolle, the poet of Barnesdale in the reign of Richard the Third, (1483-5).

Having thus, as we think, established the fact that Robin Hood was a real personage, and performed the kind of exploits recorded of him; and that the scenes of these exploits were the forests of Sherwood, in Nottinghamshire, and Barnesdale, in Yorkshire, we proceed to discuss the question as to the time in which he lived. The evidence on this point is very conflicting, and the unravelling of the difficulties has been rendered more unwelcome as a task since fiction has thrown its charms over the subject, and the brilliant pages of Scott and the graphic pen of James have so interwoven the memory of the bold outlaw with that of the model champion of England, Richard Cœur de Lion, that it seems an almost sacrilegious task to dispel the fascinations of "Ivanhoe" and "Forest Days." Yet this must be done, if we are honestly in search of the truth. As already stated, there are three theories as to the era of Robin Hood. The first is, that he lived in the time of Richard I. (1189–99); the second, that he lived in the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. (1260–90); the third, that he lived in the reign of Edward II. (1307–27). The last-mentioned theory has been disposed of, and there remain the other two.

It must be confessed that a formidable array of authorities can be brought forward in support of what we may call the Ricardian theory. There is, first of all, an old manuscript Life of Robin Hood, being No. 715 of the "Sloan Manuscripts" in the British Museum, and printed by Thoms

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in his "Prose Romances." It is of unknown date and parentage; some of it is illegible, but what is legible appears to be little more than a prose version of the "Lytell Geste," with two or three others of the Robin ballads incorporated with it. The commencement of this "Life" is at variance with the concluding portion of the "Lytell Geste." The "Life" begins thus: "Robin Hood was borne at Locksley, in Yorkshire, or, after others, in Nottinghamshire, in the dayes of Henry the Second, about the yere 1160; but lyued tyll the latter end of Richard the Fyrst." It will be remembered that the "Lytell Geste" introduces King Edward, on his return from the Holy Land, and speaks of him by name; but in the "Life" he is merely described as "the king." The manuscript, however, is not older than 1522, for it refers to Major's commendation of Robin as "the prince of all thieves and robbers," and Major, or Mayer, published his book in 1521.

On the Ricardian side appear the formidable names of Augustin Thierry, the great French historian, Sir Walter Scott, G. P. R. James, Sir Edward Coke, Wright, Ritson, Clarke, Major, Stowe, Fuller, Dr. Stukely, Warner, and Grafton. On the Edwardian side are the less eminent names of Charles Knight, Spencer T. Hall, Fordun, Bower, Gutch, and allies; but their opinions are fortified by the "Lytell Geste," the "Statute of Winchester," and other extrinsic evidence, which shall be noticed in due order. The authority of Sir Walter Scott and James is, in fact, no authority at all. It added greatly to the effect of their romances to introduce Robin Hood and Richard I. together on the scenes, and there was sufficient vagueness and uncertainty about the era of the outlaw to enable them to do so without any very serious charge of anachronism. Sir Walter was rather a sinner in this way, for he has been convicted of several errors in chronology. But he was a novelist, not a historian, and in consideration of his overpowering merits in other respects, he may well be forgiven for his inaccuracies.

With Augustin Thierry, however, it is different. He has rendered great service to the history of England by his graphic and thoughtful account of the conquest of that country by the

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Normans; and he is almost the first historian who has profoundly investigated the predatory state of society which existed in England during the two centuries which succeeded the battle of Hastings, and the domestic and civil economy of our ancestors, their public and private sports, pastimes, and amusements. His great work has already become classical, and he is, therefore, an adversary deserving of the greatest respect. It may be observed here, however that an English writer almost simultaneously with him adopted the same line of argument and quoted the same authorities. The first French edition of Mr. Thierry's history was published in 1825, and appeared again in 1826, and Clarke's "Vestigia Anglicana" was published in 1826. In both of these works there is an able vindication of Robin Hood's character, and on similar grounds. If one did not see the other's book the coincidence is remarkable. M. Thierry says:* "After his victory at Nottingham, King Richard, wishing for recreation, made a journey into the largest forest in England, extending from Nottingham to the centre of the county of York, over a space of several hundred miles, and called by the Saxons, Sirewood, which, in course of time, was changed into Sherwood . . . . About the time that this heroic prince, the pride of the Norman barons, visited the forest of Sherwood, there dwelt under the shade of that celebrated wood, a man who was the hero of the serfs, the poor, and the obscure; or, in one word, of the Anglo Saxon race. 'Then,' says an old historian, 'arose among the disinherited the famous brigand Robin Hode, whom the common people are so fond of celebrating in their games and stage-plays, and whose exploits, chaunted by strolling ballad-singers, delight them above all things.' This short passage is all that the chronicles positively say of the most celebrated Saxon that had chosen Hareward for his model."

We may here pause a moment to notice the extraordinary inadvertence — to use a mild phrase—of this distinguished historian, in quoting from Fordun. He

* *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands* vol. iii. pp. 234-50.

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translates the expression "famosissimus sicarius" by "famous brigand," instead of "notorious cut-throat," and he entirely omits the context, "Hoc in tempore," which is explained by what comes before to mean the time of the civil war of 1265, and not that of Richard I. This omission is the more extraordinary, as Thierry is one of the most painstaking of historians; and it leads us to think, that, in his heart, he wished to favor and sustain the comparatively modern idea of Richard and Robin being contemporary, which had also then recently been made so popular by the romance of "Ivanhoe."

Thierry's theory, being based upon Fordun, can have no greater authority than the latter, and that is adverse to the Ricardian. The next authority we shall notice is Mair, or Major, who wrote in the time of Henry the Eighth, A. D. 1521, and whose statement has been incorporated by Stowe in his "Annals"* by translation. It runs thus: "About these times (the reign of Richard I.) as I conjecture, Robert Hood, an Englishman, and Little John, most notorious thieves, concealed themselves in the woods, seizing only the goods of opulent men. They killed no one unless he attacked or resisted them for the protection of his property. Robert maintained by his robberies a hundred archers most admirably adapted for warfare, and four hundred of the bravest men did not dare to attack them. All Britain uses in songs the exploits of this Robert. He permitted no women to be molested, nor took away the property of the poor, but he freely bestowed on them the property taken from abbots. I condemn the rapine of the men, but he was the prince and the most humane of all thieves."† This historian (Major) gives no reason why he conjectures that Robin Hood and Richard I. were contemporaries; his statement is mere conjec-

* p. 159.

† The passage in Latin is: "Circa hæc tempora, ut augurors Robertus Hudus Anglus et Parous Joannes latrones famatissimi in nemoribus latuerunt, solum epulenterum riserum bona diripientes. Nullum nisi res invadentem vel resistentem pro suarum rerum tuitione occiderunt. Centum sagillarias ad pugnam optissimos Robertus latrociniis aluit, quos 400 viri fortissimi invadere non audebant. Rebus hujus Roberti gestis tota Britannia in cantibus utitur. Fœminam nullam opprimi permisit, nec pauperum bona surripuit, verum eos ex abbatum bonis oblatis opipare pavit. Viri rapinam improbo, sed latronum omnium humanissimus et princeps erat."

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ture, and its subsequent adoption by Stowe gives it no greater authority.

The notices of Hobin Hood by Dr. Fuller are not a whit more satisfactory. Speaking of the outlaw's birthplace he says, as if in doubt, "Robert Hood, (if not by birth,) by his chief abode, was this country-man (Nottinghamshire)."* "His principal residence was in Sherwood Forest, in this county, though he had another haunt (he is no fox that hath but one hole) near the sea in the North Riding of Yorkshire, where Robin Hood's bay still retaineth his name; not that he was any pirate, but a land thief, who retreated to these unsuspected parts for his security."† The doctor adds that Robin played his pranks in the reign of Richard I., or about the year 1200, but upon what authority this statement is made does not appear.

Dr. Stutely, Ritson, Grafton, Leland, the "Sloane MS.," and the "Harleian MS." attempt to fix the true epoch of Robin Hood by means of a pedigree (of which more will be said presently) which brings him down to the time of Richard I. The "Sloane MS." asserts that he was born about the year 1160. Charlton says that he was living in the days of the abbot, Richard, and Peter, his successor; that is between the years 1176 and 1211.‡ Warner refers his "existence to better daies, first Richard's daies;"§ and the great legal luminary, Sir Edward Coke, says authoritatively, that Robin Hood lived in the reign of King Richard I.‖ In the "History of George-a-Green, pindar of the town of Wakefield," published anonymously in London in 1706, the date of the hero's exploits is laid in the reign of Richard I. Mr. Ritson, following the foregoing authorities, has come to the same conclusion as regards Robin Hood, asserting that he was born in the reign of King Henry II., and about the year of Christ 1160, and that he died on the 18th of November, 1247, being the thirty-first year of King Henry III., and (if the date assigned to his birth be correct) about the eighty-seventh of his age."¶ There is a great show of circumstan-

* *Worthies of England*, p. 320. † *Ibid.* ‡ *History of Whitby, York*, 1779. 4to.
§ *Albion's England*, p. 132. ‖ *Institutes*, p. 197.
¶ *Abridgement of the Life of Robin Hood, passim.*

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tiality about this which is thus controverted by Mr. Wright, who, however, appears inclined to doubt altogether the existence of Robin Hood.

Mr. Wright thinks that the compiler of the legend of the "Lytell Geste" obtained his materials for each fytte from the ballads previously in existence. He then proceeds to dispose of the mention of King Edward I. in the ballad, by suggesting that it is the first instance of the name of a king occurring in these ballads, and that it was nothing more than what was customary, viz., to insert in the ballad, when sung at the Robin Hood festivals, the name of the king who was reigning at the time. He doubts the authenticity of the passages quoted from the Scotichronicon, and he concludes thus: "We have now given an abstract of all the remains of the cycle of Robin Hood in its older form. We have seen that it consisted of the common, popular stories of outlaw warfare in the green woods, as they were sung at the festivals and rejoicings of the peasantry, with whom, at the time the songs were made, such tales would naturally have been favorites. As far as we can judge, the different incidents of the cycle were not numerous, and it is probable that the compiler of the "Geste" introduced into it all he knew. This poem, indeed, seems, at the period of its publication, to have been the grand representative of the cycle, and to have contained, at least, most of that which was commonly sung about the roads and streets. The foregoing slight review of the material of the cycle, and of the nature of the stories which formed it, brings us at once to conclude that the character and popular history of Robin Hood was formed upon the ballads, and not the ballads upon the person. There arises, however, thereupon, an interesting question—who was the person that in these ballads bears the name or title of Robin Hood?—a question, at the same time, which certainly does not admit of a very easy solution.*"

The solution, in our opinion, is not so difficult as Mr. Wright thinks. We have already given our reasons for believing that Robin Hood is a real personage, and need not

*Essay on the Literature, Superstitions, and History of England in the Middle Ages.

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recapitulate them. We shall confine ourselves to the question of the era in which he lived, and, having noticed the principal authorities for the theory that he was cotemporary with Richard I., we shall pass in review those who favor the Edwardian theory.

First of all, there is the "Lytell Geste" itself, one of the most ancient of English ballads. It mentions Edward by name; and that it was Edward I. who was meant, is evident from the circumstance that Robin Hood is alluded to in the old Latin poem before quoted, bearing date A. D. 1304. Edward I. died in 1307. Then there is the evidence of Fordun and Bower, before commented on. Further, there is the "Statute of Winchester," enacted in the year 1285, providing for the suppression of robbers and vagrants, called promiscuously *Roberds-men* in the statute; which term is thus explained by Lord Coke: "He (Robin Hood) lived by robbery, burning of houses, felony, waste and spoil, and principally by and with vagabonds, idle wanderers, nightwalkers, and drawlatches, and, albeit, he lived in Yorkshire; yet men of his quality took their denomination of him, and were called *Roberdsmen* throughout all England." The statute of 5 Edw. III., c. 14 (passed in 1332), recites the "Statute of Winchester," and provides for the arrest of these same *Roberdsmen*. These acts of Parliament were further confirmed and amended by the act 7 Richard II., c. 5 (A. D. 1382), in which the term *Roberdsmen* is used. Why is it, if Robin Hood lived A. D. 1190, no statute against his followers and imitators was enacted until the year 1285? Why was it enacted then? For the following reasons, very ably set forth by Thierry, Mr. Spencer T. Hall, and Mr. Gutch:

Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, had been the leader of a great national movement in favor of the emancipation of the middle and lower classes from the tyranny and rapacity of the king and his Norman nobility. He had gained a decisive victory at Lewes, on the 14th May, 1264, wherein Henry III., his sons, Edward and Richard, and his grandson Henry, were made prisoners. The result of this battle was the convocation of a parliament to which knights of the

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shires, citizens and burgesses were summoned, and there the foundation of representative government was laid in England. But seven months after the meeting of this great assembly, Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.) made his escape, through the treachery of the earl of Gloucester, and, hastily collecting the royal forces, fell upon Leicester, by surprise, with greatly superior numbers, and annihilated the hopes of the nation for a time, by exterminating De Montfort and his supporters at the remorselessly sanguinary battle of Evesham, on the 6th August, 1265. Henry III., a feeble-minded, unmanly and vindictive man, gratified his vengeance on the people. We continue the narrative in the eloquent language of Thierry :

"On the death of De Montfort the old patristic superstitition of the English was awakened in his favor. Being an enemy to the foreigners and, as a contemporary writer expresses it, a defender of the rights of lawful property, he was honored with the same title as the popular gratitude had conferred upon those who, in the time of the Norman invasion, had devoted themselves in defence of the country. Simon, like them, received the appellation of defender of the natives. To call him traitor and rebel was declared to be a falsehood; and he was proclaimed a saint and martyr as much as Thomas à Becket himself."*

If, since the fatal field of Hastings, no day had ever been so disastrous to English freedom as that of Evesham,—if the great cause of constitutional establishment had its Harold in De Montfort, it had also its Hereward—yet more persevering and invincible than him of old—in Robin Hood, one of the disinherited and banished of that melancholy period. Bower (before quoted) tells us that in the year after that in which the battle of Evesham was fought, "Robin Hode wandered among the woody clumps and thickets." The yeomanry, with their bows, in those days, formed the main strength of the combatants on foot in an army, and they had cordially joined De Montfort. Robin Hood, no doubt, had drawn his formidable weapon with good effect at Lewes and at Evesham. On the defeat and death of their great leader, the insurgents fled to the mountains, forests, and morasses, and carried on predatory warfare against the

* *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, vol. iii, pp. 234-250.

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barons. It took Prince Edward two years to suppress these insurrections. Hampshire, Berkshire and Surrey were ravaged by banditti under the command of Adam Gordon, the most athletic man of the age. They were surprised in a wood near Alton. The prince engaged Gordon in single combat, wounded and unhorsed him; and then, in reward of his valor, granted him his pardon. But the stronghold of these outlaws was in the country north of the Trent, where there was vast tracts of forest, abounding in deer and other animals which afforded nourishment as well as sport. And here flourished such popular heroes as Robin Hood and Little John, Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and William of Cloudesly, who lived there in defiance of the barbarous forest laws of their Norman oppressors. Familiar with every thicket, copse, and woodland way, they easily eluded pursuit, and, moreover, found staunch friends in the poor, whom they invariably befriended, and who gave them timely notice of the approach of an enemy, or of a wealthy traveller whom they might plunder. No wonder, then, that when Prince Edward went in pursuit of them, he roamed the forest for months without finding them.

"Half a yere dwelled our comly kynge
In Notyngham, and well more,
Caude he not here of Robyn Hode,
In what countre that he were;

But alway went good Robyn
By halke and eke by hyll,
And alway slewe the kynge's dere,
And welt them at hys wyll."

Mr. Jabez Allies, a Worcestershire antiquary,* claims Loxley in Staffordshire, or Loxley in Warwickshire, as the birthplace of Robin Hood, and the forest of Feckenham, in Worcestershire, as the scene of his early exploits; and thinks that it was not until after the battle of Evesham that he removed to Sherwood forest, in Nottinghamshire, and to Barnesdale forest, in Yorkshire. He is also of opinion that Robin Hood was at the battle of Evesham, and that he is the same personage as "The Devil's Huntsman," or "Harry-

* Author of a tract *On the Jovial Hunter of Bromsgrove, Herne the Hunter and Robin Hood.* London, 1845.

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ca-nab," and "the Jovial Hunter of Bronesgrove." Dr. Nash* points out the names of many places in Worcestershire, and incidents in the history of that county, which tend to confirm the suggestion of Mr. Allies.

Mr. Spencer T. Hall, an enthusiast in everything relating to Robin Hood, says: "Subsequent to the battle of Evesham, 1265, Robin Hood was the acknowledged commander of a regularly organized band of men astonishingly expert in archery, ordinarily about one hundred strong, but capable of being increased *ad libitum* as occasion might require, because of his influence not only with the common people, but even with many of high degree, who were, doubtless from kindness to them in particular emergencies, very warmly attached to him. It is evident that this acknowledged right to command—which we never hear of any one disputing with him—consisted more in the excellence of his intellect, his consummate policy, and the natural dignity of his character, than in the strength of his arm or any personal love of distinction." In a letter addressed to the editor of a Worcestershire newspaper, who had raised a doubt upon Mr. Allies' conjectures, the latter says: "Before I conclude, I must observe that it is pretty clear, from the evidence I have collected relative to Robin Hood, that he was not contemporary with Richard I., as is generally supposed, but with Henry III. and Edward I.; and, if I may add another conjecture to those contained in the addenda to my treatise, I would say it is possible that either Robin Hood's father, or grandfather, might, like thousands of others, have been most tyrannically dispossessed of land by Henry II., when he enlarged Feckenham forest; and, if so, this, in a measure, would account for Robin's decided hostility to the forest laws."†

If the foregoing evidence will not suffice to prove that Robin Hood lived in the time of Edward I., and not in that of Richard I., the matter must stand where it is, for there is none better to be produced—at least none has as yet been discovered. It remains, then, to decide whether he was of noble birth or a yeoman—a word which in England sig-

* *History of Worcestershire.* Introd., pp. 65–68. † *The Forester's Offering.*

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nifies a plebeian of the most respectable class, next in rank below a gentleman. Mr. Ritson adopted the first theory, and says confidently: "His (Robin Hood's) extraction was noble, and his true name Robert Fitzooth." This assertion was based mainly on Dr. Stukeley's statement.* The learned doctor made out a complete pedigree for the bold outlaw. It runs thus: "Ralph Fitzothes, or Fitzooth, a Norman, who had come over to England with William Rufus, married Maud, or Matilda, daughter of Gilbert de Gaunt, earl of Kyme and Lindsey, by whom he had two sons, viz.: Philip, afterwards earl of Kyme, that earldom being part of his mother's dowry, and William Philip the elder, died without issue. William was a ward to Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, in whose household he received his education, and who, by the king's express command, gave him in marriage to his own niece, the youngest of the three daughters of the celebrated lady, Roisia de Vere, daughter of Aubrey de Vere, earl of Guisnes, in Normandy, and lord high chamberlain of England, under Henry I. and of Adeliza, daughter to Richard de Clare, earl of Clarence and Hertford, by Payne de Beauchamp, baron of Bedford, her second husband. The offspring of this marriage was our hero, Robin Fitzooth, commonly called Robin Hood." Dr. Stukeley further says (in a manuscript note of his copy of "Robin Hood's Garland," now in the Bodleian Library,) that "Robin Hood took to this wild way of life in imitation of his grandfather, Geoffrey de Mandeville, who, being a favorer of Maud, empress, king Stephen took him prisoner at St. Albans, and made him give up the Tower of London, Walden, Plessis, &c., upon which he lived on plunder."

On what slender foundations Dr. Stukeley reared such an edifice will be seen when the authorities for it are cited. Grafton, the chronicler, states that in an old and ancient pamphlet he had seen it written: "This man descended of a noble parentage."† The "Sloane MS." says, "He was of . . . . parentage," the material word illegible. The Harleian MS. note says: "It is said he was of noble

* *Pulæographia Britannica*, No. 2, p.115.
† Cited by Mr. Gutch, *Lytell Geste*, vol. i., p. 19.

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blood." Leland, the antiquary, terms him *nobilis*.* None of the most ancient ballads make any allusion to his noble birth, and it is not until we come to the Elizabethan dramatists that we find Robin figuring as earl of Huntingdon.

In 1601 two plays were written by Anthony Mundy and Henry Chettle, the titles of which were, "The downfall of Robert, earle of Huntington, afterwards called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde; with his love to chaste Matilda, the Lord Fitzwalter's daughter, afterwards his fair maide, Marian;" and "The death of Robert, earle of Huntington, otherwise called Robin Hood of merry Sherwodde; with the lamentable tragedie of chaste Matilda, his fair maid, Marian, poysoned at Dunmowe, by King John." In the year 1706 (as has been already mentioned), there was published in London "The history of George-a-Green," and it was dedicated to the steward, gentlemen, and inhabitants of Wakefield, by N. W. The author makes George and Robin contemporaries, and Robin figures as the first earl of Huntington. Mariana is Matilda, daughter to the Lord Fitzwalter; and having discovered the royal affections of Prince John for her, she retires into the forest of Sherwood "for the true love and affection she bore unto her best beloved Robin."

Now this is about all the evidence on which Dr. Stukeley made out his pedigree, and on which Mr. Ritson adopted his theory. Ritson died in 1803; since his day there has been much acute and laborious investigation brought to bear on the subject, the result of which has been to discredit entirely the story of the earldom of Huntingdon. We cannot do better than quote the language of Charles Knight in his "Old England," when speaking of the Lytell Geste. "This ballad, one of the finest in the language, which for beauty and dramatic power is worthy of Chaucer himself, about whose time it was probably written, has shared Robin Hood's own fate; that is, enjoyed a great deal of undiscriminating, and, therefore, worthless popularity. It has simply been looked on as one of the Robin Hood ballads; whilst, in fact, it surpasses all the others by its merits as by its antiquity, and its internal evidence of being

* *Collectanea*, i., p. 54.

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written by one who understood that on which he wrote; which is much more than can be said for the ballad-doers of later centuries—when Friar Tuck and Maid Marian first crept into the forester's company—when the gallant yeoman was created without ceremony earl of Huntingdon, and his own period put back about a century, in order that he and the Lion Heart might hob and nob it together." The Lytell Geste describes Robin as a yeoman, and this ought to settle the question, since none of the authorities cited in support of the opposite theory are so ancient as that ballad.

"Lythe and lysten, gentylmen,
That he of frebore blode;
I shall you tell of a good yeman,
His name was Robyn Hode."

We will conclude with the words of Sir Walter Scott: "The name of Robin Hood, if duly conjured with, should raise a spirit as soon as that of Rob Roy, and the patriots of England deserve no less their renown in our modern circles than the Bruces and Wallaces of Caledonia."*

ART. VI.—*Biographies; Inaugurations of Statues; Public Speeches; Official Correspondence; Accounts of Presents and Donations*, &c., &c., &c. New York: Herald, Times, World, Tribune, &c. 1869.

Our politicians delight to tell us that we are the freest people on the face of the earth, but because they are politicians, and nothing better, they do not dare to tell us, if they know the fact, that no people within the same extensive range submit to so many gross impositions. We are reminded in a thousand forms how proud we ought to be, that we have no titled or hereditary aristocracy; but how few venture even to hint that we have what is a thousandfold more pernicious—namely, an oligarchy, whose only claim to power, or consideration of any kind, is their money!

It is true that such information ought not to be necessary. How can we boast of our superior intelligence, if it fails to

* *Ivanhoe.* Dedicatory Epistle.

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direct our attention to what is passing daily before our eyes? One of the most important uses of knowledge is to enable us to distinguish good from evil, so that we may profit by the former and eschew the latter. It requires but a very slight exercise of the thinking faculty to see that men are great and powerful in this country, in proportion as they possess millions, and are disposed to *purchase* greatness and power, with those superfluous millions, which they know they cannot take with them to the grave. It is not necessary that the owners of millions should hold high official position, or any official position, in order to possess this power and attain this greatness. The person who, by means of his money, can induce the king, or the emperor, to comply with his wishes, has more power to do mischief than the king, or the emperor himself, because, if the sovereign can be bought, why not his subordinates? But were the former above being bought, which we cheerfully admit is sometimes the case, the disciple of Plutus might gain his point quite as well by purchasing the latter.

But let us suppose that the millionaire does not interfere at all in the affairs of government, can he not do abundant mischief, without any such interference, if he be a speculator? and who has ever heard of a millionaire, in ancient or modern times, who was not a speculator? It may be safely concluded that no one has ever amassed enormous wealth by the ordinary, legitimate profits of trade; and it is equally indisputable, that in every instance in which one of those immense fortunes has been made, numbers of honest persons have sustained losses that made their hearts grieve; nay, more, the poor who have been engaged in no other business than toiling hard with bone and sinew for their daily bread, have suffered bitterly from some of the processes by which the millionaire has amassed his pile.

Although this statement may seem unjust, as applied to millionaires in general, it might be easily illustrated by incontestable facts; thus, for example, how few of those whose greediness for wealth is boundless, scruple to lock up in their storehouses what the poor are in the utmost need of, and persistently refuse to sell it, until they have succeeded

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in raising the market to its utmost height? Is it not notorious, upon the other hand, that millionaires have thrown large quantities of merchandise on the market, under certain circumstances, with no better or more honest motive than to ruin their competitors, so that they might add to their own millions by that ruin?

The amount of injury done in this manner is much greater than the public would believe; it is so great, indeed, that it could not be repaired by the largest sums which our most wealthy millionaires *could distribute freely among the people, by way of atoning for their past sins.* Let those who doubt this bear in mind, that a hundred dollars might be of more value to one at one time than a thousand at another. None understand this better than the millionaire; there are, perhaps, millionaires, who, if they had been caused to lose their first hundred might have been long enough in getting a second.

But the injury done by unscrupulous public monopolists is more odious, if not intrinsically greater, than that done by those equally unscrupulous and equally wealthy, who are engaged, however extensively, in private business. Take, for example, one or two of our railway monopolists; who considers himself an intelligent person, and is not aware of the fact that these persons destroy thousands of families in one season? What cares the speculator for this, when, in proportion, as he brings ruin on so many others, he increases his own millions? Still less need he care when a large proportion, if not the majority, of his victims, have no idea that it was he who did them the mischief. Nay, many of them think he is their friend all the time; and, in order to strengthen the illusion, he occasionally gets up fêtes for their entertainment!

Nothing is more common among our political orators than to contrast our people with the "down-trodden masses" of Europe. The latter, they tell us, have no idea of rights, and accordingly do not expect to be well treated; whereas the former know all about their rights, and therefore none dare meddle with them; but, so far, at least, as resentment for wrong is concerned, the reverse of this is the fact. Even the king or the emperor cannot play the tyrant very

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long; certainly if he does he must be ever watchful, or his life will be the forfeit. Let even the czar bring ruin on thousands of families in order to fill his own coffers, or for any other purpose, and his immense standing army could not save him.

Probably no European people are more peaceful, or more law-abiding, than the English; but woe to the man, or the woman, that defrauds or oppresses them! Most of our readers know how often they have made the highest officers of the government; the greatest statesmen, and the bravest warriors; quail before them. Even the Duke of Wellington could not prevent them from breaking every window in the fine residence (Apsley House) presented to him by the nation for having saved her from becoming the spoil of Napoleon. As for submitting to be defrauded by any private individual, no matter how many millions he owned, it would be impossible to constrain them. This is so well understood that the millionaires of England are always careful what they do. The Barings would not dare to imitate the example of some of our millionaires, even if inclined to do so, of which, indeed, there is no evidence. It is true that the fear of retribution is not the only check on the conduct of English millionaires; there are many reasons for the difference between them and our millionaires; but they need not be stated here. For the present it is sufficient to remark that money alone does not secure position in England; those having an ambition to be great cannot purchase greatness there; still less can they purchase impunity for themselves by the ruin of thousands.

We are often told that the French know less about their rights than the English, and consequently that they are more easily imposed upon by speculators. But the real facts do not justify any such statement. If they submit more quietly than the English to have the necessaries of life forestalled on them by millionaire speculators, they certainly do not submit more quietly than our people; but the reverse. This we might illustrate by many interesting examples; but one will suffice, especially as it is "a case in point." Thus, in France, as well as in this country, millionaires have attempted to establish monopolies by which they could

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command large sums of money and influence the market at any time, according as it happened to suit their own interests. In 1847, the Rothschilds had secured the control of several of the French railroads. It was suspected that their course in the management of the Chemin de fer du Nord, was not what it ought to be; many attributed to it the high prices for most of the necessaries of life, which led to the revolution of February, 1848. Whether the charge was just or not, the indignant people wreaked their vengeance on Baron James Rothschild. They repaired in a large body to his magnificent château at Suresnes, and in spite of all the authorities could do to prevent them, set fire to, burned and pillaged it. The loss sustained by the baron was very great, the château having been newly furnished in the most costly manner, and adorned with some of the finest paintings and sculptures which money could purchase; but he had the shrewdness to profit even from so terrible a manifestation of "the wild justice of revenge." Instead of making any threat, or showing any sign of resentment, he began to contribute large sums for the benefit of the poor. Immediately after the revolution he sent his check for fifty thousand francs to the provisional government for the relief of the victims of February. In addition to contributing large sums in money for the benefit of the very class who burned and pillaged his château, he founded and endowed several charitable institutions. But all would not be sufficient had he persisted in those forestalling speculations which had proved so ruinous to a large proportion of the industrious class.

At the same time the Rothschilds cannot be considered exemplary men, with all their wealth, and their willingness, under certain circumstances, to make large donations. But, as millionaires, many consider them exemplary; although nowhere are they received on equal terms in good society. The emperor of Austria has indeed made a baron of one or two of the family, by way of rewarding them for the enormous sums of money they have, from time to time, furnished the government. In England they have been flattered in a similar manner in time of need; but never has the emperor of Austria, or the king or queen of England, been on visiting

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terms with any member of the Rothschild family. Lionel Nathan, the head of the English branch of the house, was born in London; his liberality in giving donations caused him to be elected member of parliament in 1847, but being a Jew, he was not allowed to take his seat until 1858—eleven years after his election! Although having millions at command, and very willing to pave the way with gold, all his efforts were in vain for these eleven years. It is well known that he would gladly have presented her majesty's ministers with fine houses; as for horses, every member of the government could have had a choice Arabian from him, had his wishes been complied with on such terms. But no; although both himself and his father had often given large sums to the government, he had to wait until the poorest of his Jewish brethren, entitled to a seat, were admissable.

The Rothschilds, as we have said, are respectable millionaires; yet it is universally believed that their boundless wealth has rendered them more corrupt than they would have been had they merely possessed a competency. Different reasons are assigned for this, but we need only mention one: nearly every member of the family has married his *niece* or *first cousin*, generally the former, so that no stranger, or even distant relative, should become a Rothschild millionaire. Even Baron James, the most respectable of the family, married the daughter of his brother, Solomon Rothschild. But neither the English nor the French care who their millionaires marry, provided they do not interfere with their interests, or attempt to ruin them with their gambling speculations.

But the worst conduct attributed to the Rothschilds, even when one of their princely residences was burned and pillaged, would be regarded anywhere as legitimate compared to that of which it is notorious some of our American millionaires are habitually guilty. The revelations made during the recent gold crisis can only be regarded as a casual illustration of this; even then the chief actors in the conspiracy against the public enjoyed perfect impunity even from censure. Only the subordinate speculators were condemned; these, although used as scapegoats, were but gently

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dealt with. What cared they, or any malefactors like them, about denunciations? It was no news to them to find themselves infamous. Infamy was no trouble to them as long as they were not restrained from pursuing their infamous course. They saw, from daily observation and experience, that if they only succeeded in securing a certain amount of millions, not only would their infamy be forgotten, but in a few brief years they might have colossal statues erected to their *honor*, and attract around these statues, at their inauguration, crowds of enthusiastic, wide-mouthed admirers, including even ministers of the gospel!

Be it remembered, that the two or three persons who have borne the brunt of the public scorn, do not yet own even one railroad; before they are recognized as great and honorable men, they must own, at least, two or three that pay well. But once they are possessed of these, no matter how they get them, then their greatness and respectability are undisputed. They may then live on the most intimate terms with the highest of our rulers. If they wish to become great public functionaries, such as high chamberlains, ambassadors to foreign courts, &c., or even to make such of their hired eulogists or private secretaries, they have only to make a few liberal presents, and, if they are not very hard to be pleased, the whole affair will be arranged, in due time, to their entire satisfaction.

It is true that there were times when public offices were bought and sold openly like other commodities; though not in republics. This afforded the head of the state a handsome source of revenue. But the offices were not sold so loosely as might be supposed. The candidate for the purchase had to undergo a searching examination as to his qualifications; but, if not found unqualified, he might find a substitute, who should also be examined. Finally, if the price and qualifications proved satisfactory, a formal contract was entered into, by which the new official bound himself by adequate securities to perform his duties faithfully, and not to exact higher perquisites than his honest predecessors had been in the habit of charging.

It would not do at this time for the ambitious candidate,

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even though a millionaire, to get somebody to prepare a biography of him, who would represent that he was familiar with ancient languages, the letters of whose alphabets he could hardly distinguish from each other, if that alone would secure him the position he coveted! It was equally useless for the biographer to represent him (while laughing at him in his sleeve, and making his readers laugh, also) as the descendant, in a direct, legitimate line, of a very ancient and aristocratic, if not princely or royal family. Especially did all this prove a failure, if the millionaire candidate belonged to that class who, not only covet every good piece of land, or every handsome, convenient house that happens to be within the range of their vision, but unhesitatingly offers to buy it from the owner; and, if the owner decline, become indignant and spiteful.

Yet such were sometimes successful even in classic times. We have a very interesting instance of this in the works of Plato. Socrates and some of his friends are discussing public matters, as usual; referring to the people of Syracuse, one of the interlocutors proceeds to say: "And they have just now sent ambassadors, intending, as it seems to me, to *deceive*, in some way, the state. During our conversation, the ambassadors from Syracuse happened to pass by; when, pointing to one of them, Erasistratus observed—'That person, Socrates,' said he, 'is the most wealthy of the Siceliotes and Italiotes; and how should he not be?'" &c. Erasistratus here proceeds to point out the different sources of the ambassador's wealth; having satisfactorily proved that he is a millionaire, Socrates asks, as it were, incidentally, "What kind of person, Erasistratus, does this man seem to be in Sicily?" "This man," said he, "both seems to be and *is* one of the most *knavish* of all the Siceliotes and Italiotes, *by how much he is the wealthiest;* so that should you be willing to ask any Siceliotes whom he thought to be *the greatest rogue*, not one of them would mention any other person than him." *

Yet he is an ambassador, and his person must be considered as sacred by the Athenians, on pain of being regarded

* Plato's Works, vol. VI., *Eryxias*, c. 1, 2.

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as at war with the Syracusians! We need hardly say that the sole object of the philosopher is not to describe an individual millionaire; but to show what importance should be attached, in general, to that class of mortals. After discussing the whole subject of amassing wealth, with the utmost moderation, and, without the least prejudice, the conclusion arrived at is, "that of necessity they who should appear to us to be the wealthiest, *are in the most depraved state.*"*

This has been the experience of all ages. What corrupts the nation corrupts the individual, and *vice versa.* And let those who doubt that money, or enormous wealth corrupts the nation, consult the most reliable historians of those nations which no longer exist. Neither Socrates nor Plato bears any testimony in regard to the demoralizing influence of millionaires, which is not fully corroborated by Thucydides, Strabo, and Lucian.

And has Rome had a different experience? Our reply is that there never has been a more complete unanimity on any subject than that between all the Roman historians and satirists, as to the chief cause of the downfall of Rome. As long as there were no millionaires to rob one-half of the people and corrupt the other half, Rome continued the mistress of the world, after she had once secured the prestige of a brave and powerful nation. No historian has given a more impartial, truthful account of his country than Sallust; no historian has traced effects to their causes with more sagacity or with more scientific precision. And what is his report on this subject? In the opening pages of his *Catalina,* he solemnly warns all posterity that riches (*divitiæ*) were the destruction of Rome. "First," he says, "the love of money, and then the love of power increased."† He shows, with the graphic force of a consummate artist, how it sapped and subverted all those noble virtues for which the Romans were distinguished before Roman millionaires openly purchased the right of robbing whole provinces. Sallust describes how gradually this state of things supervened; most justly does he compare the growing avarice to the invasion of a pestilence.‡ Becoming

* *Eryxias,* c. 30.
† Igitur primo pecuniæ dein imperii cupido crevit. *Bel. Cat.*
‡ Post, ubi *contagio,* quasi pestilentia, invasit.

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more and more earnest and eloquent as he proceeds, he shows how the increasing avarice acted on body and mind, like a poison, rendering both effeminate. Nor does he forget how the greediness of the millionaire became more and more boundless and insatiable from day to day.*

Our readers may well believe that one Roman millionaire coveted his neighbor's house, while another coveted his neighbor's farm,† for we see instances enough of such covetousness in our own time. There was some hope, however, according to the historian, until wealth began to be regarded *as an honor* to those who had it; then talent, refinement and virtue were equally despised; honest poverty became a cause of reproach, &c., &c.‡

We have taken pains to quote the most important passages in the original, at the bottom of the page; we should have taken similar pains with the Greek, but our printers are no admirers of the latter. Our reason for being so careful in the present instance is, that, as already intimated, there are some of our millionaires who claim to be quite familiar with the classic languages; probably because those who aspire to be rulers are generally supposed to know more than those whom they wish to rule, even though the latter be the nominal or elected rulers!

It is true that the authorities we have hitherto quoted, as to the demoralizing influence of millionaires, are pagans. Perhaps money has acquired a different nature under the Christian dispensation; and it must be admitted that there are some facts which seem strongly to support that view of the case. Thus, for example, are not the pews in our christian churches sold by auction, like cast-off clothes, or spavined horses, to the highest bidders? Nay, do not our Christian ministers sell themselves to all sorts of speculators, who, in turn, want to make profit by them? And are not those same Christian ministers ready to do anything, however reprehensible, or shameful, for those who praise and recommend them to their own satisfaction as marketable goods?

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* Semper infinita, insatiabalis est. † Domum alius, alius agros cupere.

‡ Postquam *divitiæ honori* esse cœperunt, et eas gloria, imperium potentia sequebatur; hebescere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, &c.—*Bel. Cat.*

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All this, and a good deal more, must be admitted; yet, we think, that avarice is quite as demoralizing among Christians as it was among pagans; nor can we believe that Christian (?) millionaires, as such, are entitled to any more honor or consideration, at the present day, than the pagan millionaires were in the days of Sallust, Tacitus, or Juvenal.

But let us pause for a moment, to see who will be regarded as a good authority on the subject. On a little reflection, we think it must be admitted that Milton ought to be accepted by our millionaires as well as by our parsons. As "Paradise Lost" has reference to the olden time, we pass over that and turn to "Paradise Regained." No one understood the ancient world better than Milton; no one was more fully aware that the greatest deeds of which man was capable, were performed in poverty. In writing his great poems he had before his mind such men, who were voluntarily poor, as Socrates, Anaxagoras, Diogenes the Cynic, and Pythagoras, as well as Copernicus, Galileo, and Kepler. It is not strange, then, that his representative millionaire is the arch enemy of mankind, who attempts to corrupt even Christ himself with his money; and still less strange is it that it is into the mouth of Christ the poet puts the strongest denunciations of avarice and wealth, as compared to virtue, valour and wisdom. Satan concludes a long argument as follows:

> "Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
> Get riches first, get wealth, and *treasure heap*,
> *Not difficult, if thou hearken to me:*
> *Riches are mine*, fortune is in my hand;
> They whom *I favor thrive in wealth amain;*
> *While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.*"*

It will be admitted that there is quite as much truth as poetry in this. The reply of the great founder of christianity carries conviction to every mind, that is not hopelessly depraved. It extends to over forty verses, but a few lines will be sufficient for our purpose:

> "Among the heathen (for throughout the world
> To me is not unknown what hath been done
> Worthy of memorial) *canst thou not remember*
> *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*

**Paradise Regained*, B. ii., v. 426

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> For I *esteem* those names of men so poor,
> Who could *do mighty things*, and could *contemn*
> *Riches*, though *offer'd from the hand of kings*.
> And what in me seems wanting, but that I
> May also in this poverty as soon
> Accomplish what they did, perhaps, and more?
> *Extol not riches, then*, the *toil of* FOOLS."*

But did we mention all who have warned mankind against avarice and avaricious men, we should not omit one of the great thinkers and benefactors of all nations; and need we say that Washington would be among the number? So would Franklin, and all others whose memory we are bound to revere. In ancient or modern times not one of this class has attempted to exalt avarice above virtue, talent, refinement and wisdom. But who are the honored men of the present day in this republic? Who are the most familiar companions and most esteemed advisers of our rulers?

ART. VII.—*Juventus Mundi. The Gods and Men of the Heroic Age.* By the Right Honorable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE. 1 Vol., 8vo. pp. 554. Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1869.

There is something grand in the spectacle of a great statesman busied with the administration of the affairs of an empire, and taking an active and leading part in all the important political and social questions of the day, sustaining the most envenomed attacks upon his conduct and motives, yet finding repose in studies which others call toil, and turning to the antique music of the Iliad and the Odyssey for mental recreation. Such a spectacle was exhibited in Lord Bacon, in the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and in the late Earl of Derby; all of whom turned to Greece for a theme on which to exercise their genius and scholarship. At an age when most men cease from labor, Lord Derby made his translation of Homer.

Now, while immersed in state problems which would crush the majority of men, or at all events incapacitate them from turning their attention to other things, we find the prime minister of Great Britain devoting the few leisure hours left

* *Ib.*, v. 444.

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to him in his active life, to the profound study of the Homeric writings, seeking, both in public and private, to advance knowledge and elevate human existence, and cultivating literature, not merely as a scholar, to be charmed with the glorious melody and stately splendour of the Greek epos, but as a statesman, to learn debate and state craft from the Hellenic fountain head; as an orator, to learn thence how to move the spirit of modern men, and as a Christian, to trace out how all ancient history led up to the advent of the Messiah—Greece contributing an elegant language and a matchless intellectual discipline; Rome, a finished political organization; the East, its mystic abstractions; and Egypt and Chaldæa, their philosophies, in order that christianity might inherit all, and carry forward the light that forever increases.

In 1858 Mr. Gladstone produced a very able and scholarly work, to which he gave the title of "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age." The work before us, which he has named "Juventus Mundi," might, with equal propriety, have been styled part the second, or a continuation of the "studies," although some of the views which he put forward in the former have been considerably modified in the latter. The "Juventus Mundi" was composed during the parliamentary recesses of 1867 and 1868, a period of singularly fierce political excitement, occasioned by the reform bills for the amendment and extension of the elective franchise, by the proposed disestablishment of the Irish Church, and by the Fenian agitation in Ireland. The object which the author proposes to himself in this work shall be stated in his own language.*

"The immediate purpose of the former work was to draw out of the text of Homer, by a minute investigation of particulars, the results that it appeared to me to justify. Many of them were more or less new, and the process of inquiry was therefore exhibited in great, perhaps in excessive or wearisome, detail. I have now felt warranted to give a large space to deduction, and a smaller one to minute particulars of inquiry in a work which aims at offering some practical assistance to Homeric study in our schools and universities, and even at conveying a partial knowledge of this subject to persons who are not habitual students. . . My

* *Preface*, pp. vi.–viii.

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main object, then, in this and in the former work, has been to encourage, or, if I may so say, provoke, the close textual study of the poet, as the condition of real progress in what is called the Homeric question, and as a substitute for that loose and second-hand method, not yet wholly out of vogue in this country, which seeks for information about Homer anywhere rather than in Homer himself."

That Mr. Gladstone has accomplished his self-imposed task well, on the whole, may be learned from a perusal of the work. But his labors are not yet ended, he is yet to give to the world an analysis, or more properly, a concordance, of the contents of Homer's writings, and this he has promised to do as soon as other calls upon his time (including the settlement of the Irish land question and the pacification of Ireland) will permit.

Before noticing the leading features of the work, a few words must be devoted to the orthography, as regards proper names adopted by Mr. Gladstone. He has followed Mr. Grote in the nomenclature of the Greek deities, places, and men, though not to so rigidly harsh an extent. We think this a blemish, and believe that the attempt to revolutionize the old familiar names to which the ears of men have been accustomed, and which have been incorporated into the literature of the last two thousand years, will prove futile. There is no sufficiently important object to be gained by substituting the original Greek names in Roman type, for their Latin equivalents. Moreover the latter are the more musical and poetical, except in Greek poems; and sometimes the English forms of them are pleasanter. We prefer Homer to Homeros; Ulysses to Odusseus; Thucydides to Thoukudides; Clytemnestra to Clutaimnestra; Minerva to Athenè, and Venus to Aphroditè. Jupiter has a grander sound than Zeus, and Ceres looks better in print than Demeter does. As for Poseidon, Aïdoneus, and Hephaistos, we beg them to remain in the original world, and let us have our old friends Neptune, Pluto, and Vulcan in their stead: and we can dispense with Phoibos-Apollon, being satisfied with plain Apollo.

Some will, perhaps, sneer at this feeling of attachment to familiar names; but they have become so interwoven in our language, and our very modes of thinking, that we do

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not see any utility in attempting to change them. Moreover, there is a very large class of readers who, whatever their classical attainments may have been in their college days, have allowed their Greek and Latin to grow rusty. To such persons it would be almost necessary to go to school again, in order to understand some of the proposed changes. *Kuklopes* can easily be rendered into Cyclopes; but not so with *Scheriè*, *Aiaiè*, *Aioliè*, *Laistrugoniè*, the *Phaiakes*, the *Phoinikes*, *Suriè*; it requires a little consideraion before the unlearned can recognize in these names, Coreyra (Corfu), Æced, Æolia, Lestrigonia, the Pheacians, the Phœnicians, Syria; and thus the charm of an immense body of literature would be impaired.

Mr. Gladstone assigns a higher antiquity to Homer than that usually allowed. He considers the date of 1183 (1189?) B. C., fixed by Eratashenes, for the fall of Troy, to be merely conjectural, and thinks that event is quite as likely to have been older as to have been more recent. Why? He assigns no reason. Not only does he abstain from doing so, but he appears to be ignorant of the evidence there is in favor of a later date. Mr. Sharpe * makes use of the Egyptian chronology to determine the date of the Trojan war, which, according to him, should be placed between the years 925 and 900 B.C., on the following grounds: Herodotus says † that Proteus, the king of Egypt, who received Paris and Helen, on their flight from Sparta, was contemporary with the Trojan war, that there was only one reign between him and Sesostris (Shishah) who conquered Jerusalem, B. C. 960; and that there were twelve reigns between him and the Persian invasion of Egypt, B. C. 525. Allowing the computation of Herodotus as to the length of these reigns, this period would amount to 390 years, which would give the year B. C. 915 as that of the capture of Troy. Again, Manetho says ‡ that Thucris, who reigned seven years, lived in the time of the Trojan war, and that he was succeeded by the 20th dynasty, which reigned from 135 to

* *Early History of Egypt*, pp. 158--162. † *Euterpe*, chap. 118—120.
‡ Quoted by Sharp, *Early History of Egypt*, p. 45.

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172 years. Assuming that the 21st, 22d, 23d and 24th dynasties reigned contemporaneously with it, computing from the reign of So (B.C. 730), we have the year B. C. 900 as the date. Ahab, king of Israel, married Jezebel, daughter of Ithebal, king of Tyre, B. C. 918; Dido fled to Carthage on the death of Ithebal, and Æneas, according to Roman tradition, visited her on his flight from Troy, thus fixing the fall of that city at about B. C. 886. To our thinking it is more likely that the seige of Troy, or the great ten years' war between the Pelasgi of Asia Minor and the Hellenes of Greece, which has since received that name, took place considerably later than B. C. 1189 and not 1183, as Mr. Gladstone has it. Now this becomes important in attempting to determine the era of Homer. Mr. Gladstone infers from a passage in the Iliad,* wherein Neptune predicts that the grandchildren of Æneas shall reign in Troas, that the poet must have lived after the fulfilment of the prophecy, as he would not have ventured to put such a prediction into the god's mouth if he had not been sure of its accomplishment. A grandson of Æneas might have reigned there fifty years after the fall of Troy, and Homer might have been contemporary with him. The poet himself tells us that he was not an eye-witness of the war,† which would imply that he lived while it was going on, and would have been superflous if he had lived a century or two afterwards. Then, again, he makes no mention of the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, under Onylus, which is assigned to the year B. C. 1104, and it is hardly likely he would have omitted all allusion to an event so fatal to the kingdoms of Agamemnon, Menelaus, Diomed, Nestor, and others of his prominent heroes, if he had lived after its occurrence.

The internal evidence of the Homeric poems is in favor of the theory that they were written very soon after the close of the war, when many of those who took part in it were living to relate their own exploits, and those of their principal leaders. Mr. Gladstone is of this opinion, and con-

* Book i, v. 260--272.

† *Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκομομεν, οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν.* Book ii, v. 486.

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jectures that Homer was familiar with many of the heroes themselves. He also sees in the poems, proof that the poet was intensely Greek in his ideas and feelings, and concludes from this that there is neither reason nor trustworthy authority for supposing him to have been an Asiatic Greek. There remains, however, the fact that

> "Seven cities claimed the Homer dead,
> Through which the living Homer begged his bread."

Four of these were Asiatics, viz.: Smyrna, Rhodes, Colophon, and Chios; the others, viz.: Athens, Argos, and Salamis, were purely Hellenic. Mr. Grote appears rather to incline to the claim of Smyrna.* Byron prefers Chios, and speaks of the

> . . . . . "immortal dreams that could beguile
> The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle. †

The famous controversy respecting the authorship of the poems—whether the Iliad and the Odyssey were the work of one and the same man, and that man Homer—is very curtly treated by Mr Gladstone. He does not dispose of the argument of Wolf, that the poems are not genuine, because the art of writing did not exist at the time of their composition, and that poems of such length could not have been orally transmitted. He contents himself with admitting the force of the first objection, and evading the other, by observing that persons *have* lived who professed to be able to recite these poems, entire, from memory.

We confess to considerable misgivings on this point. A few such may possibly have existed, but to suppose that two such long poems, containing, between them, upwards of fifty thousand lines, could have been transmitted *verbatim*, from generation to generation, from the days of Homer to those of Pisistratus, king of Athens, who first collected them in a written form, about the year B.C. 535, is, in fact, to suppose an utter impossibility. How much has been lost, or added to them, it is now impossible to tell. Mr. Gladstone thinks that we have the poems substantially as they were composed, and that they have been but slightly tampered with.

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* *History of Greece*, vol. 2, chap. 21.

† *The Bride of Abydos*, Canto 2, st. 2.

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It seems surprising that he should have so feebly defended his idol, and that after elaborately commenting upon the influence which the Phœnicians had upon the nations inhabiting the shores of the Mediterranean, and demonstrating, as he has, the effect of the intercourse of the Achaians with that enterprising people, upon the religion, manners, and polity of the people of Greece, it should not have occurred to him that, as these Phœnicians possessed the art of recording events, they might have chronicled those of the Trojan war, which lasted so long, and extended over a large portion of Asia Minor, with which they traded.

The Egyptians, also, had the means of recording sentences as well as events. Why is it improbable that Homer became acquainted with one or other of such methods, and had a notation whereby he could transmit to the rhapsodists, who wandered about the world, reciting his poems, the language in which he expressed them, though no such notation has come down to us? Assuredly the rhapsodists had some means of aiding their memory, or they could not, as a body, have remembered entire poems, although one or two might have done so. The Greeks received their alphabet from the Phœnicians ; why not the art of writing? It seems to us that Wolf's objection has been too readily allowed. The poems are so unique, so consistent in plot, so evidently the production of one man, and not of several; so commanding in genius, and so much in accordance with all we know of a half-pastoral, half-warlike, age, that they cannot have been invented, and improved upon from time to time, by the rhapsodists. It is to be regretted that Mr. Gladstone has not devoted more attention to this subject.

The author has bestowed much pains on the Pelasgi, the predecessors of the Greeks. No where have we met with so judicious and satisfactory an investigation of this obscure subject. It occupies the third chapter. The fact of the wide extension of that "mysterious people," as Bulwer calls them,* is well established. They were found in Asia Minor and in Thessaly, and they were one of the

* *History of Athens*, vol. 1, p. 9.

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five nations which inhabited Crete. The European Pelasgi were allies of the Greeks; the Asiatic Pelasgi were allies of the Trojans. They spoke a language analagous to that spoken by both Greeks and Trojans, who could understand each other. Some of their deities were worshipped by both, and it was upon their ancient mythology that the Hellenic superstructure was raised. The Arcadians, and the pastoral population of Hellas, were essentially Pelasgic, and pre-Hellenic. They were conquered by the Hellenes, a Caucasian race, which, emigrating from the north of Asia Minor, spread themselves over that region, and crossed the Hellespont into Thrace, and thence into Thessaly and the Peloponnesus. Assuming the air of conquerors, they called themselves "Achaioi," by which term the dominant classes were subsequently known, and are so styled in the Homeric poems. They are also therein called "Argeioi" and "Danaoi." Mr. Gladstone shows that the former appellation was employed exclusively to designate those who were the warriors of the Greeks, while the latter was rather a poetic and archaic one, which had several generations previously been the proper designation of the inhabitants of the ruling portion of Greece.

The religion of the Pelasgi was of the order of nature-worship, but many of their old deities were thrown into obscurity, and superseded by the more anthropomorphic gods of the Hellenes; thus Saturn was dethroned by Jupiter. Oceanus, Uranus, Japetus, Hyperion, and the other Titans, gave place to Apollo, Minerva, and their compeers. In like manner the Hellenic names of places supplanted the Pelasgian nomenclature; and these, in their turn, became modified by the Achaians, the dominant order among the Hellenes or Helloi. Thus Hellas became converted into Achaia. But is it not going a little too far to deduce the name of Hellas, as Mr. Gladstone has done, from the word σελλιζειν "to boast," because the Helloi (or Selloi), wherever they came, boasted of themselves as being antochthomous or aboriginal inhabitants?

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the work is the fifth, which treats of the relations between the Greeks and

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the Phœnicians and Egyptians. The Phœnicians, in those early times, monopolized the commerce of the ancient world, and it was from them that the Greeks heard of the wonders of Egypt, and the East; it was from them that they derived the rudiments of civilization. The Phœnicians were the most influential race in Crete, and Mr. Gladstone, after a close examination of the traditions respecting Minos, the king and law-giver of that island, has come to the conclusion that he was a Phœnician. The walls of Troy were built by Poseidon, who, as god of the sea, was the especial object of veneration among the Phœnicians. And it is in connection with Prætus, or Proitos, who was of that nation, that the first mention of writing occurs in the Iliad.* Memnon, who fought on the side of the Trojans, was an Egyptian, and Sarpedon, the bravest of their heroes, was of Phœnician extraction. Mr. Gladstone attempts to prove that Æolus, (alluded to in the the tenth book of the Odyssey) was the Phœnician ancestor of the Æolidæ, and he thinks that the name has reference to the brilliant colors of the dresses worn by the Phœnicians. It is true that the word Αἰόλος, signifies "variagated,", but it also signifies "various," "changeable," "swift," "nimble," and these may be characteristic of a man's disposition or power; the true meaning is still open to conjecture.

Much space is devoted to elucidating the phrase Ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν, so often applied to Agamemnon, and some half-dozen other chiefs in the Iliad. Mr. Gladstone argues that it was hereditary in certain families, and that it was an antique title of state, implying honor and sovereignty. It disappeared with the heroes of the Iliad, or with the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ, when the old time-honored Achaian families, which had long borne sway there, succumbed to their Dorian conquerors. Whether there were any substantial prerogatives connected with this title of "King of Men," is uncertain; but it was enjoyed only by those who had not risen by any efforts of their own, but

* Πέμπε δέ μιν Λυκίηνδε, πορεν δ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρά'
Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ θυμοφθορα πολλά'
Book VI., v. 168, 169.

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whose sires had borne it before them for centuries, being the earliest leaders of the nation. It was the possession of this dignity which gave Agamemnon and Menelaus precedence over Achilles, although the latter was in every respect their superior. Chapter the seventh treats of the Olympian system, "that splendid hierarchy of gods and goddesses, whose empire over the life and art of Hellas was so strong and vital, and whose beautiful and fictitious majesty has survived into all times and all languages."

It was Homer who created this system and made it the nation's creed. He took the floating faith of his day, a mixture of Pelasgic, Phœnician, Egyptian and Hellenic traditions, and blended them into one harmonious whole. It became the inspiration of Greece. Mr. Gladstone maintains that Homer, in stamping, as he did, the functions and orders of human society upon the gods,—in imagining the the divine community as a human one apotheosized, yet in all respects of like passions; though boundless in power, yet beyond the reach of death or change—he crystallized the authropomorphic idea as the inmost thought of Greek existence, and by providential commission, gave to Greece her task of working out the conception of Heaven, interpreted by earth, which Phidias subsequently expressed in his Pallas, carved in gold and ivory, and Praxiteles developed in his Aphrodité. This system was not based upon authority of any kind, or on revelation, but owed its identity, popularity, and enduring quality, simply to its beauty. It is wonderful that it should have existed for so many ages with such slight claims to the homage of mankind.

The best writing in the "Juventus Mundi" occurs in this chapter. Mr. Gladstone thinks that he finds in Homer distinct revelations of those larger truths which the Hebrews had become possessed of. He traces, 1: A deliverer conceived under the double form, first of the seed of the woman, a being at once divine and human; and secondly of the lagos, the word, or wisdom of God. 2. The woman whose seed the Redeemer was to be. 3. The rainbow, considered as a means, or a sign, of communication between God and man. 4. The tradition of an evil being, together with his

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ministers, a rebel and a tempter. The first of these is prefigured in Apollo, and Pallas—brother and sister—the offspring of the woman, represented by Latona. The third is Iris; the fourth, Ate, and the giants, who were precipitated into Tartarus.

To us this appears rather far-fetched. Apollo was a destroyer as well as a deliverer, and it is preposterous to combine him with Minerva in order to make up a "Son of God." The other resemblances are mere coincidences. Besides, all the gods and goddesses are guilty of wicked actions and are actuated by such purely human motives that it is difficult to detect their divinity. In the Homeric view of the future life, Mr. Gladstone finds a threefold division of the unseen world, in some kind of correspondence with the christian, and what may have been the patriarchal tradition, as in the retributive character of the future state, and the continuance of the habits and propensities acquired on earth.

It would be pleasant to follow him through his investigation into the manners and morality of the heroic age of Greece ;* the condition of women at the time of the Trojan war, and the political and civil economies of the period ;† the generic differences between the Greeks and the Trojans ;‡ the geography of the Iliad and the Odyssey ;§ the character of the actors in the poems ;‖ and the arithmetic, art, æsthetics, and physical science of that age.

But our space is nearly filled. We may conclude by pointing out Mr. Gladstone as an instance that men do not die of hard work, but rather of rust and stagnation. Strong minds cannot be idle; they find repose in change, not in inaction. Their very rest is active and creative; and their truest recreation is the pleasure they feel in work done well, whether it be a great measure of state policy, or a book of deep and earnest study.

ART. VIII.—1. *Cosmos. A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* By ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT. Translated from

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* chap. x. † chap. xi. ‡ chap. xii. § chap. xiii. ‖ chap. xiv.

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the German, by E. C. Otté. In 5 vols. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1869.

2. *History of Physical Astronomy, from the earliest ages to the middle of the nineteenth century.* By Robert Grant, F.R.A.S. 1 vol., 8vo. London. 1852.

3. *Annuaire Publié par le Bureau des Longitudes pour l'Année.* 1846.

Among all the recurring phenomena of nature, there are none, perhaps, that have attracted more general attention than solar and lunar eclipses. In the infant state of science, among all nations, they seem rather to have been regarded as the indication of the wrath of an offended Deity, than as the result of the operation of the immutable laws of nature. Indeed, what could be more appalling to the ignorant and superstitious mind, than the intercepting of the sun's light by an unknown object, without the least warning! Not only so, but to the astronomer who is well acquainted with the laws which produce them, an eclipse of the sun or moon is an evidence of the existence of the unspent forces operating in the celestial regions, that teach him how feeble is man's power when put in comparison with them. The scene presented by a total eclipse of the sun, is rendered still more impressive by the circumstances attending so remarkable an occurrence. All nature seems hushed into silence, as if night had suddenly fallen upon the earth in the midst of day. "The heavens assume an unnatural aspect, which excites a feeling of horror in the spectator; a livid hue is diffused over all terrestrial objects; the plants close up their leaves, as on the approach of night; the fowls betake themselves to their resting-places; the warbling of the grove is hushed in profound silence. Universal nature seems to have relaxed her energies, as if the pulse which stimulated her mighty movements had, all at once, stood still."

An eclipse, in general terms, is caused by the interposition of an opaque body between a luminous object and the body, or part of the body illuminated. In astronomy, it is tech-

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nically the occasional passage of the moon between the sun and the earth, which produces a solar eclipse; and the falling of the moon into the earth's shadow, thereby producing a lunar eclipse. The first recorded eclipses, so far as yet known, are those of the moon, and they were observed by the Chaldeans, in the years 720 and 719, B.C.* We are informed by Simplicius, in his Commentary on the second book of Aristotle's work, De Cœlo, that, after Alexander's conquest of Babylon, Callisthenes sent to Aristotle a catalogue of eclipses, which, it was said, had been observed at that place during a period of 1903 years antecedent to that time. The catalogue is now lost; but the above statement shows how attentively such celestial phenomena were watched for ages, probably, before man was able to predict them. But man's desire to penetrate into the future, doubtless stimulated him to great efforts to foretell when such interesting phenomena would occur. A careful observation of the motions of the sun and moon, and their relative positions during eclipses, extending through many years, would probably be required, to enable the ancient astronomer to satisfy himself as to the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses; and, after this was done, they could not be *calculated* until solar and lunar tables of the motions of those bodies were formed. It would be interesting to know who was the first astronomer that succeeded in solving this great problem. According to Diodorus Siculus, the explanation of eclipses of the sun, given by the Chaldeans, was so defective, that they were unable to predict them; but there is some evidence that they were in possession of means of calculating lunar eclipses.†

We are informed by Herodotus ‡ that Thales, the celebrated Grecian philosopher, predicted an eclipse of the sun, which put an end to an engagement between the Medes and Lydians, and induced them to listen to propositions of peace, which were made by Syennesis, of Cilicia, and Labynetus, of Babylon. Herodotus does not enter into particulars;

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* *Origin and Progress of Astronomy*, by John Narrien, p. 71.

† *Bibliothecæ Historicæ*, Lib. II. ‡ Clio., sect. 74.

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and we are uncertain as to the accuracy with which the time of the eclipse was foretold by Thales; and also with respect to the means employed in arriving at his conclusions. The cycle of eighteen years, known as the *saros*, a knowledge of which Thales might have obtained from the priests while he was travelling in Egypt, was sufficient to enable him, as observed by Delambre, to predict the time of the phenomenon within a month. Two other eclipses are said to have been predicted by the ancient Greek astronomers; one by Endemus, who wrote a history of astronomy, now supposed to be lost; and the other by Helicon, of Cyzicene, who announced to King Dionysius the time of its occurrence, and it is said to have happened conformably to the prediction.*

The *saros* is a Chaldean period of about eighteen years, which was discovered by that people many centuries before the beginning of our era, by means of a comparison of the eclipses observed and recorded during many years; and it was used by them and by other nations for predicting such phenomena. It consists in this: 223 mean lunations consist of 6,585,321 days, and the moon's nodes return to the same position, with respect to the sun, in 6,585,772 days, giving only the small difference 0,451 of a day, or not quite twelve hours. We thus see that the relative position of the sun, moon, and node is nearly the same at the end of this period,† as at the beginning; and any eclipse happening at the commencement of a period will be *nearly* repeated at the beginning of the succeeding one. There is too great a variation, however, to count on the recurrence of a *total* solar eclipse at the same place.

Eclipses of the sun, it is well known, depend for their occurrence on the relative position of the sun, moon, and node of the lunar orbit. It has been found, by calculation, that for a solar eclipse to be possible, the distance of the centres of the sun and moon from the moon's node, must not exceed 18° 36′; and the greatest possible distance between the centres of the sun and moon, at the time of

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* Aristotle's *De Cœlo*, Lib. II., cap. vi.

† 18y., 10d., 7h., 43m.

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contact, is 1° 34′ 28″* These are the solar ecliptic limits. Out of seventy eclipses which annually occur within one cycle of eclipses, or *saros*, the average number of solar eclipses is forty-one, and of lunar twenty-nine. We learn, from theory, that seven eclipses *may*, and that two *must* take place within every year. When the number of eclipses is least, they are both of the sun; and when the number of eclipses in a year is greatest, five may be solar and two lunar, or three solar and four lunar. The average number of eclipses is four. Although it is usually stated that, in any given long period, the number of solar eclipses exceeds the number of lunar, yet, if we take into consideration the *penumbral* lunar eclipses, as we do the penumbral solar eclipses, there will be more eclipses of the moon, by a small number, than of the sun.†

Although a solar eclipse may last several hours, counting from the beginning to the end of the observation, yet the duration of a total or annular eclipse is very limited. Other things being equal, the duration of a total solar eclipse varies with the latitude of the place of observation, being greatest at the equator. According to the calculations of Du Sejour, the greatest possible duration of a total eclipse of the sun, is, under the equator, 7′ 58″, and 6′ 10″ in the latitude of Paris.‡ This takes place when the moon is in perigee, of the sun in apogee, when the difference in the diameters is 2′ 2″;§ but since the sun's apparent motion is least, and that of the moon greatest, at these points, the duration of totality is necessarily quite limited. The duration of an annular eclipse is greatest when the sun is in perigee and the moon in apogee; and since the apparent motion of the sun is greatest, and that of the moon least, and the difference of their apparent diameters equal to 3′ 28″‖ at these points, every circumstance conspires to increase the duration of such an eclipse. Du Sejour found, by actual

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* Bartlett's *Spherical Astronomy*, p. 333.

† *Month. Notices R. A. S.*, vol. xxviii., p. 240.

‡ *Mémoires Acad. des Sciences*, 1777, p. 318.

§ Bartlett's *Spher. Ast.*, p. 333. ‖ P. 333.

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calculation, that the utmost possible duration of an annular eclipse is, at the equator, 12′ 24″* and in the latitude of Paris, 8′ 56″†.

The great use which the astronomer makes of eclipses, not to mention the public interest generally excited by their prediction and appearance, called the attention of the astronomer at an early period, into the field of investigation, and several methods of calculation have been adopted by different authors, at various periods. Among all the methods, the plan of orthographic projection, for the general circumstances which take place on the earth, seems to have been the most popular, though it only affords a close approximation. In actual calculations, however, its convenience seems to have inclined astronomers, hitherto, almost exclusively, to use it, when the greatest accuracy was not required.‡

The circumstances of an eclipse for a particular place, calculated by the "Method of the nonogesimal," which refers the bodies to the ecliptic, were discussed analytically by Lagrange, in the "Astronomischi Jahrbuch" for 1782; and since then the celebrated Bessel has made many important additions to the theory.§ In the English "Nautical Almanac" for 1836, Mr. W. S. B. Woolhouse has given an elaborate paper on the calculation of eclipses, discussing all the various circumstances; and then he has applied his formula to the annular eclipse of May the 15th, 1836.

Eclipses have ever been regarded as very important phenomena in the systems of the world, since their accurate observation enables the astronomer to test the accuracy of his theory, and of his solar and lunar tables. They are very important, also, and especially eclipses of the sun, for the determination of terrestrial longitude. Eclipses are also of the first importance in the science of chronology, for the purpose of fixing dates as landmarks, or mile-stones, in the

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* *Mémoires Acad. des Sciences*, 1777, p. 317. † *Ibid.*, p. 316.

‡ The reader will find this method treated in the astronomical treatises of M. De la Lande, J. M. Delambre, and more recently in the *Elementa Eclipsium* of Hallaschka, Prague, 1816. See also, *Mémoires sur l'Astronomie Pr* [illegible]*y* M. J. Monteiro Da Rocha, Paris, 1808.

§ See *Astron. Nachrichten*, No. 151.

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history of the world. Among the eclipses of this character we may mention the following:—The one mentioned by Herodotus, already referred to. This eclipse is alluded to by several other ancient writers, who flourished subsequently to Herodotus. This author does not state *when* the eclipse occurred; but Cicero and Pliny assert that it happened in the 4th year of the 48th Olympiad, which corresponds to the year 585 B.C. This eclipse has given rise to a good deal of discussion among calculators. Riccioli and Newton, and various other modern writers, adopt the date mentioned above. Scaliger, however, found, by actual calculation, that it happened on the 1st of October, 583 B.C. Archbishop Usher placed it in the year 601 B.C.; and Bayer and Costard think that Herodotus refers to a total solar eclipse which it was formerly thought happened in the year 603 B.C. But any solution of the question, based on actual computation by means of the solar and lunar tables, previously to the publication of the recent accurate lunar tables by M. Hansen, and the corrections of other theories by Peirce and Longstreth; and the solar tables of Hansen and Olufsen were necessarily imperfect, and could only give approximate results. Baily's solution, in 1811, was considered for many years, however, as having decided the question. He began by skillfully criticising the original passage in which the Grecian historian alludes to the eclipse of Thales, and he concluded that it could not have happened earlier than 629 B.C., nor later than 595 B.C. Out of seventy eclipses which happened in that period, he found only one that was total in the peninsula of Asia Minor, and that he fixed on the 30th of September, 610 B.C.* It has more recently been discovered, however, that the secular motion of the moon's node, used in the calculations, was erroneous by more than a minute and a half, and Professor Airy has shown that the eclipse occurred 584 B.C., May the 28th, thus confirming the statements of Cicero and Pliny. Hence we see how the secular variations of the elements of the moon's orbit are connected with our knowledge of important ancient celestial phenomena.

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1811, p. 220, *et seq.*

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Herodotus also mentions another eclipse,* when Cyaxares was at war with the Lydians, "when the engagement, which happened in the day, was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness." The father of history also mentions a solar eclipse, which happened when Xerxes was advancing with his army from Sardis to Abydos. "At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright, unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded." † The date of this last eclipse has been referred to 480, B.C.‡ Professor Airy thinks, however, that it was not a solar eclipse, but a total eclipse of the *moon*, which, it appears, took place March 19th, 478 B.C.

Xenophon mentions an eclipse of the sun, which led to the capture of Larrisa by the Persians. During the retreat, which was conducted by Xenophon, the Greeks passed "a large deserted city, called Larissa, formerly inhabited by the Medes. Its walls were twenty-five feet thick, and a hundred feet high; its circumference two parasangs; it was built of burnt brick, on a foundation of stone, twenty feet high. When the Persians conquered the Medes, the Persian king besieged this city, but was unable to capture it till a cloud hid the sun wholly from view, when the inhabitants withdrew in great fear, and the city was captured." The Greeks, after passing Larissa, reached another deserted city, called Mespila. Layard, in his researches in Assyria, identified Larissa with the modern Nimroud;§ and Mespila with the ruins opposite the modern Mosul.‖ Professor Airy has shown that this eclipse happened May 19th, 556 B.C.

It is not a little curious, how frequently eclipses are associated with important undertakings among ancient nations. Thus a total eclipse of the sun, supposed to have taken place August 3d, 430 B.C.,¶ seriously threatened the success of the expedition of the Athenians under Pericles. He manned a hundred and fifty ships, and was preparing to set sail. "The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the enemy

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* Book I., sect. 93.† Book VII, sect. 37. ‡ Grant's *Hist. Phys. Ast.*, p. 363.
§ *Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. I., p. 27. ‖ *Ibid*, vol. II., p. 196 and 218.
¶ Hind's *Solar System*, p. 102.

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no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board of his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavorable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and, having covered his eyes with it, asked him, if he found anything so terrible in that, or considered it a sad presage. Upon his answering in the negative, he said: 'Where is the difference, then, between this and the other except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?'" * Although it is evident that Pericles had some knowledge of the cause of the eclipse, it does not appear that it had been predicted.

Among the solar eclipses of antiquity, that known as the eclipse of Agathocles has given rise to as much trouble as almost any other. We are informed by Diodorus Siculus, that the voyage to Africa, from Syracuse occupied six days, and that, on the second day, an eclipse occurred, during which the darkness was so complete, that the stars became visible in all directions. The eclipse was, therefore, total. Neither the date nor the locality was open to much doubt, or uncertainty, and the phenomena, therefore, seemed to Mr. Francis Baily to afford a favorable opportunity for checking the solar and lunar tables, instead of using them to settle the date and limits of the eclipse. He found an irreconcilable difference of 180 geographical miles between the tables and the historical statement in regard to the most southerly position that can be assigned to the fleet of Agathocles, and the limit of the total phase. "To obviate this difference," says Hind, † "it is only necessary to suppose an error of about three minutes of arc in the computed distance of the centres of the sun and moon at conjunction—a very inconsiderable correction for a date anterior to the epoch of the tables by more than twenty-one centuries." Professor Airy has been more successful, by founding his calculations on improved lunar tables; and he has shown

* Plutarch's *Lives*—Pericles, p. 126; Langhan's Translation.
† *Solar System*, p. 102.

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that the limits of the zone of totality were such, that Agathocles might have been involved in the moon's shadow, during his passage.

According to Philastratus,* the death of the Roman emperor, Domitian, was previously announced by a celestial phenomenon, which appears to have been an eclipse of the sun; and we mention it here because the account of it probably contains the earliest record of which we have any account, of a phenomenon accompanying total solar eclipses, that has of late years attracted much attention. We refer to the luminous ring, or corona, surrounding the moon during totality. "In the heavens," he says, "there appeared a prodigy of this nature; a certain corona, resembling the Iris, surrounded the orb of the sun, and obscured his light." This eclipse occurred in the year 95 A. D. Many other total solar eclipses are recorded to have happened during years intervening from 237 to 1113 of our era, but they require no further mention here.

Sir Edmund Halley communicated to the Royal Society a paper on the total eclipse of the sun, which happened at London, on the 3d of May, 1715,† and in it he alludes to the fact, without indicating very clearly whence he derived his information, that there had not occurred before then another total eclipse of the same body, visible in that city, since the 20th of March, 1140 A. D.—a period of 575 years —so infrequently are total eclipses of the sun visible from any particular locality on the earth. A notice of the last-mentioned eclipse occurs, however, in the section of the "Saxon Chronicle" which relates to the year 1140: "In the Lent, the sun and the day darkened about the noontide of the day, when men were eating; and they lighted candles to eat by. That was the thirteenth day before the calends of April. Men were very much struck with wonder."‡

On the 17th of June, 1433, a remarkable total solar eclipse happened, which was visible in Scotland, and the time of its occurrence was long remembered by the people of that

* *Life of Apollonius.* † *Phil. Trans.*, 1715, p. 245, *et seq.*

‡ *Saxon Chronicle*, p. 371 of Ingram's translation.

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country as the *black hour*. According to Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, a manuscript account of it is preserved in the library of the university of Edinburgh. It is there stated that it took place about three o'clock in the afternoon, and that the darkness was so complete that nothing was visible—a statement that is evidently exaggerated, since the absence of the sun in the night does not produce such an effect. The eclipse, however, was one of a very unusual kind, since Maclaurin found, by calculation, that, at the time of its occurrence, the sun was only 2° from his apogee, and the moon not more than 13° from perigee.*

In the year 1598, there occurred a total eclipse of the sun, which was visible in the British Isles. The moon's shadow passed over the border countries of England and Scotland, and the day of the eclipse was long remembered, in both countries, as "black Saturday." In 1652, there was another total eclipse of the sun visible in Great Britain and Ireland. Dr. Wyberd observed it at Carrickfergus, in the north of Ireland,† and in Scotland, the day of its occurrence, gave rise, among the common people, to the expression "mirk Monday," and it is even still used in some parts of that country, although the eclipse was long ago forgotten.

On the 24th of September, 1699, there occurred a total eclipse in the north of Europe, and a correspondent of the Royal Society, writing from Leipsic, where it was almost total, says that when ten digits were covered, "the sky, being otherwise very clear, began to appear of a more livid, or wan, complexion, and more sad than it usually looks, with a clear sky, when the sun is set, or below the horizon." He adds, that "the cocks, which had before crowed very frequently, left off crowing, and went to roost, and they did not renew it till, by the recovery of the sun's light, they had recovered their former gaity and mirth."† Souville, in his account of the eclipse of 1715, mentions the same thing.

Until the year 1706, solar eclipses seem to have attracted no further attention than the observation of their ordinary

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* *Phil. Trans.*, 1737, p. 134.

† Wing's *Astronomia Britannica*, p. 355. † *Phil. Trans.*, 1700, p. 624.

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phenomena, and nothing that will serve as a basis of any physical investigations; but, on the 12th of May, of the last-mentioned year, there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which was observed at several places in Europe by astronomers who gave more particular attention to its effect on animals, and to the appearances presented by the sun and moon. At Montpellier, where it was observed by MM. Plantade and Capiés, the total obscuration lasted 4′ 10″. The corona of light around the moon was observed; and the planets Venus, Mercury, and Saturn; Aldebaran and several other of the fixed stars were observed by the naked eye. "The bats flew about as at dusk; the fowls and pigeons betook themselves in great haste to their resting-places; the little birds, which sung in cages, were silent, and put their heads under their wings; the animals, which were at labor, stood still." * In several parts of the city of Geneva, "there were seen persons prostrate on the ground, and offering up prayers, under the impression that the last day had come." †

During the total eclipses of the sun of the 22d of May, 1724, and of the 2d of May, 1733, the corona, or luminous circle, around the moon, was distinctly seen. Several of the planets and the larger stars were visible to the naked eye. During the last-mentioned eclipse, "three or four spots, of a reddish color, were also perceived near the limb of the moon, but not in immediate contact with it." ‡

On the 24th of June, 1778, there occurred a total solar eclipse, which was observed at sea by Don Antonio Ulloa, the Spanish Admiral, while passing from the Azores to Cape St. Vincent.§ The period of totality was four minutes. The luminous ring around the moon presented an appearance that was very beautiful. Before it became very conspicuous the stars of the second magnitude were distinctly visible; but after attaining its greatest brilliancy it obscured all but those of the first. "The darkness was such, that persons who had been asleep in the afternoon, having awoke, imagined, to their

* *Mem. Acad. des Sciences*, 1706, p. 113. † *Phil. Trans.* 1706, p. 2241.
‡ *Phil. Trans.*, 1733, p. 135. § *Phil Trans.*, 1779, p. 105, *et seq.*

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great astonishment, that the night was already far advanced. The fowls, birds, and other animals on board, took their usual positions for sleeping, as if it had been night." The total obscuration commenced at three o'clock forty-four minutes in the afternoon.

A total eclipse occurred on the 16th of June, 1806, which was visible in this country. The Spanish astronomer, Don Joachim Ferrers observed it at Kinderhook, state of New York. The period of totality was 4′ 37″. The corona was visible. Professor Olmsted says that during this eclipse, "which was one of the most remarkable on record, the time of total darkness, as seen by him, was about mid-day. The sky was entirely cloudless, but as the period of total obscuration approached, a gloom pervaded all nature. When the sun was wholly lost sight of, planets and stars came into view; a fearful pall hung upon the sky, unlike both to night and to twilight; and the temperature of the air rapidly declining, a sudden chill came over the earth. Even the animal tribes exhibited tokens of fear and agitation." * There was a slight fall of dew during total obscuration.

Several large eclipses of the sun occurred from 1830 to 1840, but the next great solar eclipse which deserves our attention is that which took place on the 8th of July, 1842. It so rarely happens that the astronomer has an opportunity of witnessing so sublime a celestial phenomenon as a total eclipse of the sun by remaining in any particular place,† that he has, especially of late years, removed as nearly as practicable to the central line of totality, there to make his observations. As the total eclipse of 1842 was approaching, an intense interest was excited, and astronomers from most parts of Europe betook themselves to those localities suitable for observation, over which calculations had shown that the moon's shadow was to pass. The eclipse was total to parts of Italy, France, Germany, and Russia. M. Arago observed it at Pepignan, and he has given a very fine description of

* *Astronomy*, p. 161.

† We have already stated that 575 years passed before another total solar eclipse was visible at London after that of the year 1140.

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what he saw, but it has been too frequently quoted for us to reproduce it here.* M. Valz was at Marseilles; the late Mr. Baily, at Pavia; Professor Airy, astronomer royal, was at the Superga, near Turin; MM. Otto Struve and Schiellewsky, at Lipesk; and various others at other places.

The period of totality during this eclipse, was comparatively short, being not quite two and a half minutes at several of the places, and only 3′ 5″ at Lipesk.† Besides the phenomena to which we have referred as having been seen during former total eclipses of the sun—the luminous ring around the moon, and the effect on terrestrial things—rose-colored protuberances were seen, which seemed to be projected out from the margin of the sun's disk. Professor Airy says: "The appearance of the moon can never be forgotten. It was like a deep black disk fixed in the heavens, and surrounded by a brilliant luminous ring, whose breadth was estimated at about one-eighth the diameter of the moon. The color of this ring was nearly white, in my judgment inclining a little to a reddish hue, while its illuminating power was very great."‡ But the most wonderful circumstances, says Mr. Francis Baily, "in connection with this appearance, was the outbursting of three large protuberances from the edge of the moon, yet evidently a part of the crown of light. They had the appearance of *mountains* of considerable heights. Their color was red, changing to violet and purple, and perhaps better represented by the color of the peach blossom. They resembled the snow-capped summits of the Alps when illuminated by the rays of the rising or the setting sun. In another respect, they resembled the tops of the Alps, inasmuch as the light was quite steady, while the other part of the crown was rapidly flickering." §

All the other observers of the total eclipse, saw the same, or nearly the same things, and described them in similar

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* *Annaire* for 1846, p. 303.

† For information respecting this eclipse, see volume xiv. of the *Memoirs of the Royal Astr. Society;* volume iv. of the *Giornah dell Instituto Lombardo;* Nos. 457 and 470 of the *Astronomischi Nachrichters,* and the *Annaire* for 1846.

‡ Professor O. M. Mitchel's *Sidereal Messenger,* vol. I., p. 24.

§ *Ibid,* pp. 24 and 25.

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terms. Our observer states that "the thin crescent of light was suddenly changed to a line of luminous points, which appeared to wave from the extremities to the centre of the crescent, like '*a device in gas* swept over by a strong breeze;' "* and other observers have seen more or less perfectly similar phenomena.

During total eclipses of the sun, the moon's disk is sometimes faintly illuminated by a doubtful kind of light, during the totality, and on one occasion spots were distinctly observed by Vassenius at Gottenberg.† Both M. Arago and Professor Airy state that the moon's disk was uniformly illumined during the eclipse of 1842, but though they sought diligently for irregularities on the lunar surface, they could see none. In 1806, however, irregularities were noticed by Ferreré.‡

The light which renders the moon visible on such occasions, undoubtedly is the sunlight reflected from the earth, as it renders visible the moon's disk when the part directly illuminated is but a slender crescent. This is the explanation given of it by Kepler.§ This *lumière cendrée*, as the French term it, or ash-colored light, comes from the sun to the earth, is reflected to the moon, and thence reflected to the earth. The fact that sometimes it renders the irregularities of the moon's surface visible, and sometimes not, shows us that its intensity is variable, being sometimes interfered with by what M. Arago calls the *lumière atmosphérique*.

A curious phenomenon was noticed at Washington by Mr. F. R. Hassler, during the progress of the partial eclipse of the sun, of February 12th, 1831. He saw the inequalities upon the moon distinctly painted "by the reflected light and shade upon its disk, and presenting apparently elevations brilliantly illuminated, and intervals shaded in an ash-colored shade, more or less dark and distinct, as they were nearer to or farther from the sun, the edge of the moon toward the sun being always fully dark."‖ The appearance began when about one-eighth of the sun's diameter was immersed, ex-

* Hind's *Solar System*, p. 94. † *Phil. Trans.* 1733, p. 135.
‡ *Trans. Amer. Phil. Society*, vol. vi., p. 267. § *Epit. Astronomia*, p. 895.
‖ *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.*, New Series, vol. iv., p. 131.

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tended itself with some variations to about one-third of the moon's diameter, and then faded into indistinctness, and the whole of the moon's disk appeared equally dark. The same phenomenon was repeated in an inverted order toward the end of the eclipse.

No very satisfactory explanation has been given of this singular phenomenon. Grant thinks it may possibly be owing to the action of the *lumière cendriée* and the *lumière atmosphérique*.* Arago noticed a somewhat similar phenomenon during the eclipse of 1842. Forty minutes after the commencement of the eclipse, while a considerable portion of the sun was still visible, he observed the dark contour of the moon *projected upon the bright sky*. It corresponded exactly with that portion of the moon visible upon the sun's disk.† M. Arago thinks this phenomenon is owing to the projection of the moon upon the solar atmosphere, "the brightness of which, by an effect of contrast, rendered the outline of the moon's dark limbs discernible."

The next great eclipse of the sun occurred on the 28th of July, 1851. The phenomena observed during the total eclipse of 1842, had awakened in the minds of astronomers a great deal of interest, and the total eclipse of 1851 was looked to with much interest. The line of totality passed through Norway and Sweden, whither several English and American astronomers repaired to observe the phenomenon. The late Professor Bond was stationed at Lilla Edet, in Sweden. He says that "the contour of the lunar mountains was exhibited in great beauty. Towards the south side, they were quite high enough to produce a visible distortion of the cusps."‡ He gave his attention more especially to the south cusp; and just before the eclipse was total this cusp "was divided into beads of light, which moved slowly toward the point of the cusp, and disappeared." He thinks the appearance is such as could not be accounted for by the mountains on the moon's edge.† On removing the screen, after totality had commenced, he says that he "was filled with inexpressible

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* *Hist. Phys. Ast.*, p. 402, note. †*Annaire*, 1846, p. 372.
‡ Gould's *Ast. Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 49. § *Ibid.*

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admiration at the glorious spectacle of the corona, and the prominences of rose-colored flame, which surrounded the moon. The appearance of the corona is not so well described by calling it a ring, or halo of light, as by comparing it to the 'glory' or 'aureola,' employed by painters to designate the person of the Saviour." It seemed to extend from the moon's edge over a space about equal to that of the sun's semi-diameter, though its external outlines were rather indefinite. Its light was pure white.

Professor Bond was absolutely certain that the corona was visible on the moon's limb after the sun's limb had reappeared. He saw several prominences, some on the side of the moon's advance, and others on the opposite side. "The color of all was a decided rose, or pinkish-carmine; like the roseate hue of auroral streamers, but far more intense." He says that all the prominences "had rather the appearance of flames, not in sudden motion, than of mountains, or of solid projections from the sun, to which they seemed to belong rather than to the moon."*

Mr. John Russell Hind has given us a very beautiful description of terrestrial phenomena, as they appeared during the period of totality, which lasted only 1′ 40″ near Engelholm, in Sweden, where he observed. We quote it here:†

"The aspect of nature during the total eclipse was grand beyond description. A diminution over the earth was perceptible a quarter of an hour after the beginning of the eclipse, and about ten minutes before the extinction of the sun the gloom increased very perceptibly. The distant hills looked dull and misty, and the sea assumed a dusky appearance, like that which it presents during rain. The daylight that remained had a yellowish tinge, and the azure blue of the sky deepened to a purplish-violet hue, particularly towards the north. But, notwithstanding those gradual changes, the observer could hardly be prepared for the wonderful spectacle that presented itself when he withdrew his eye from the telescope, after the totality had come on, to gaze around him for a few seconds. The southern heavens were then of a uniform purple-gray color, the only indication of the sun's position being the luminous corona, the light of which contrasted strikingly with that of the surrounding sky. In the zenith, and north of it, the heavens were

* *Astron. Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 50.

† Hind's *Solar System*, pp. 99–100.

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of a purplish-violet, and appeared very near, while in the northwest and the northeast broad bands of yellowish-crimson light, intensely bright, produced an effect which no person who witnessed it can ever forget. The crimson appeared to run over large portions of the sky in these directions, irrespective of the clouds. At higher altitudes the predominant color was purple. All nature seemed to be overshadowed by an unnatural gloom; the distant hills were hardly visible; the sea turned lurid red, and persons standing near the observer had a pale, livid look, calculated to produce the most painful sensations. The darkness, if it can be so termed, had no resemblance to that of night."

The predicted and observed boundaries of the shadow in this eclipse accorded very closely. Dr. B. A. Gould (Sen.) says that "the vessels passing through the sound by Elsinore saw the Swedish coast on the outside in the gloom of deep shadow, while Denmark, opposite, was glowing in bright sunlight."*

On the 7th of September, 1858, there occurred a total eclipse of the sun, in which the whole shadow of the moon passed obliquely across South America, a few degrees south of the equator. The late Captain J. M. Gilliss went to Olmos, in Peru, a small town in the outer range of the Andes, where he observed the eclipse nearly in the centre line of the totality. The whole period of totality there was but sixty and a half seconds. The eclipse took place in the morning, the middle of the eclipse being about half-past seven, and the prospect was at first unfavorable, owing to the presence of clouds, which prevented the beginning of the eclipse from being observed.

Before the beginning of totality, by twelve or fifteen seconds, the entire lune, then perhaps 35° in extent, broke up into masses of unequal length, showing detached portions wholly separated from the rest by dark lines. The suddenness of the occurrence was such as to startle him. Within the following ten seconds the remaining visible fragments had become brilliant globules, of nearly equal size, but they differed from Baily's beads, as seen by him during the annular eclipse of September, 1838, by the darker spaces which separated them from one another.

* *Astron. Jour.*, vol. ii., p. 51

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When the total obscuration commenced, four luminous clouds immediately became visible on different parts of the moon's circumference. Circumstances did not permit him to decide which one was first recognised. All the phenomena were distinctly visible with the naked eye, as he perceived while removing the screen from the telescope. One of the clouds, or protuberances, was thirty seconds of arc in height, and occupied more than 30° of the lunar circumference. The highest of them was as much as one minute, or one minute and ten seconds, in altitude, above the margin of the lunar disk. A marked peculiarity of these clouds, as seen from that station, was the absence of rose or pink color, "but they all resembled irregular masses of illuminated clouds of leaden hue, fringed with bright light, more especially at the edges furthest from the sun." Lieut. Gilliss was surprised at the absence of any red color, and thinking that his physical condition might have some influence, he requested Mr. Raymond, his assistant, to carefully note the color of the protuberances, and he says that they appeared to be of nearly "the same color as the corona, making it look more intensely bright. There was no pink or red colour exhibited." At Payta, however, the French observers saw them "of a bright rose color."

The corona of light flashed out at the moment of totality. He says that it extended farthest from the sun, in lines drawn from the centre, through the protuberances, but it did not extend any where beyond 15° or 16° from the margin of the lunar disk. "It was a far more imposing sight," says Lieut. Gilliss, "without, than with the telescope, and long as has been my experience in the observation of celestial phenomena, and calm and unimpassioned, at such times, as my temperament has become, the sublime majesty of the scene thrilled me with excitement and humble reverence." It had a similar influence on two citizens of Clinos, who stood within a few feet of him, watching with deep interest the gradual decrease of light. At the instant of total obscuration one of them exclaimed in terror, "*La Gloria!*" and both fell to their knees, "filled with awe." The darkness of totality was not

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great, for Lieut. Gilliss made all his sketches without the aid of artificial light.*

On the 18th of July, 1860, there occurred a total eclipse of the sun, which was rather remarkable for the extent of the earth's surface throughout which it was visible. The sun rose eclipsed in the western part of the United States, and the zone of totality passed over British America, traversed Spain from north to south, passed thence into Algiers, and disappeared in the interior of Africa. Astronomers in America, and in most parts of Europe, placed themselves in the path of the moon's total shadow, for the purpose of observing so sublime a phenomenon, and from which they expected to derive much important information in relation to the physical constitution of our great central luminary.

In this country two expeditions were fitted out, one by the United States government and the Coast Survey, conjointly, which proceeded to Labrador, on the east coast of North America; and the other by the Coast Survey, and sent to Washington Territory, in the west part of the United States. The first party, under the direction of Professor Alexander, of the College of New Jersey, were prevented by unfavorable weather from making satisfactory observations on the eclipse.†

The other expedition, in charge of Lieut. Gilliss, went to a station near Steilacoom, and was more fortuuate. The remarkable character of Lieut. Gilliss' observations, renders a somewhat detailed account of them necessary. The sun rose eclipsed about half-past four in the morning. After totality had begun he could see the following segment of the moon through an arc of 100° or more. "Its color was uniformly shaded, from an intense black at the centre, to a dark-grayish purple on the western border, and for the first time in my life," says Lieut. Gilliss, "the moon was visible in its true form—a sphere, and *not* a disc."‡

At the moment of totality, beads of golden and ruby-

* *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. vi., Total Eclipse of the Sun, Sept. 7, 1858, pp. 7-11.

† *Coast Survey Report* for 1860, pp. 229-275.

‡ *Coast Survey Report* for 1860, p. 285.

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colored light flashed almost entirely around the moon. These were continually changing in dimensions and color. This band was about 10″ or 12″ in width. It was generally separated from the dark margin of the lunar disk by a delicate line of white light, which disappeared as the changes of form or color took place. It lasted about twenty-seven seconds, after which, for the first time, he saw protuberances. These last did not differ from similar phenomena seen during former eclipses, sufficiently to call for a particular description. Of one of them, he says that he was "positive that it was uncovered by, and did not cover the moon." After giving special attention to one protuberance, he further adds — and this is of great importance, coming from so accurate and reliable an observer as Lieut. Gilliss—that "this examination confirms an opinion formed in 1858, and I am most thoroughly convinced that the masses which became visible, apparantly around the lunar disk, were really clouds belonging to the solar atmosphere."*

His attention was so thoroughly fixed on the principal solar cloud, that he lost the beat of the chronometer, and it became necessary to look at the dial of the instrument. In so doing, he took a hurried look at things between the northeast and south-southeast. "But it was as dark as night," and he could only see a shadowy outline of the near forest. He was away from the telescope not more than eight or ten seconds; but when he again looked at the sun, he found that a totally different picture had been substituted for the black disk before seen enriched with "a tremulous band of vermilion, or red, or yellow lights, overlapped by the solar clouds." The disk, as now seen, was thrown in bold relief upon a ground of pure white, treaceable in all directions for the distance of a semi-diameter. The solar clouds were still visible, but the gorgeous circlet, before mentioned, was gone, and over the black surface of the moon, colors of the spectrum apparantly flashed in circular bands of equal diameter with the lunar disk. Each band seemed to be about two minutes of arc broad. Its colors were crimson, or red, violet, yellow,

* *Ibid*, p. 286.

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and green. These phenomena were not visible beyond the lunar disk. He compared the appearance to the changes in a kaleidoscope. Similar, or the same, phenomena were seen by Mr. Goldsborough, from Fort Strilacoom, and hence Lieut. Gilliss thinks that it is doubtful about their being attributable to an abnormal condition of the retina. *

Dr. J. Lamont has collected one hundred and thirteen memoirs relating to the eclipse of 1860, ninety-one of them pertaining to the observations and their results. From this memoir of Dr. Lamont, we learn that the investigators may be divided into two general classes, with respect to their opinions and conclusions in relation to the cause of the protuberances. † The first class, including Messrs. Airy, Levernir, Seechi, Aguilar, Struve, Mädler, Gautier, Bremicker, Gilliss, Winneeke, Petit, Prazmowski, and Lespiault, are in favor of the hypothesis of solar clouds; while the second class, including Messrs. Plantamour, d'Abbadi, Marquez, Legrand, Faye, and Lamont, favor the hypothesis of the interference of light. Observations made on more recent eclipses with the spectroscope, as we shall see, have decided in favor of the first hypothesis. The principal European observers stationed in Spain, at three principal places as centres — Vitoria, Tarazona, Castillon de la Plana. The French government sent to Algiers, under M. Lanssedat, a commission consisting of officers and professors of the Polytechnic School, who stationed themselves at Batna, and the Viceroy of Egypt sent the astronomer of Cairo, Mahmoud Bey, with numerous assistants, to *Dongolah* on the Nile.

All these observers generally found that, when viewed through the screen, the sun seemed to have entirely disappeared; but on quickly removing it, a bright solar crescent was still to be seen, and it did not disappear until the lapse of twenty or thirty seconds. Professor Airy first saw this same phenomenon during the total eclipse of July 8th, 1842, at the Superga, near Turin, and he described it by saying that he had seen the sun vanish *twice* behind the moon. It

* *Coast Survey Report*, 1860, pp. 286–7. Figures are here given, illustrative of the various phenomena seen.

† See *Fortschritte der Physik*, xvi, pp. 569–602, and *Smithsonian Report*, 1864, pp. 240–257.

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will readily be seen that this phenomenon is of considerable importance, since it will have an influence of greater or less extent on the observed period of totality, accordingly as the beginning and end are observed with the screen, or not.

During the second vanishing of the sun, or perhaps a few seconds earlier, numerous intensely red rays issued from the moon's limb, the smaller soon disappearing, but the larger ones remaining as *protuberances* after the completion of the eclipse. These protuberances, or red clouds, came out simultaneously on the east, south and north sides, but the period of totality was nearly half past before they were seen on the west. We have already seen that in this country the darkness was equal to that of night; but in Spain and Algiers it was sufficiently light to enable the observers to recognize the seconds of the chronometer and to read coarse print. One fact of importance we shall record here, namely, that the protuberances were better seen with a light red glass screen than without any screen at all, and with such a glass they could be followed longer, even after totality, circumstances attending the duration of an eclipse worthy of remembrance.

Several observers gave their attentions to photographing the eclipse, both when partial and when total; and a comparison of the results thus obtained, with those derived from direct observation and measurement, has shown that the former method is by far the most delicate; for the photographs show a considerable number of protuberances not otherwise recognized, and among them even very prominent ones, "of which no trace was to be perceived by direct observation." * "The explanation of this fact," says Dr. Lamont, "presents many difficulties, since, if we say that the light of those protuberances may act chemically without affecting the retina of the eye, we must not forget that in practice hitherto no example of this sort has yet been exhibited." † According to M. Goulier the photographs obtained by M. Lamey, in Metz, show the solar cresent surrounded on all sides by a bright light of which the direct observations show no trace.‡

* *Smith Rep.*, 1864, p. 248. † *Smith Rep.*, 1864, p. 248.
‡ *Comptes Rendus*, li., p. 142.

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NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES-LETTRES.

The Odes and Epodes of Horace. A metrical translation into English, with Introduction and commentaries. By LORD LYTTON, with Latin Text from the editions of Orelli Macleane and Yonge. 12mo. pp. 521. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

The admirers of the Venusian bard may well thank Bulwer for this volume; it is not too much to say, that had the author of "Pelham" contributed in no other manner to the refinement of the public taste than by this translation, he would have merited the gratitude of every true lover of lyric poetry and classic culture. Other English versions of Horace, both in a metrical and prose form, have, indeed, been attempted at different times. So universal a favorite has Horace been in England, as well as in every other enlightened country, that there has not been a single English poet acquainted with the Latin, from Ben Johnson to Byron, both inclusive, who has not translated more or less of his Odes and Epodes. This is true, for example, of Cowley, Pope, Swift, Milton, Dryden, Addison, Moore, Chatterton, &c. Independently of these versions of particular lyrics, some of which are, indeed, excellent, several have undertaken to render the whole works of Horace; but the translation of Francis, first published in 1831, is the only one which is any longer referred to; the version of Lord Ravensworth, published in 1858, being confined to the Odes.

The reason of this is sufficiently obvious to scholars. There are very few who combine all the qualifications necessary to translate Horace. We have often wished, these twenty years past, that Bulwer, (now Lord Lytton), would undertake the task, feeling certain that no living author possesses so many of those qualifications. This was the general feeling among the literary men of England when his Lordship was finally induced to commence the present translation. Nor can any candid critic, capable of appreciating how difficult it is to transfuse into English the characteristic beauties of Horace, deny that the result is a happy one.

It would be foreign to our object, in this notice, to enter into details as to those peculiarities of Horace, which have caused so many to fail in attempting to reproduce the charms of his poetry in the English language. At all events, we think it will be much more agreeable and satisfactory to give a few specimens of the work, side by side with the original, so that the reader may judge for himself. With this view, we will transcribe a stanza here and there, rather than a whole ode, or epode, as the former course will give a more correct idea of the translation as a whole. In selecting stanzas for this purpose we shall be guided more by the application of the sentiments which they express to our own times, than by the beauties, either of the original, or of the translation. Accordingly, our first

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extract will be from *Ad Avaros* (To the Misers), very properly entitled by Lord Lytton, "On the Money-making tendencies of the age"—the terms equivalent to *misers* and *millionaires* being synonymous among the ancients. A part of Horace's description of a sort of person, nowhere better known than among ourselves, at the present day, is rendered as follows by Lord Lytton:

"While his mean father with a perjured oath
Swindles alike his partner and his hearth-guest.
Spurred by one passion—how to scrape the pelf—
His worthless self bequeaths an heir as worthless.

The immoderate riches grow, forsooth, and grow,
But ne'er in growing *can attain completion;*
An unknown something, *ever absent still;*
Stints into *want* the unsufficing fortune.*

This seems rather severe on the class alluded to; but it is certainly not more so than the original; nor is it more so than the facts justify. The second line of the first stanza seems quite familiar, but let the reader compare it with the closing line of the first of the two stanzas of the original, at the bottom of the page. It would appear that "Woman's Rights," and "Free Love" were not entirely unknown in Horace's time, for he contrasts the Roman dames with the Scythian women, intimating that the latter did not undertake to rule their lords:

No dowered *she-despot rules* her lord, nor trusts
The wife's protection to the leman's splendor.
There, is the dower indeed magnificent!
Ancestral virtue, chastity unbroken.

Shrinking with terror from all love save one;
Or death the only sentence for dishonor.
Oh, whosoe'er would banish out of Rome
Intestine rage and fratricidal slaughter. †

The term "*she*-despot" seems harsh, but it only shows the poverty of our language, as to gender, for no other expression would have so well rendered "nec dotata" in connection with *conjux regit virum*, and as for *rules* (*regit*), it is the very term the poet uses. But in order to judge

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* Seu Graeco jubeas trocho
Seu malis vetita legibus alea;
Cum perjura patris fides
Consortem socium fallat et hospitem,

Indignoque pecuniam
Heredi properet. Scilicet imbrobæ
Crescunt divitæ; tamen
Curtæ nescio quid semper abest rei.—Book iii., O. xxiv.

† Illic matre carentibus
Privignis mulier temperat innocens;
Nec *dotata regit virum*
Conjux, nec nitido fidit adultero.

Dos est magna parentium
Virtus, et metuens alterius viri
Certo fœdere castitas;
Et peccare nefas, aut pretium est mori.

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fully of the justice done to the misers, and those whom their money corrupts, by both Horace and the author of the "Lady of Lyons," the whole ode must be read.

It is pleasant to turn from the millionaires and viragos to the beautiful ode addressed to Virgil, on the death of Quintilian, the prince of Roman critics, and the great champion of superior education. Few had more enemies than Quintilian, during his life time, because he never shrank from condemning whatever had a tendency to vitiate the public taste, even though it was the production of the most powerful and wealthy. But in this ode, and in his *Ars Poetica*, Horace has immortalised him:—

So, the eternal slumber clasps Quinctilius,
Whose equal when shall shame-faced sense of Honor,
Incorrupt Faith, of Justice the twin sister,
Or Truth unveiled, find?

By many a good man wept, he died;—no mourner
Wept with tears sadder than thine own, O virgil!
Pious, alas, in vain! thou redemandest
Quinctilius from the gods.*

Even Longinus has not attained greater glory than this. No one has rendered the two stanzas better than Lord Lytton; perhaps no one has made so near an approach to a faithful rendering. He has not entirely succeeded, because it is utterly impossible to reproduce, in a similar form, the beauty, grace, and anguish, especially of the first of the two stanzas, quoted below. The *pudor* (modesty), *incorrupta fides* (uncorrupted faith), *soror Justitiæ* (the sister of Justice), and *nuda Veritas* (naked truth), of Horace, cannot be rendered into English metre, so as to do justice to the poet; yet we are much pleased with what the present translator has done. But in the second stanza he has succeeded admirably; even

Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili,

full of tenderness, grace and pathos as it is, is scarcely more affecting, when we bear in mind who the mourned and mourners are, than Bulwer's

"No mourner
Wept with tears sadder than thine own, O Virgil!"

It would not be right to take even so hurried and brief a glance as this at the Odes and Epodes of Horace without at least a passing word in regard to his amatory effusions, for, like all lyric poets, if, indeed, not like all poets and all great thinkers, he is never more truly poetical, or more fascinating, than when inspired by virtuous and modest, but partial

* Ergo Quinctilium perpetuus sopor
Urget! cui *Pudor*, et *Justitiæ soror*,
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
Quando ullum inveniet parem?

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit;
Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Virgili.
Tu frustra pius, heu! non ita creditum
Poscis Quinctilium deos.—B. i., O. xxiv.

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beauty. Like all who really love the sex, Horace could ill endure the idea of having a rival in the affections of his beloved one. Most charmingly does this fond jealousy receive expression in one of his Odes to Lydia.* Passing over the first stanza of the translation, for lack of space, we transcribe the second:

> *'Then in my mind thought has no settled base,*
> *To and fro shifts upon my cheek the color,*
> And tears that glide down in stealth reveal
> *By what slow fires mine inmost self consumeth."* †

All who compare this with the original will admit that it is capital. The last line especially is singularly happy. But this reminds us of the last stanza, which, although not perhaps so poetical as the rest of the ode, is worth quoting, as showing that however many the poet loved, still, when the moment of reflection came, he was in favor of mutual fidelity and constancy.

> Thrice happy, ay more than thrice happy, they
> Whom one soft bond unbroken binds together,
> Whose *love serene from bickering and reproach*
> In life's *last moment* finds *the first* that severs.‡

Some have inferred from the expression "*malis querimoniis*" that for a portion of his time, at least, the poet was subject to "curtain lectures;" but whether his translator has had similar experience or not, it is certain that he has succeeded well in giving the sense of the original in an agreeable form.

No one familiar with Horace need be informed that many instances might be pointed out in which justice has not been done him by the translator; but we have no wish to blame any one for what is inevitable. When a useful work of any kind is performed so well upon the whole, as the most sanguine, if acquainted with the difficulties which surround it, could expect, it is ungenerous to criticise it. This version of Horace is eminently useful; we may add that it is eminently good, and if such ought to be criticised we prefer to thank the author for the inestimable service he has rendered.

The general reader, as well as students of the classics, will find the commentaries and notes both interesting and useful; another commendable feature of the work is that the original, as well as the translation, is remarkably free from typographical errors.

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* B. i., O. xiii.

†*Tum nec mens mihi nec color*
Certa sede manent; humor et in genas
Furtim labitur, arguens
Quam *lentis penitus macerer ignibus.*

‡*Felices* ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec *malis*
Divulsus *querimoniis*
Suprema citius solvet amor die.

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Message of the President of the United States to the Senate and House of Representatives. Washington, December, 1869.

We have taken up the President's Message with every disposition to be pleased with it. There is no reason why we should proceed to its perusal with any different feeling. Our readers will remember that we were in favor of the election of General Grant, not, however, because we thought him competent to be the chief magistrate of so great and enlightened a nation as this, for we never for a moment entertained any such opinion.

We preferred the General only because we regarded his opponent as a mere politician; one whose only claim was a certain equivocal valubility of tongue. Not but we estimated as highly as most of his friends the general's military talents; nay, more, we thought and urged that he deserved the gratitude of the nation—of Southerners as well as Northerners—for having saved the republic from permanent disruption. In short, our impression was, that Mr. Chase should be placed at the heaid of the republic, and General Grant at the head of our whole *military* system.

Nor has anything occurred since the general's election that could excite in us any spite. We have never applied to his excellency for any office for ourselves, or anybody else. If ever so well disposed to present him a house, a horse, or even a donkey, we had none to spare. We cannot even reproach him for want of courtesy, for we have never troubled him with the briefest call, though several times in Washington since his inauguration; but it might, perhaps, have been otherwise in regard to this, had we not understood that he is always surrounded by a phalanx of generals, colonels, majors, captains, &c., &c., together with a still greater host of brokers, railroad speculators, millionaires, present makers, and politicians of all grades—in a word, by all sort of people—*except* literary or scientific men.

We therefore proceed to read his excellency's Message in perfect good humor; nor do we conclude its perusal in any different mood; on the contrary, we have seldom been more amused even by a comedy. With the stereotyped forms we have nothing to do; nor have we any fault to find with the substantial facts or the figures. Indeed, all the president *intended* to say is entirely satisfactory to us, and perfectly harmless; it is what he *has said* that amused us. We would, however, gladly conceal this feeling had we no other motive than to amuse ourselves or our readers; but we want to show, in as reverential a manner as we can, that it should be expected, in a great and enlightened nation like ours, that its chief magistrate should be able to express himself in the vernacular tongue, in a style which could not be called childish or "hifalutin." Nor need we go beyond the first paragraph. A sentence or two will tell whether we are over-exacting or hypercritical. First we invite attention to the following, only premising that we have examined several copies of the

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message, in as many different journals, hoping, but in vain, to discover that burlesque passages were interpolated by some malicious, disappointed scribe:

"We are blessed with peace at home, and are without entangling alliances abroad to forbode trouble; with a territory unsurpassed in fertility, of *an area equal to the abundant support* of five hundred millions of people, and abounding *in every variety* of useful minerals, in quantity sufficient to supply the world for generations; with exuberant crops; with *a variety of climate adapted to the production of every species of earth's riches, and suited to the habits, tastes and requirements of every living thing;* with a population of forty million of free people, *all speaking one language*; with facilities *for every mortal to acquire an education;* with institutions *closing to none the avenues of fame* or *any blessing of fortune that may be coveted;* with freedom of the pulpit, the press and the school; with a revenue flowing into the national Treasury beyond the requirements of the government."

This, it will be admitted, is on a pretty high key. But let us determine, if we can, what the whole sentence, with all its ramifications, means—a task which, to our humble comprehension, is by no means easy. First, we are informed as to "*an area equal to the abundant support*," &c., as if mere extent were the test of productiveness. This however, is but a trifle, and we may pass over our wonderful "minerals," which are "to supply the whole world for generations," with a similar remark. But our "area" and our "minerals," full of honest pride as we ought to be when we think of them, dwindle into significance when we compare them with our "climate," which, we are informed, is "*adapted to the production of every species of earth's riches, and suited to the habits, tastes and requirements of every living thing.*"

We beg leave to think that the President ought to have taken breath here, and commenced a new sentence. Who had ever discovered before that "climate" is so amazingly productive? A climate that is at once suited to the *tastes* of a frog and an alderman, a millionaire and a lizard, a politician and a donkey, a great statesman and a little mouse, is indeed something we may well boast of! Yet it seems that there are some "living things" to whose *habits* and *tastes* it is not so well suited after all. We have yet no elephants, royal tigers, or even zebras in a state of nature.

Perhaps the "blessing" which ranks next to our climate is, the "*facilities for every mortal to acquire an education.*" Now, seeing that every living being which is not *im*mortal is "mortal," it follows that even the frog, the lizard, the donkey, and the mouse, as well as the alderman, the statesman, and the politician, may avail themselves of our educational "facilities;" but the misfortune is, that both classes of "mortals" are rather disposed to play truant, and indulge in conduct and habits very different from those of students.

Our "institutions," also, are found to possess some new attributes, though they are rather of a negative character, "*closing to none the avenues of fame, or any blessing of fortune that may be coveted.*" This is exceedingly encouraging! Institutions which do not *close* "any *blessing of fortune*," &c., must be held to be very indulgent. But what of the Tenure of

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Office Act? Has that a tendency to close "any blessing of fortune *that may be coveted?*" So much for *one sentence* of the President's Message; now we transcribe one sentence more from the same first paragraph:

"Manufactures hitherto *unknown* in *our country are springing up in all directions*, producing a *degree of national independence unequalled by that of any other Power.*"

Who can tell us what these new and wonderful manufactures are? Do they include our "shoddy" manufactures? our paper collar manufactures? our velocipede manufactures? our faro bank manufactures? or our counterfeit currency manufactures? They must be something great, undoubtedly, since they are "producing a *degree* of *national independence unequalled by that of any other Power.*"(!) What will the other great powers of the world say when they learn that they cannot equal our "*degree* of national independence?"

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury. Washington, December, 1868.

Mr. Boutwell has managed to introduce a great many things into his report, but neither statesmanship nor political economy. It is true that there is a good deal which is intended for the latter, but it is the sort of political economy which we heard some time since from the young ladies of Vassar College. We readily admit, that, having been in the habit, for several years, of reviewing the masterly reports of Chase and McCullough, we may have expected too much from Boutwell. Be this as it may, the falling off is really immense.

If Massachusetts does not feel humiliated, on reading the document before us, it is because she has never recognised Mr. Boutwell as anything more than one of her fourth-rate politicians. O, shades of Webster, Everett, and Choate! But, certainly, Massachusetts has sufficient intellectual culture and statesmanship to-day to represent her respectably in the national cabinet. Nor need she go beyond the radical party to choose one possessed of those qualifications; we do not, however, mean the silver spoon gentleman, although he, too, has a hundred-fold more ability than Mr. Boutwell. We do not, indeed, admire all that is said and done by Mr. Sumner. But he would do vastly more honor, both to Massachusetts and the nation, at the head of the treasury department, than the author of the report before us. That it is not on political grounds we criticise our present secretary of the treasury, is sufficiently obvious from the fact that we should be entirely satisfied with Mr. Sumner in that position, because, however much he may err in some respects, he has undeniable claims to the character of a statesman and political economist. He would represent the refinement, as well as the talent of Massachusetts; whereas the characteristics of that enlightened state represented at present, are its petty thrift, its fussy smartness, its little cunning, its narrow prejudices — in a word, its "Yankee notions." We do not say that all this is apparent in Mr. Boutwell's report, but it is as much like the author as any composition of the kind could be said to resemble its manufacturer.

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We are not surprised that there is no topic contained in his report, on which Mr. Boutwell is so eloquent as he is in his special pleading for the increase of salaries in the treasury departments; nor can we pretend to be much astonished, when he suggests in plain terms that honesty is as much a marketable commodity among the treasury officials, as it is among the brokers of Wall street! Thus, in winding up one of his arguments, he informs Congress and the public, that, "*under such* circumstances, the government is not without responsibility when it places its officers in *such* a position *that they are compelled to choose between dishonesty on one hand, and penury on the other!*" That is, let the treasury officials be paid suitably for being honest, and they will not steal, thieve, or defraud! A sentence or two farther down in the same paragraph, we have the following: "The salaries of the *Assistant Treasurer and the principal officers*, should also be increased, *and for substantially the same reason.*"

All will be honest and honorable men, if they only get their price. Our fraudulent collectors would also be honest, if they were only paid enough for not being rogues! But this is but a specimen of Mr. Boutwell's political economy. We hope some enterprising publisher will induce him to write a treatise on the subject for the use of schools and academies; but have it in the bargain that he will employ some discreet friend to correct the English of it; so as not to allow expressions like "speaking generally" to be repeated more than twice in the one paragraph, or words like "such" to be repeated more than twice in the one sentence.

In reviewing one of the reports of Mr. McCulloch, and commending the integrity and statesman-like ability, of which it afforded such agreeable and convincing evidence, we remarked that the only one of our state, or city officials, we could compare to its author, was Comptroller Brennan. But which of our officials shall we compare with Mr. Boutwell? Not certainly Comptroller Connolly, for he has never proclaimed that the honesty of his subordinates is a marketable commodity—something that may be neutralized, mesmerized, or extinguished altogether, according to the amount of money brought to bear upon it! Upon the other hand, the present comptroller of New York city makes no pretensions to literary ability; and yet, if any of his reports be compared to that of the secretary of the treasury of the United States, now before us, it will be found not to contain one-fourth as much bad grammar, or one-tenth as much spurious political economy as the latter.

We can find a New York functionary, however, even without going to the custom house, who will compare quite well with the Hon. George S. Boutwell. What say our city readers, who know both parties, to the Hon. Thomas Stephens, president of the Croton Board, as a set-off to that gentleman? We beg pardon of our esteemed Massachusetts and Athenian friends for the comparison, for we admit that it is very uncom-

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plimentary to them. A comparison between our croton guardian and a *thirsty*, but thrifty, Boston alderman, would seem much more compatible with general facts; yet Boutwell and Stephens have more qualities in common, and lack more qualities in common, than any two functionaries we know. True, one is a radical, and the other a democrat; it is also true that croton water and gold, or even paper money, are different things; but if some of the brokers of Wall street are interrogated confidentially, they will admit that the democrat and his croton can, sometimes —when bids are free and *pipes* cheap—be turned to as profitable account as the radical and his gold!

The Magnetiser. The Prodigal. Comedies in Prose. By LAUGHTON OSBORN. New York: James Miller. 1869.

While engaged in the effort of perusing this volume, we were repeatedly reminded of the story of the Italian culprit who chose to serve a term in the galleys rather than read through Guicciardini's history. It certainly ought to be classed among those books which are said to be more easily written than read. It is evident from the notes appended to each of the comedies that the author intended the latter both for representation on the stage and "for the closet, that is, for the reading of literary men." But any audience that could keep its attention fixed on either of these comedies, "drawing its slow length along," would display most miraculous patience; and no literary man, except a reviewer would be likely to peruse the book faithfully to the end. The language is heavy and slip-shod, the characters destitute of individuality, the plots crude and improbable, and the wit (?) dry and clumsy.

In neither of the dramas can a single scene be pointed out containing a trace of the truly comic; what is meant for humor is always too dull and awkward. Two years ago, in reviewing a volume of Mr. Osborn's tragedies,* we expressed in the most friendly spirit the opinion that his forte was neither tragedy nor poetry in any form; but that he might possibly succeed in other branches of literature. Mr. Osborn thereupon honored us, so we understand, with an effusion after the style of "English bards and Scotch reviewers." We have never had the curiosity to read this, though we have no objection to its most careful perusal by those who have a taste for that sort of thing. Nor do we allow the circumstance to have the slightest weight with us in forming our opinion of the volume now before us. However much of the comic there may be in his tragedies, that merit entirely fails to show itself just where it is wanted, unless, for example, the author regard it as comic for a young lady, supposed to be carefully

* No. XXXV, March, 1867.

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brought up and well-educated, to make use of such words as *deuse* and *devil*, or for an old gentleman occupying a respectable position in society, to take particular delight in indecent innuendoes in the presence of the ladies. One personage in the "Magnetiser" intended to be both witty and refined, has no other means of showing those qualities than by indulging in common-place Italian phrases, snatches from operas, &c.

In one of the pieces a shallow attempt is made to conceal its barrenness by giving the personages names suggestive of their individuality. A dishonest German bookkeeper is called Mr. Heiliger Shurk. Another clerk is poetically dubbed Henry Ledger. A faithful servant of Teutonic extraction receives the name of Hans Guterknecht, and an "enterprising" publisher that of Revise Proofsheet.

But the most puerile feature in either of the pieces is an attempted burlesque on Mr. Charles Dickens, who appears in the Prodigal under the name of "Buzz Pickins, an English author of note on a tour in America." The speeches attributed to him are sometimes outlandish in the extreme. For instance, the following:

"Soho, tralala, &c. Devil, if I can get that fellow's song out of my head I wish I was on the lark with Stockton about it. But here comes some other Yankee. Ledger—a little stupid—but better than none. How are you, *old hoss?* as you say here in America. Let's have a spree. Oysters and fire-punch—or champagne and billiards—whatever you like. * * * A row, then, with the Charlies, or a lark with the girls, or a roll into one of your coalholes among the niggers. I like your niggers; they're the only wits, poets, and mimics you have in America. Come, (*dancing and singing negro fashion:*)

'We'll dance all night till de broad daylight,
And go hum wid de gals in de mornin.'

I'm your man for anything, Ledge: I've got the devil in me; it can't be that poor half bottle of claret I've just swigged at Stockton's; but damme, I'm up for something!" (p. 197.)

We wish the reader to consider nothing said in this notice as having reference to the general character of Mr. Miller's publications, for he has published books which we have taken pleasure in recommending for their merits. But the volume just reviewed would be a curiosity on the book shelves of any publisher.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATION.

Histoire Naturelle du Jura, et des departments voisins, Ouvrage couronné par trois médailles d'or et deux médailles de vermeil. Tome 1er, *Géologie*, 1er Fascicule. *Géographie physique*, *Hydrographie*, *Météorologie*, *Agriculture*, *Minérale*, *Minéralogie*, *Pétrologie*, et *Paléontologie*. Par Le Frere Ogerien, Directeur de l'école chrétienne de Lons-Le-Saunier, Membre titulaire de l'Institut des provinces de France, de la Société géologique de France, de plusieurs Académies et Sociétiés savantes. Paris: Victor Masson et Fils. Octavo, pp. 570.

Among the many books which we have to examine, from time to time,

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it is but seldom we meet with a work at once so interesting and instructive, as the series of four volumes, of which that whose title we give above, is the first. Two volumes are devoted to geology; one to zoology; and one to botany. In the complete work, now before us, the natural history of the Jura, and neighboring departments, is not only fully exhibited, in its various branches, but each of the sciences which it embraces, is invested with an attractiveness which is well calculated to encourage the youthful mind to the study of nature. Indeed, this happy faculty, on the part of the author, of clothing even abstract facts in a garb which gives them an air of novelty, is one of the principal reasons why we take up the work at this time; for we should be glad that some of our own scientific authors would profit by its graphic, lucid, yet perfectly easy style, as well as by its admirable arrangement of topics.

We always expect much in natural history from the country that has produced Buffon, Cuvier, Gay-Lussac, De Saussure, &c. Precisely because such men have shed lustre on the investigation of nature, in France, an inferior work, on any branch of natural history, has no chance in that country of receiving the *fiat* of its scientific societies, if it does not possess genuine merit. There it does not do for those ambitious to be authors, merely to take up the works of others, and transpose them with more or less skill. Such writers there are in France, as well as elsewhere, but they are not recognised as authors, or even as thinkers. In order to obtain admission to the guild of scientific authors, in France, the candidate must exhibit original research; it is not sufficient that he is an investigator; he must show that his investigations have produced some fruits—that, in fact, they have added, more or less, to the general stock of knowledge. Those unacquainted with the canons of merit in France, may be able to form an idea from this of the significance of the medals conferred on the author, for each of these volumes.

But without any knowledge of his medals, or of any other honors of which he has been the recipient, we should have inferred, before opening his book, from his having devoted twenty years of his life to the study of geology, chemistry, and zoology, that he must have been capable of writing instructively on those sciences. But we have still stronger presumptive evidence of the qualifications of Frère Ogérien; for we learn that he occupied, for twelve years, the chair of geology and mineralogy in a well-known college at Lyons. But any intelligent, competent person who examines the volumes before us, needs no further evidence of the *status* of the author, either as a scientific man or as an educator; after this examination has been duly made, there is no need to be informed that M. Ogérien numbers among his personal friends, the most eminent scientific men in Europe.

The title page of the first volume, which we have placed at the head of this notice, shows the wide range which it takes in its discussions. In the second volume, is treated geology properly, so called,* as ap-

* Géologie proprement dite, appliquée aux Arts, à l'Industrie et surtout à l'Agriculture.

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plied to the arts, to industry, and, above all, to agriculture. These two volumes are called, by the author, first *fascicule* and second *fascicule*, and not volumes or tomes, although each is an octavo separately and substantially bound, both containing nearly 1,000 pages. We mention this fact as illustrative of the author's modesty, the term "fascicule" merely signifying a small bundle of grass, or a bunch of flowers. The first volume contains a meteorological map of the Jura, divided into five zones; the second contains a geological map of the same department, each drawn and colored by the author.

The third volume (tome ii.) devoted to Botany,* is chiefly the work of M. E Michalet, who was the assistant of Frère Ogérien, but died before the work was finished. Our author pays a fine tribute to his memory; it is evident that he gives him at least all the credit to which he is entitled.

The fourth volume (tome iii.), which extends to nearly a thousand pages, is devoted to Zoology.† This by itself would have entitled Frère Ogérien to take high rank as a naturalist. It embraces brief but remarkably graphic and faithful descriptions of all living animals to be found in the Jura, including birds, reptiles, worms, mollusks, &c. The volume is copiously illustrated, and besides an extensive "Table des Matiers," it has the advantage of a full alphabetical index, which embraces both the scientific and common names of all animals treated in the work.

We confess that intrinsically valuable as the *Histoire Naturelle du Jura*, &c., is, we should not have taken so much pains with it as we have, not considering it likely that it will be translated in this country, had we not been informed that, in future, American education is to have the benefit of his extensive learning and versatile talents. As the title page we have copied above implies, Frère Ogérien is a member of the educational Roman catholic order of the Christian Brothers—a fraternity well and favorably known in this country, by protestants as well as catholics, for their zealous and unwearied efforts for the advancement of education of every grade, from the highest to the lowest.

Our readers may remember that we have taken the liberty of comparing those of the Christian Brothers, in charge of colleges in this country, to the Jesuits in charge of similar institutions. There was no reason why we should have any prejudice against the latter, which would induce us to depreciate their labors as educators, as compared with those of the former; if we had any bias in regard to the Jesuits, it was one in their favor, for it had been our privilege to have met many learned and able men, both in Europe and America, belonging to the society, and by no men had we been more kindly, or more liberally treated. The Christian Brothers,

*Botanique, par M. B. Michalet, Magistrat, membre de la société botanique de France et de plusieurs autres sociétés savantes, revue et achevée Par M. Grenier, professeur à la faculté des sciences de besançon.

† Zoologie vivante, par Le Frére Ogérien, directeur de l'école chrétienne de Lons-Le-Saunier, membre de plusieurs Academies et Sociétés savantes.

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upon the other hand, we knew but little about, until an educational friend induced us to visit Manhattan College. Having previously had opportunities of forming an opinion of the Jesuit colleges of New York, we felt convinced from what we saw at the Christian Brothers' college, of the superiority of the latter; and we did not hesitate to say so in our journal.

We have never made any criticism on the Fathers, either as clergymen or moralists; but it seems they would have forgiven us much more readily for having found fault both with their religion and morals, than for having proclaimed that the Christian Brothers give a more thorough education at their college than the Jesuits of either Fordham or New York. The latter felt instinctively that this was true; and there are occasions when nothing is more provoking, even to pious men, than the truth. We fear we shall have less chance to be forgiven now than ever, when we remark, by way of explanation for the difference just pointed out, that while the superiors of the Christian Brothers send their most learned and eminent men to their college in New York*—the superiors of the Jesuits seem to think that their most incompetent men are good enough for New York and Fordham.

Be this as it may, we congratulate Manhattan on the accession of Frère Ogérien to its staff of scientific professors. It is worthy of remark, that those who had charge of the latter institution, as president and vice-president, seven years ago, when we were requested to examine its classes, have still charge of it as provincial and president, respectively; both having been worthily promoted for their abilities, zeal and success;† whereas during the same period, we do not know how many presidents, vice-presidents, provincials, &c., have had charge of St. Xavier's and St. John's colleges. It is very well to remove incompetent men, and we readily admit that not one has been sent away from New York or Fordham, who was not utterly unqualified for his position; but the misfortune is that, as far as we have seen or heard, thus far, the successor is still more incompetent than the predecessor, although, as already remarked, there are still great educators in America as well as in Europe, among the Jesuits.

Comparisons, we are quite aware, are "odious;" at the same time, we hold that they are not only perfectly legitimate in criticism, but highly useful, and especially in cases of this kind. Hence we say that the Christian Brothers are modest and unassuming men, who devote themselves to teaching, and to no other worldly affairs; and who, far from being bigoted or prejudiced, are justly distinguished for their gen-

* The Christian Brothers have several other colleges in this country; they have one at St. Louis so ably and judiciously managed that it is scarcely inferior to Manhattan.

† Another evidence of the enlightened views of these gentlemen may be found in a very creditable and useful magazine, entitled *De La Salle Monthly*, started at their suggestion, by the students of Manhattan, and regularly published in this city, with, we believe, a good prospect of permanency and success.

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uine christian liberality. It is true, that the most learned of the Jesuits are modest and unassuming, and, contrary to the general opinion among protestants, liberal, also. All honor to this class; far be it from us to depreciate their educational labors in the slightest degree; those whom we criticize, and to whom we would present the good example of the Christian Brothers, are neither modest, unassuming, nor liberal as educators, precisely because they are not qualified for their positions — because they have not undergone that intellectual discipline which, while it teaches the difference between ignorance and knowledge, at the same time, imparts a wholesome vigor to the mind.

Paris Universal Exposition, 1867. *Reports of the United States Commissioners. Machinery and Processes of the Industrial Arts and Apparatus of the Exact Sciences.*. By FREDERICK A. P. BARNARD, LL.D., United States Commissioner. 8vo, 669. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869.

We confess that we very seldom even glance at books bearing the government imprint, the reason being that we expect little from such. In general they seem as if it had been their chief object to serve the printer and the paper manufacturer. But the volume now before us forms a remarkable exception. Happening to look at different other parts, before the title page, we did not hesitate to come to the conclusion that it came from the press of the Harpers, as that house had recently, *de more*, issued some excellent works, including a fine new edition of Humboldt's "Cosmos." And far from dispelling the illusion, the name of Dr. Barnard, of Columbia College, rather strengthened it, for reasons which will be sufficiently obvious to those aware of the scholarly attainments and literary abilities of that gentleman.

All this may imply a confusion of ideas on our part, but, be it so; at all events, an examination of the book has satisfied us that as Boætia has produced a Pindar, so may the government printing office be occasionally expected to produce a learned, valuable, and interesting work, for such is really the character of that now before us. The briefest way in which we can give our readers an idea of the reason why it is so, is by transcribing the first paragraph of the preface:

"The following report is an attempt to comply with that portion of the instructions issued by the Secretary of State to the Commission of the United States, to the Exposition of 1867, which required a report to be prepared upon the new inventions in the useful arts, illustrated in the Exposition. It need hardly be remarked that an entirely satisfactory execution of a task like that here presented, could be reasonably expected only from the co-operation of a number of individuals, severally qualified, by previous familiarity with the different departments of industry represented, to appreciate the merits of the various objects subjected to their examination. The preparation of the required report was therefore, originally, very properly, confided to a committee; but the plan of a joint report, at first contemplated, was found in the end to be impracticable, and was accordingly aban-

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doned. Some members of the committee preferred to direct their attention to the study of special subjects, and the general duties imposed on the committee devolved at length upon the present reporter alone. This statement is felt to be necessary in explanation, or rather, perhaps, in justification of an attempt on the part of the reporter to execute a task not willingly assumed by him, and which he found no encouragement to undertake in the consciousness of special qualification."

That the task is ably executed no unprejudiced person, competent to form an intelligent opinion, will deny. Our wonder is that any one of Dr. Barnard's time of life, could have performed such an amount of intellectual labor within so brief a period, and perform at the same time, except while absent from New York, various other duties no less exacting or onerous. It would be impossible to give even a vague idea, in this brief glance, of the multifarious subjects which are discussed by Dr. Barnard, as only a man familiar with the sciences, and wielding a graphic, lucid pen, could discuss them.

Fourteen elaborate chapters are devoted to the industrial arts, and four chapters to the exact sciences. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that most of these chapters contain more interesting and useful information than an equal number of the scientific lectures generally delivered before large and admiring audiences. The opening chapter, on " The relation of invention to industrial progress," is one of the most brilliant and able essays, of its kind, we have read in several years. Some idea may be formed of the numerous topics commented upon, to a greater or less extent, in this volume, from the fact that its alphabetic index extends to eighteen pages in small type.

Bibliothèque des Merveilles, publiée sous la direction de M. EDOUARD CHARTON. *Les Mervielles Célestes*, Lectures du Soir, par CAMILLE FLAMMARION, Auteur de *La Pluralité des Mondes habités*. Deuxième édition, illustrée de 46 vignettes astronomiques, et de deux planches. 8vo., pp. 394. Paris: Librarie de L. Hachette & Cie, 1867.

This volume is the seventh of a series of upwards of thirty, devoted to the popularization of several departments of science. The list of subjects is very varied, ranging from balloons to railways, from grottos to astronomy, from the intelligence of animals to lighthouses. Architecture, meteorology, optics, vegetation, parks and gardens, earthquakes, volcanoes, the coasts of France, ruins, tombs, glaciers, gold, silver, sound, glass-making, the plastic arts; all find a place in the catalogue, and these topics have been treated by writers who have made each particular subject their speciality. The names of these professors may be well known in France, but, with one or two exceptions, they have not universal reputation.

M. Flammarion is already known by his treatises on the Plurality of

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inhabited World's, Imaginary and Real Worlds, and Studies on Astronomy. The theory of the plurality of worlds finds few opponents at the present day, though received with hostility when Fontenelle brought it forward, and Whiston indulged in speculations thereon, at the beginning of the last century. The late Professor Whewell, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, it is true, revived opposition to it, but failed to convince the world that he aimed at anything else than the glorification of his own university. We have not read *La Pluralité des Mondes habités*, but we have carefully examined the *Merveilles Celestes*, and infer from the style of the latter, that the author has thrown into the former all the fervor and enthusiasm which characterizes his last work. It is, in fact, this style that constitutes the charm of the *Merveilles Celestes*, for, if the truth must be told, the amount of solid information contained in it does not exceed that of any elementary work on the subject that has come before us—and we have seen many. As a rule, elementary works on astronomy are unsatisfactory; they are usually filled with statistics which it is difficult to remember or even to classify. When we are told that the sun is the centre of our system; that it revolves on its own axis; that the earth and the other planets do the same, and also revolve round the sun; that the satellites revolve round their principals; that this revolution on an axis is the cause of day and night, and partly of the tides, and that the latter are due to the attraction of the sun and moon; we have imbibed the substance of what is to be learned in astronomy, without a knowledge of mathematics.

It has always seemed to us like beginning at the wrong end to dilate upon spheres and ellipses, orbits, periodic times, parallax, radii vectors, Kepler's laws, planetary disturbances, and celestial distances, before the mind of the student has been prepared by a *course* of mathematics to really comprehend the difficulties of this noblest of all sciences. If it were not for diagrams, most of the elementary works on astronomy would be almost unintelligible. For the most part, they are in the form of question and answer; and the staple of the questions is distances, sizes, and times: — e. g., "How far is the earth from the sun?" "In how many days does the earth revolve round the sun?" "Which are the inferior, and which the superior planets?" "How many times is Jupiter larger than Mercury?" and the like; which the beginner learns by rote, and forgets when he leaves school. M. Flammarion has avoided this tiresome and unprofitable mode of teaching astronomy, and has published his work in the form of lectures to beginners. His object is, as he expresses it, in his preface, rather to create or diffuse a taste for study, than to instruct. To use his own words: —

"Notre but ici est moins d'instruire que de répandre le goût de l'étude, et de montrer combien il doit être agréable d'être instruit. Nous le demandons en effet à nos jeunes lecturers: qu'ils parmettent à leurs intelligences de s'approcher seulement au bord du

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panorama révélé par la science, ils ne tarderent pas à deviner que les plus pures jouissances de notre vie sont dans le contemplation de la nature, et bientôt leur ardeur frémissant se sentira capable de comprendre les grandes vérités de la création."

M. Flammarion is an enthusiast, and, if long paragraphs of rapturous wonder at the power and wisdom of the Almighty (somewhat closely imitating the style of Nichol's "Architecture of the Heavens") and frequent quotations from poets, will achieve the end in view, his work will assuredly prove successful. The first lecture is wholly an apostrophe to Night, flavored with quotations from Byron, Young, Lamartine, and Madame de Girardin! The second is similarly addressed to the heavens, and in it the author takes occasion to impress upon his readers the doctrine that the earth and the heavens are not two separate creations, but one; the earth is in the heavens.

"Le ceil et la Terre ne font pas deux créations séparés, comme on vous l'a répété mille et mille fois; ils ne sont qu'un. La Terre est dans le Ciel. Le Ciel c'est l'espace immense, l'étendue indefinie, le vide sans bornes."

His efforts to give an idea of the immensity of universal space (Lecture 3) are more successful than any we have met with elsewhere. He does not attempt to define space and duration, as many philosohers have tried to do, but says, wisely: "Toute definition ne pourrait qu'obscureir l'idée primitive qui est en nous." Starting from the earth as a point of departure, and travelling with the velocity of light in a straight line for a century, by which time the figures required to express the distance in leagues that we had travelled would have become so many as to cease to convey any idea to the mind—we should then discover the marvel of the problem—"nous n'avous pas avancé d'un *seul pas* deus l'espace." . . . . "monter on ciel, descendre sous la terre, ces expressions sout fausses en elles mêmes, car étant situés au sein de l'infini, nous ne pouvous ni monter ni descendre il y a ni haut ni bas."

The work is divided into five parts, designated respectively, "L'Ensemble," "Notre Univers," "LeDomaine du Soleil," La Terre," and "Aspect philosophique de la creation." The first treats of the general appearance of the heavens, the milky way, the nebula, the distribution of the stars by "agglomerations," and the operation of a spiral movement among them, an idea suggested by an anonymous writer in 1702, and subsequently advocated by Swedenborg, to whom the world is indebted for many valuable discoveries in science, among them the atomic theory, usually attributed to Dalton. The second part treats of the sidereal world, the constellations, the zodiac, the number of the stars, the variable, temporary, binary, trinary, &c., stars, and is beautifully illustrated, as indeed, the whole work is, with engravings. The third part comprises the planetary system and comets. The fourth part discusses the movements and features of the earth and the moon and eclipses. The fifth and last comments on the doctrine of the plurality of worlds, and concludes with some reflections suggested by the contemplation of the

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heavens. M. Flammarion is an elegant scholar as well as writer. He is familiar with the poetry of England and of America, and is profuse of quotations from it.

Popular Science; addressed to the American Association for the Advancement of Science (For the Salem, Mass., Meeting, August, 1869). By Mrs. LINCOLN PHELPS, member of the Association. Baltimore: 1869.

In this slender pamphlet we have an eloquent defence of the Linnæan system in botany, together with an earnest and convincing appeal in favor of the study of that beautiful science. In order to satisfy our readers that the *brochure* deserves to be read, especially by educators, we extract a paragraph or two:

"Since the days of Linnæus, there have been great advances in the science of Botany, but this very progress has, perhaps, been the cause of a retrograde movement in another direction. While there has been an enlargement of the knowledge of the laws which govern the vegetable kingdom among the few who devote themselves to the study of the science, there has been a loss of enthusiasm for botanical pursuits among students in our schools and colleges: *this is to be deprecated, since such pursuits, combined with severer study, conduced greatly to health, and elevated and refined the taste and imagination.*"

The part we have italicised is particularly true. We should be glad to transcribe the paragraphs immediately following; but we can only make room for another brief passage, and this we take from the next page:

"It is a fact which can be substantiated upon inquiry, that in many female schools where botany was once a favorite study and amusement, and botanising a recreation, *the science is no longer cultivated.* Teachers, fearing to be behind the age, have attempted to begin with the *so-called* natural system, laying aside the simple method of Linnæus. Instead of beginning with the flower, as taught by that method, they grope among the many facts which make up what is called the *natural* classification, until, like the college student we have mentioned, the pupils are glad to escape from the web of *tissues* and the dark purlieus of *cells.*" —p. 5.

To the correctness of the first sentence, which is, perhaps, the most remarkable, we can, ourselves, bear testimony. We have often wondered why so little attention is paid to botany in our female schools, seminaries, colleges, &c.; but what has surprised us most in relation to the subject is, that those schools, seminaries, and colleges, situated in the country, or in small cities and towns, pay, in general, far less attention to botany than our city institutions. Nay, in some instances, we have observed a striking contrast in this respect, for at some of the schools which we have had the pleasure of visiting in this city, from time to time, we have found some accomplished botanists among the young ladies, but never one at the country institutions, which claim to be of equal, if not superior rank! Thus, for example, the young ladies at Vassar College seemed fond enough of horse-riding and certain other "field sports;" but if they paid any attention to botany, we neither heard nor saw any evidence of the fact during our late visit to that institution.

Most of our readers are aware that Mrs. Phelps is an eminent educator

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as well as the author of several excellent school books. Both herself and her sister, Mrs. Emma Willard, founder of the Troy Female Seminary, have deserved the gratitude of every friend of female education in this country. These ladies belong to the class of competitors of men who deserve to be revered and honored—a class who are, indeed, masculine in intellect and knowledge, but at the same time eminently feminine in modesty and delicacy. Neither of the sisters can now be much less than seventy years of age. Each established an educational institution, which was famous under her auspices. Both those institutions, we believe, still exist, but neither has the reputation it once had.

Mrs. Willard's Seminary was the first female institution we visited in this country; and our impression of it was, after having been present at several of its recitations, that it compared favorably with the best similar institutions of Europe. This is some twenty years ago. At this time it had no superior in America; but soon after Mrs. Willard had to retire from delicate health. Not many years had elapsed when it became too evident that the presiding genius of the seminary no longer directed its studies. We have been reminded of this falling off by the forcible remark of Mrs. Lincoln in the first paragraph noted above as to the character of the change which has taken place since the days of Linnæus. Who will deny that a similar sort of "*progress* has been the cause of a *retrogade movement*" in female education?

Acta ex iis decerpta quæ apud Sanctam Sedem geruntur. In Compendium opportune redacta et illustrata. Fit evulgatio singulis mensibus. Fasciculus XLIX. Volumen Quintum. Baltimorae: Typis Kelly, Piet Et Soc., MDCCCLXIX.

This is a much more interesting publication than the general reader would be likely to infer from its title. Those unfamiliar with the language of Cicero and Tacitus may be informed that it is a monthly Latin periodical, published at Rome, containing reports, more or less condensed, of the principal cases brought before the ecclesiastical tribunals, including the sacred college, from all parts of the world. It also contains copies of all the ecclesiastic decrees, or bulls and encyclycal letters, issued by the pope.

The work is now republished in Baltimore by Messrs. Kelly, Piet & Co., to whom we are indebted for the two last numbers, and who, we think, deserve much credit for their enterprise in undertaking to reprint a periodical the circulation of which must necessarily be very limited, although if these numbers had reached us in time we could have satisfied our readers that there are very few monthlies which will be read with a more lively interest, at least by those catholics who understand the language. Even now, at the eleventh hour, when we are preparing to go to press, we will make an observation or two which, we think, will fully bear us out in our opinion as to the interest which the *Acta* is capable of

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exciting. Thus, among the articles in No. XLIX., are a report of a great divorce case, and one of the suspension and trial of a priest; a decree from the Congregation of the Index declaring several books condemned, etc., etc.

The first article in No. L. is an elaborate discussion of the claims of St. Julia of Belgium to be recognized as a saint by the universal church, whereas the lady has hitherto been recognized only as a Belgian, or local saint. The archbishop of Malines petitions the pope to render this honor to Belgium, and his petition is strongly supported by the queen of the Belgians, who claims the favor on the twofold ground of her being a daughter of the Hapsburgs, and a queen. Her majesty writes naively to his Holiness, urging "that since Belgium, so fecund in saints, has hitherto had none publicly honored by the whole church, that privation ought now to be removed by the universal recognition of the holy St. Julia. The report of this case occupies twenty pages in the *Acta;* it is certainly a learned and curious paper—one that discusses the subject of canonization from the earliest records of the church; and as the claims of St. Julia were found beyond dispute, the prayer of the petitioners was granted, and henceforth the Belgians will find their chief saint acknowledged as such in every catholic country they may visit.

None must think that we mention these facts in any sneering spirit. It is true that we are not a believer in modern saints, but we respect both the opinions and feelings of those who are. Besides, we hold that when either men or women have led an exemplary life and proved benefactors to their contemporaries, there is nothing absurd or reprehensible, but the contrary, in their being distinguished and honored after their death. Our protestant education does not prevent us from believing that there is really good in it; but the good is not to the virtuous and benevolent who have passed away, but to the living, whom it is the duty of the church to encourage by honoring the memory of the good and great of other days.

But there is one thing in the *Acta* which gives us no little concern. We fear that one of our Jesuit college presidents has got into trouble. The full name of the clergyman is not given, but among the things laid to his charge are ignorance and an undue proclivity for speech making! The report before us goes on to say that for these reasons he is less fit to give instruction than he should be, although in other respects his character is blameless:

"Imo argumenta habere, *Bernardum* bonis moribus esse praeditum, cum eius adversarii non valuerint eum pravorum morum insimulari: se *tamen existimare necessaria scientia in theologia morali eum esse destitutum, et minus idoneum ad institutionem.*"

This seems to point rather plainly in a certain direction—we only hope we may be mistaken. At all events, we shall look with considerable interest to the next number of the *Acta*. The work will prove an excellent thing for some of our colleges, if the professors will only learn to read it.

* *Acta*, No. XLIX., vol. v., *Suspensionum*, p. 13.

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Mitchell's New Reference Atlas, for the use of colleges, libraries, families and counting-rooms, in a series of fifty-six copperplate maps, exhibiting the several countries, empires, kingdoms, and states in the Modern and Ancient World. Compiled from the latest authorities. Quarto. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1869.

The readers of this journal are well acquainted with the superior merits of Mitchell's whole series of geographies and atlases. It were superfluous, therefore, to describe the work now before us; suffice it to say, that the title page, which we have copied in full, does not in the least exaggerate its value. The maps are finely engraved, printed on thick white paper, and tastefully colored; the boundaries are everywhere plainly and accurately indicated; in short, we find nothing omitted that could reasonably be expected even in a reference atlas. The geographical tables at the end of the volume embrace every variety of geographical information which it is possible to convey in a tabular form; and the style in which the work is gotten up is fully commensurate with the value of its multifarious contents.

New Exposition of the Science of Knowledge. By J. G. FICHTE. Translated from the German, by A. E. KROEGER. Pamphlet, pp. 182. St. Louis, Mo. 1869.

This is one of the several expositions of the Science of Knowledge which have contributed so much to the fame of the author as a philosopher. Fichte is one of the boldest and most original of the great German thinkers, and he has found a faithful and zealous interpreter in Mr. Kroeger, who has translated several of his most remarkable works. We take pleasure in recommending the present pamphlet to those who wish to be initiated, in an agreeable and instructive manner, into the peculiar philosophical system of Fichte.

HISTORY AND TRAVELS.

1. *The Polar World; a Popular Description of Man and Nature in the Arctic and Antartic Regions of the Globe.* By Dr. G. HARTWIG, author of "The Sea and its Living Wonders," the Harmonies of Nature, &c., with additional chapters, and one hundred and sixty illustrations. 8vo., pp. 486. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

2. *The Malay Archipelago; the Land of the Ourang-Outang and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature.* By ALFRED RUSSELL WALLACE, author of "Travels on

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the Amazon and Rio-Negro," "Palm Trees of the Amazon," &c. 12mo., pp. 638. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

We place these two works together, because, although entirely different in their general plan and style, they frequently serve to illustrate each other by the striking contrasts which they exhibit. One is devoted to the coldest regions of the earth, the other to a portion of the hottest. The author of the one depends on his researches among the works of others for his facts; he places under contribution every navigator, explorer and traveller, to whom the world is indebted for any interesting or useful information relative to the polar regions—their climate, their geological, meteorological and botanical characteristics, their inhabitants, their wild and domestic animals, their birds, &c.; and it must be admitted that he has made judicious use of so large and valuable a mass of materials.

We do not mean by this that Dr. Hartwig is a mere compiler; this would be unjust, for, on the same ground, our best historians might be called compilers, since none of them have been able to visit even those scenes which they have described most graphically and most truthfully; none of them have been present at those great battles, or other startling occurrences, in regard to which all posterity regards them as authorities. But the author of "The Polar World" does not merely present us the facts in his own language, except where he gives a quotation here and there, which is duly credited to the source from which it is taken; he clothes those facts in a popular and attractive garb, so that almost "he who runs may read." It is this characteristic which causes his former works to be so much more extensively read than any recent similar works.

The work of Mr. Wallace, on the other hand, embodies chiefly the results of actual observation. But although he has travelled, studied and investigated, he has not overlooked the efforts of those who have gone before him. Although Dr. Hartwig is by no means inattentive to the teachings of science, but presents us many curious and interesting scientific facts, incidentally, he does not make the study of nature a prominent object, as Mr. Wallace does. A remark, or two, will be sufficient to explain what the chief aim of the latter was. He tells us in his preface that he has adopted "a geographical, zoological and ethnological arrangement," that he "travelled about fourteen thousand miles within the Archipelago, and made sixty or seventy journeys," and occupied about six years, in collecting specimens of natural history, securing a grand total of 125,660 specimens. His essay on the races of man in the Malay Archipelago is a valuable contribution to ethnological science; and still more valuable is the appendix, in which we are presented with a highly interesting dissertation on the crania and languages of those races. In order to give an idea of the attention Mr. Wallace has bestowed on comparative philology, we may mention

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that he presents us the equivalents of nine familiar English words, in fifty-nine different languages of the Archipelago.

Yet it would be a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Wallace's book is not attractive, as a whole, to the general reader. Even its "Physical Geography" is quite readable. But it is in describing the habits, modes of life, and other characteristics of the various species of tropical animals, birds, insects, &c., that Mr. Wallace is most entertaining. Nor must it be supposed that he overlooks the manners and customs of the people, or their religion, or social organization.

At the same time we must not yet lose sight of Dr. Hartwig's book. And what a transition it is from the scenery of one to that of the other! While in one we find everywhere an exuberance of life; in the other, nearly all nature is dead and frozen for nine months of the year. While Dr. Hartwig is entertaining us with accounts of whales, walrusses, foxes, dogs, reindeer; or while he is describing those dreary Antartic solitudes in which the cold is so intense that scarcely any land animal, bird, or even reptile, can exist in them, Mr. Wallace is describing to us the bird of paradise, and various other gay and beautiful species; still more beautiful butterflies; or the richest flowers in the world; or he is amusing us with sketches of the tricks and gambols of various tribes of apes and monkeys, including the ourang-outang.

In one book we find men covered with furs from head to foot, as a necessary condition of existence; while in the other we find him perfectly naked. It is worthy of remark that the dog is the only animal that is common to the polar and tropical regions described in these two books; and that neither the intense cold of the former nor the excessive heat of the latter prevents him from being the faithful friend and companion of man. Our authors show that, like man, too, he adapts himself to all kinds of food, as well as to the means of providing it. As the Malay lives principally by hunting, so does his dog, and as the former is prone to pilfering from strangers, so is the latter. In the polar regions, upon the other hand, man has to live chiefly by fishing, and so does the dog, who is as skilful a fisher as his master. Again, while Dr. Hartwig presents the reindeer in all the relations which he bears to man, both as a wild and a tame animal, Mr. Wallace takes similar pains with the ourang-outang, and other members of the ape family. In these descriptions we have another great contrast, which we need hardly say is entirely in favor of the polar animal, although in the wild state one affords the hunter pretty nearly as much sport as the other.

But our limited space in this department will not permit us to enter into details; and we readily admit that a hasty glance like this can give no adequate idea of works like "The Polar World" and "The Malay Archipelago." Those who would appreciate them must read them, as we have ourselves; and those of our readers who find the task so en-

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tertaining and agreeable, as we have, will thank us for having called their attention to such works, at a time when good books are so much like angels' visits.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Origin and Development of the Art of Pianoforte Manufacturing in the United States. Pamphlet. New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck.

We find many facts in this slender *brochure* that are well calculated to encourage young men and to interest all ages, and both sexes. Brief sketches are given of all who have taken a more or less active part, either as manufacturers or inventors, in the improvement of the piano in this country—including Alpheus Babcock, Conrad Meyer, Jonas Chickering, and the Steinways. In this, as well as in many other instances, the last in time is the first in rank! Every intelligent reader is familiar with the course pursued by Peter the Great of Russia when he resolved on making important reforms; it is well known that before he was recognised anywhere as "great," he not only had visited the principal manufactories of France, England and Germany, but had worked as a mechanic at several of them. We learn from the pamphlet before us that the same judicious and shrewd plan was adopted by the Steinways.

"Henry Steinway, the father, and his four sons, Charles, Henry, William and Albert, on their arrival in the new world, most properly resolved first of all to study its habits and customs, and also to obtain a thorough knowledge of the American system of piano manufacturing and doing business, and the points of difference with that of Europe. They justly realized the fact that the first requirements necessary for the carrying on of a successful manufacturing business in a new country, were a thorough knowledge of the language, the habits, tastes and requirements of the people. To effect this desideratum, although Mr. Henry Steinway had brought some capital with him from Germany, *he, with his sons, worked in different New York piano factories*, and it was only after the lapse of nearly three years, that, in the spring of 1853, *the father and his four sons commenced business for themselves.*"—31.

Young men who study the subsequent history—up to the present time—of this family, may learn a useful lesson from it. Be it remembered that it is those who work with their own hands, or cause others to work, especially those who bring educated skill, art, or science to bear upon their labor, who add to the wealth of a country, or what is better, who improve its taste or contribute to its refinement. The success of men of this class is creditable to the community that has enabled them to attain it; whereas in proportion as speculators succeed, they bring discredit on the community which is credulous enough to permit itself to be imposed upon by them. If we are wrong in this let us send our speculators to some of the great industrial exhibitions of the world and see whether they will get gold medals, or even brass medals! But, except under very peculiar circumstances, it will be found that i

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this class want gold medals, bronze statues, &c., &c., they must have them manufactured at their own expense.

Many of our readers will be interested to know what is the peculiar character of the improvements which have obtained for the Steinways so many gold medals in all the principal capitals of Europe, and at the same time rendered American pianos so justly famous throughout the world. The chief secret of the melody which seems to charm every connoisseur in musical instruments, is referred to as follows in the pamphlet before us:

"The introduction of a complete double iron frame—the front plate and back brace-frame connected with each other, and cast in one solid piece. One side of this double iron frame is left open, and into it the sounding-board is inserted, being received and sustained in its position by an apparatus consisting of a number of screws which press the outer edges of the sounding-board towards its centre. A clear, powerful, as well as unusually long and *singing tone*, of pure and sympathetic quality, combined with unexampled durability and capacity of standing in tune, are the important results obtained by this new invention."

There are few, if any, of our music-loving readers who cannot bear testimony to the wonderful effect of the tone thus produced by skillful hands, and we think there are none who know the Steinways, who would not heartily congratulate them on the eminent success they have attained, and the distinguished honors conferred on them.

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1. *Teddy's Dream; or, A Little Sweep's Mission.* By EMMA LESLIE.
2. *The Little Peat Cutters; or, The Song of Love.* By EMMA MARSHALL. New York: Gen. Prot. Epis. S. S., Union, 1870.

Probably none of our religious societies have done more good than this. It has had the advantage, so rare at the present day, of being managed for many years by really pious men, whose only ambition has been to fulfil their duties faithfully. This is true alike of the Rev. Mr. Harriman, and his successor, Mr. E. M. Duncan; and each has enjoyed the cordial sympathy and co-operation of the Rev. Dr. Carter, the enlightened and liberal editor of the Society's publications. The books published under the auspices of these gentlemen elicited the respect of all denominations.

But it seems that piety, morality and honesty are not the qualities that pay in the Episcopal Church to-day, for its chief society has got into a condition, somewhat similar to that of the Erie railroad, when it was taken charge of by James Fisk, Jr., and his worthy associates. We should wish that the similarity of circumstances had ended here; but as Boston has sent us a disciple of Plutus for one purpose, so has she for the other. As the Erie has fallen into the hands of James Fisk, Jr., & Co., so has the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union fallen into the hands of Edward P. Dutton & Co.

It is true that Mr. Dutton used to dabble somewhat in pious books, in

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Boston, years ago; several books and pamphlets purporting to be of that character, and as the English-speaking French say—"vary mooch so"—bear his imprint. But very few, if any, of them will bear examination. If we are not fully justified in this statement, let our readers judge when we remark that some years ago a married man with a grown family seduced and eloped with his neighbor's wife. The scandal created thereby was great, and not confined to one hemisphere; and nowhere did it create more excitement than in Boston, where the Lothario spent some time in jail.

But one of his first performances, after obtaining his liberty, was to write a book for Mr. Dutton on the Ceremonies of the Church, &c., purporting on the title-page, as well as in the advertisements, to be the work of "A Churchman." Every intelligent person is aware, that except it be otherwise expressly stated, the term "churchman" means clergyman, or ecclesiastic, which the manufacturer of Mr. Dutton's pious book never was; and no one knew the fact better than the publisher. It is not our intention to say one word in this notice against the compiler of the work alluded to, for he has suffered enough, and has always regretted his transgression, but if Dutton has ever repented of his transgressions, we are not aware of the fact. We could add some other facts illustrative of "free love" piety, but we have no wish to do anything more than to show that it is not without reason, we think, that the Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union has more to do just now with Plutus than with Christ.

As for the two little books whose titles are given at the head of this notice, they are, of course, not only pious, but "very much so" (!)

APPENDIX.

INSURANCE.

Insurance Reports, (including sundry False Reports) and other Documents. Published in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, London, &c., during the quarter ending December 20, 1869.

The failure of some English insurance companies since our last issue has caused an extraordinary excitement in this country. Nothing could be more illogical. It ill becomes us to boast of our superior enlightenment as a people, if we get frightened like children because a few insurance failures take place in England! Do failures of any kind taking place in this country frighten the English, or even the most timid nation of Europe?

Our readers will do us the justice to admit that we are not in the habit of boasting of our foresight. We have never made any pretension to the prophetic gift; but many a time, these ten years past, have we predicted just such catastrophes as those of the Albert Life. But when most earnest

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in our warnings and most searching in our criticisms, have we never denied that insurance—life insurance especially—is one of the greatest blessings which modern civilization has developed. Nor would we alter this opinion if every English company failed to-morrow, whereas there is not the least danger that any well-managed, honest English company, having sufficient funds to carry on its business, will fail.

But assuming that insurance companies cannot succeed in England, does it follow from this that they cannot succeed in this country? Be it remembered that it is not alone in their laws the two countries differ in relation to insurance, although this difference, by itself, would be quite sufficient to account for the most striking contrast. Far be it from us to deny that the laws of England are, in general, wise and salutary. In no other country are life and property more efficiently protected. But it is notorious that the insurance laws of England form an exception: no other English laws are so defective. There has been but little legislation on the subject at all in England, and this little is almost exclusively in favor of the companies. That is, extensive privileges are allowed to the companies, and scarcely any protection to the public against the abuse of those privileges. Long before the recent failures, it was well known that the companies as well as the public were injured by those partial and defective laws.

Now, why should all this excite, intimidate, or discourage us? We should have no more gloomy forebodings on account of it than if the society of licensed victualers, the guild of master tailors, or any of the various trades' unions of the United Kingdom, had to dissolve because the members thereof neglected to pay their weekly or monthly subscriptions. Just as freely as we admit the general excellence of the laws of England, we admit that many of our own laws are exceedingly defective. Our divorce laws, for example, are more defective than those of any civilized country; but no country has more excellent insurance laws than those of our principal States, especially New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Had the laws of England afforded the public such protection as those of the four States mentioned afford, it would have been impossible for the Albert and other companies like it to have so long preyed vulture-like upon the public, and finally fallen a victim to its own voracity, for its very greediness betrayed it at last!

But there is another difference between the two countries which exercises a more powerful influence on insurance than even that of the laws. It will be admitted that business of any kind will flourish or decay in proportion to the demand or lack of demand for the advantages it offers. Now, there are many reasons why the benefits of life insurance should be more generally appreciated in this country than in England. In England there is a large privileged class—an hereditary aristocracy. It is this class who possess three-fourths of the wealth of the nation, and they possess it from generation to generation. In general this class need no insurance; many of them regard it as derogatory to them to take a policy.

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Then, upon the other hand, it is only the intelligent portion, the unprivileged classes, who are capable of appreciating the benefits of insurance. This is universally admitted; and is not the admission that the masses of our people are more intelligent than the English masses equally universal? No Englishman whose opinion on the subject is of any value denies the fact. It is notorious that there are at least twenty Englishmen who can neither read nor write for every one American who is equally ignorant; and because insurance is undeniably founded on scientific principles, even those whom it is calculated to serve most can appreciate it only in proportion to their intelligence.

If any deny this, let them turn to the continent of Europe for a fuller illustration, and they will find that precisely in proportion as the people are intelligent do they avail themselves of life insurance, and render insurance companies wealthy, solid, and reliable, and *vice versa*. Thus, for example, in no country are there more or better free schools than in Prussia; in no country are the people more intelligent, and accordingly insurance flourishes more in Prussia than in any other country from the Straits of Gibralter to the White Sea. Again, if we inquire which are the least enlightened nations of Europe—in which does ignorance spread most widely its dark pall—we shall find that it is they that give least encouragement to insurance—that policies of insurance find as bad a market in them as books periodicals, or scientific instruments. If we confine ourselves to the newspapers, as a criterion—and those who dislike them most must admit tha they disseminate an immense amount of useful information—we shall find that for every one Turk or Russian who reads the papers, at least fifty Prussians or Frenchmen read them; and is it not equally true that for every one Turk or Russian who insures either his life or his property, at least fifty Prussians or Frenchmen take the precaution of having both life and property insured.

Why, then, should we get frightened because certain English companies fail? Those very failures should have been expected. Our readers may remember that we had several times predicted them; nor do we claim any particular credit for having done so. The occurrences alluded to, have, therefore, not altered our views in the slightest. Altogether independently of the differences we have pointed out, the English companies that have failed had the closest resemblance, in all essential points, to the American companies whose *modus operandi* we have so often denounced. The English companies which are like the American companies whose good works we have pointed out from time to time as illustrative of the sterling benefits of insurance, have not failed, nor is there the least danger that they will fail. We have now before us a list of thirty-three English companies that have failed; but there are at least twice the number of American companies which may fail any day; and far from their passing out the world being an injury to legitimate insurance, it would be a positive benefit. So many untimely deaths would doubtless cause a panic among

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the timid and weak-minded, but judicious, thoughtful men would congratulate the public that only the tares were lost; that we still possessed the pure wheat, and that it was in less danger of adulteration by spurious mixtures than ever.

Thus, for example, we may be entirely mistaken, but we cannot help believing that there are at least a dozen companies whose early demise would be much more a blessing than a misfortune to the public; and in order to give our readers an opportunity of contradicting us, if we are wrong, we beg leave to mention such as the Batterson Cross and Crooked Road Mutual, the Morgan and Barnes Registry and Chamber Mutual, the Banta and Beers New Yahoo Life, the Marshall Infinitesimal Bolus Mutual, the Bage and Shader Great Paste Diamond Mutual, the Bucklin Providential Mutual, the Eadie and Leeds United Stockbroker's Life, the Scribner and Smith Vampire State Mutual, the Cooke and Butler Nondescript Life of the United Stockjobbers, the Widow and Orphan's Balderdash Mutual, etc.

Perhaps some of our readers will think that our English cousins ought to be very much frightened if all these companies would die in more or less rapid succession, notwithstanding the ostentatious display of wealth and consequence made by some of them, and the display of impudence and effrontery made by all. But if they were so easily frightened, would they not render themselves rather ridiculous? Might we not well laugh at them, and tell them that life insurance was not born with the Battersons, the Morgans, the Bantas, the Bages, the Bucklins, &c., and neither would it die with them; that these worthy persons are as much things apart from insurance as the tares are from the wheat.

A leading London journal has mentioned about a dozen of English companies, and said that as long as these are as solvent and strong as they are there need be no alarm, and that there is not the least danger of their being otherwise during the lifetime even of their youngest officers. We can mention about an equal number, and speak with at least equal confidence of their permanency and solidity. For the reasons already mentioned, we should be fully justified in having more confidence in the vitality of our leading companies than the English can logically have in theirs. But this is not necessary, for there are English companies of whose failure we should be as little afraid as that of the Bank of England. More than this it were superfluous to say of our own standard corporations—that is, of about *one* out of every *fifteen* of all that call themselves insurance companies.

These few select life companies we will mention just as their names occur to us, altogether independently of the state, city, or town to which they belong, viz.: The Knickerbocker, the Phœnix Mutual, the Security, the New England Mutual, the Equitable, the Ætna, the Manhattan, the New York Continental, the Mutual Benefit, the New York National, the Charter Oak, and the Globe Mutual. We could mention two or three

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more, but further we could not proceed without taxing our conscience; although there are very nearly, if not quite, two hundred life companies doing business, or pretending to do business, in this country at the present moment; and there is not one of the worst class of these which is not louder and more arrogant in its pretensions than the best and most honorable of those we have mentioned as worthy of comparison with the model companies of Europe. Even at the close of the year—as the holidays approach—when the insurance business is always more or less dull, we are in possession of sufficient facts and figures to show that no failures—no sensations, however startling—can throw any serious obstacles in the way of those who, let the lighter waves of public opinion foam and fluctuate as they may, are always determined to do right; but before we give any particulars, we will take a hasty glance at another circumstance.

An event of much graver importance to the American public, than the failure of the Albert Life has taken place in the insurance world since our last issue, viz., the resignation of Hon. John E. Sanford, of the office of Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts. With Mr. Sanford personally we had but a slight acquaintance; but of his official acts and career we have kept advised since it was the good fortune of the "Old Bay State" to secure his services. We have often wondered why it was that Massachusetts obtained such good men in her various governmental departments; for no one but a good and true man could have performed arduous labors so well as Mr. Sanford has, in his particular bureau. The wonder still exists, that although we find offices annually filled by good and true men, whereas a month previous it was hardly supposable a successor could be found.

But little is known of the first insurance commissioners of Massachusetts. We are led to believe they were appointed solely because they were political friends of the then administration (as in the recent instance of Mr. Boutwell, though we suspect that the latter would have got no treasury in Massachusetts to manage without knowing much more about political economy than he does.) They are now forgotten. About fifteen years ago Elizur Wright began to battle, in his trenchant way, for an insurance law which should compel life companies to make returns of all their assets and liabilities, by means of which the state should, for the protection of the insured, set a price upon all life obligations, or, in other words, establish a standard of valuation. He succeeded. The office of insurance commissioner was taken from the arena of politics, and given to him. In it he perfected existing laws, and did yeoman's service in the cause of the widow and orphan. His great mathematical ability in his speciality—unequalled by that of any other person in this country, and if equalled in Europe, certainly not surpassed—was exerted to dispel ignorance and extend knowledge; so that at this late day, even when so much has been written about life insurance, his series of annual reports are acknowledged as text-books upon the subject.

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When Mr. Wright retired from the office, to accept the position of consulting actuary to many of our best companies, as well as to obtain a respite from arduous duties, it was thought a successor could not be found. Who John E. Sanford was no insurance man knew! When it was whispered that he was a lawyer in good practice, of liberal education, and of great literary taste, the croakers heralded their fears that the office could never be filled as it had been. Mr. Sanford's first report was looked for with considerable anxiety; and when it came, what a disappointment—agreeable to be seen—fell upon the community! The new man had made his mark; and he went on increasing in knowledge and giving it to the public in good sound Saxon, until it was felt that in Mr. Sanford there was a veritable jewel. And his reports stand to-day, on both sides of the Atlantic, models in insurance literature. He was no controversialist, as Mr. Wright was in a certain degree, else had the insurance superintendent of New York been annihilated when, in his last report, he charged Mr. Sanford with unfair dealing in the matter of the attempt to procure a common standard of valuation in the two states. He is proved to have been a sound, practical man, who, during his term of office, exerted himself solely for the public good, and when Mr. Sanford retired with the good wishes of all, the public lost a faithful servant.

It is by the united efforts of such men as Messrs. Wright and Sanford that the insurance laws of Massachusetts stand to-day, as every candid person must admit, above and beyond those of any other state in the Union. They are simple and effective, easily answered, and exhibit the condition of companies in a manner that can be well understood by the public.

Mr. Sanford carries into his retirement the good wishes of the representatives of all the honest life companies of this country, for it is with them he has been most in contact, and he has the proud consciousness of knowing that there lives not a being who can lisp against his reputation a breath of suspicion. His rectitude of conduct, his courteous bearing, and his untiring energy of purpose, were thoroughly exemplified in a most extraordinarily successful official career. May Massachusetts have it always in her power to fill her offices with such men! although there is not one of the higher qualities, either intellectual or moral, for which we have thus most cheerfully given Mr. Sanford credit, in which he does not contrast with the political Massachusetts man who now manages (?) the treasury of the United States. And let any intelligent person compare the official reports of the two men with each other, and what a contrast in every characteristic on which culture, intellectual ability, or knowledge of political economy, or of any other science, may be supposed to exercise any influence!

In no position is an honest man—a man of education and talent, who is not a party hack—more needed than at the head of the insurance department. Had Mr. Sanford done nothing more than to furnish *data*, as

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he did, by which the good, bad, and indifferent companies could be distinguished from each other, he would have been entitled to the gratitude of every honest policy-holder. But none appreciate his services more than ourselves, nor are we actuated in entertaining this feeling by vanity or egotism on account of his having fully corroborated—as our readers may see for themselves—the most serious charges we have ever made against the insurance quacks, and for which we have been subjected to the grossest abuse. There is no harm in this, however; far from doing us the slightest injury, abuse from such sources, and for such reasons, always renders us service by gaining us the sympathy of the upright and honorable.

Our readers will remember that there is nothing against which we have more frequently cautioned all whom it might concern than "cheap insurance" and miraculous "new features;" our reason being, that nothing does more mischief among the thoughtless class. We see evidence of this, in various forms, almost daily; and we perceive that some of the insurance journals begin to admit, at last, that parties may have charters as insurance companies and large capitals—at least on paper—and yet be nothing better than swindlers—than those who, seeing an honest farmer going to the bank to deposit his money, would induce him to give it to them for a worthless lottery ticket. The most interesting recent illustration is the following:

"A lady called at the office of the Phœnix Life, at Hartford, and told the president of the company, Mr. Fessenden, that she wished to insure the life of her husband for the sum of five thousand dollars. After making out the application carefully, she inquired what it would cost. Mr. Fessenden, looking at the rate-book before him, said that the premium would be one hundred and fifty dollars. The lady looked up in surprise, and said there was some mistake, and that she wanted to go into a company where she could get *a policy of five thousand dollars for six dollars.* Without a word of explanation, Mr. F. courteously escorted her across the hall into an office of one of those co-operative mutual benefit humbugs, which flourish so strangely in Hartford, and, bidding her good morning, left her to be persuaded that she could get a great deal of 'cheap insurance' for a very cheap price."*

If the "cheap insurance" were confined to Hartford it were less matter. It is not difficult, however, to explain how it is that the spurious may flourish for a time, even in so small a city, comparatively, as Hartford. The standard companies there have done so much good that the very name of the city has a prestige which inspires confidence throughout the country; and whatever hallucination the lady referred to labored under, in regard to cheapness, if she wanted a true policy at a fair price, she could not have called on a more reliable underwriter for that purpose than either the president or the secretary of the Phœnix Mutual. This company, like every other of its class that is old enough to be sufficiently known, can afford to maintain its dignity, for it receives applications enough from those willing to pay a fair price for a genuine article.

Had the lady gone to the Connecticut Mutual, the Connecticut General, or to either of Batterson's concerns, her six dollars might have procured

* *N. E. Ins. Gazette* for Oct., p. 929.

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her a paper nearly large enough to make a cloak or a blanket for her; but whether it would ever have rendered herself or her posterity any other service would depend on more conditions and circumstances than we have time or space at present to enumerate.

But had she gone to the Ætna Life, or the Charter Oak Life, we think the reply given her would not have been very different from that of the Phœnix. Both Mr. Enders and Mr. Walkley are also fond of a joke. What the latter has been doing lately, we are not aware, but the former could have informed the lady that the number of policies issued at legitimate prices by the Ætna, during 1869, will reach about 11,000; that its receipts during the same period will have been over $6,000,000; and that its assets on the first of January, 1870, will be about thirteen millions and a half ($13,500,000).

Glancing at Boston before returning to New York, we find the New England Mutual as dignified, progressive and prosperous as ever. It has recently issued three characteristic circulars; one to its medical examiners and two to its policy holders. One of the latter announces important alterations in policies, and the other gives notice of the abandonment, on the part of the company, of the premium note system, from and after February 1, 1870. Several reasons are assigned for the abandonment, one of which we extract, only premising that, while those reasons are substantial and satisfactory, other companies may do good and honorable business under the note system as the New England itself has done hitherto:

"1. The payment of cash is the most economical mode of settling small premiums, so far as time, trouble, and actual expense are concerned, by keeping life insurance within appropriate limits, and compelling a person to take a policy only for that amount for which he can absolutely pay at the time. Thus the transaction becomes a fair and square investment from year to year. There being no interest to pay, and no accumulated notes to be talked over and explained, everything is easily understood. The assured pays his annual premium, and receives the second year whatever the company, by its good fortune, can return him. No more extended statement of the true relation between members of the company and its executive is needed."

None can object to this, and we do not apprehend that any will. We only wish that the "cheap" insurers would act so honestly and frankly as the New England Mutual does in all cases. If they did, there would be no danger that insurance would fall into disrepute.

But it is often the companies that act most generously which are most calumniated, for there are a class of underwriters who cannot bear to see themselves cast into the shade by those who are more energetic as well as more honorable. This feeling has recently subjected the Knickerbocker Life to many attacks; but it seems rather to thrive upon them. Not more than two or three companies in the United States—if so many—have done more business than the Knickerbocker during the past year, for we learn from a reliable source that from December 1, 1868, to December 1, 1869, it issued 9,300 policies, insuring $6,000,000. This is the sort of work which certain ambitious companies, fond of display, es-

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pecially in the shape of white marble, at the expense of their policy holders, cannot endure. Mr. Elizur Wright being somewhat of a wag, as well as a mathematician and insurance philosopher, affects to believe that a certain recent attack on the Knickerbocker is merely the work of an obscure insurance journal published somewhere "out west," and calling itself a "Review." Without pausing to inquire who inspired the insurance journal, Mr. Wright ridicules every one of its insinuations in a letter to the esteemed president of the Knickerbocker, from which we extract the following paragraph:

"The attempts of the "Review" to disparage the Knickerbocker by comparing its ratios of reserve to risk, and of total expenditure to total income, with the like *ratios of other companies*, are either a display of its own ignorance or a presumption of the ignorance of the public—for the comparison proves nothing, unless all other things are equal—which they could be only by one chance in many millions, in regard to any two companies."

None who understand the subject will deny this. Mr. Lyman, with characteristic frankness, refers to their true source the representations alluded to, although he does not mention names. "Honorable competition," he truly remarks in one of his circulars, "is praiseworthy, and when an institution or its agent seeks to malign and injure another by scattering, broadcast, *anonymous circulars full of misrepresentations and falsehoods, they should be despised and avoided by honorable business men.*"

Since underwriters, whose conduct towards the widow and the orphan are most exemplary, are thus attacked by members of their own fraternity, it is no wonder that many who are disposed to insure their lives, but have not perception enough to perceive the influence of envy or jealousy, shake their heads mysteriously, and express their doubts of the whole system; for our readers may remember that it is not long since we deemed it our duty to the public to denounce similar attacks made, in turn, on several other standard companies.

It is but rarely that rivals conscious of their own strength and power are so ungenerous as to make such attacks as those so justly characterized by Mr. Lyman—*never*, we think, when their strength and power are the results of intelligence, energy, and perseverance, combined with integrity. If companies or individuals of this character do fall out—as the most peaceful and honorable may occasionally misunderstand each other—they are pretty sure to arrange their difficulties without coming to any open rupture. Thus, for example, no company is stronger than the Equitable; it is not too much to say that it is as solid as its own new and magnificent granite palace; no company has acquired its strength in a manner more in accordance with the conditions just mentioned. Some time since it had a misunderstanding with the Knickerbocker; but the officers of both companies being sensible, as well as honorable men, the affair was soon amicably arranged.

It is but justice to Mr. Franklin to say that as long as he was the real manager of the New York Life, it was a respectable company; but since Beers, Appleton, and Bunta obtained the ascendancy there has been a

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melancholy falling off—a falling off which no amount of white marble; no issue, however immense, of circulars, with or without the name of the company, will be likely to counteract. Even the almanacs distributed in thousands after the manner of the quack doctors, as if policies were pills or bolusea, will hardly do.

In our opinion, all this is wrong. And if we turn to any of the companies which, far from having recourse to any *imposing* display or claptrap, are famed for their modesty, we shall find that they bear the brunt of anti-insurance sensations much better than their pompous and braggart rivals. Take the Security Life as an instance. We have never heard that this company quarrelled with any one; it has never shown itself in the least tainted with either envy or jealousy. But is it the worse for this? The best answer will be found in the following brief record of its business for the year just about to close, as compared with that of last year:

	New Policies.	*Insuring.*
1869	6,337	$16,577,105
1868, was	4,386	11,561,389
Increase	$1,951	$5,015,716

It will puzzle all the circular manufacturers and almanac compilers of the New York Life to exhibit a similar state of things. As to the Mutual Life, we think we may overlook its performances this time. If the memorable "whitewashing" process has had the desired effect, others may have recourse to the same contrivance. In the meantime, we have really no ill-will towards the Mutual Life, or any other company. We would recommend Mr. Winston and his colleagues to our readers tomorrow, just as cheerfully as we would any other underwriters, if we could only see that their improved conduct towards their policy-holders deserved it But until we have some satisfactory evidence that an improvement has really taken place, and a very decided one, we think it vastly honester to recommend companies like the Mutual Benefit (N. J.), the Manhattan, the N. Y. National, the N. Y. Continental, the Commonwealth Mutual, &c., in addition to the standard corporations indicated above. We are here reminded, on turning to some of the documents before us, that the Manhattan has just issued a small pamphlet, giving new "Tables of Rates and Terms." Turning over its pages, we find an outline of the company's career, from which we extract the following passage, with the remark, in passing, that we have long been in the habit of receiving the statements of the Manhattan with implicit confidence:

"Twenty years successful business has placed it among the leading companies in amount of business, while its conservative management commends it to the confidence of insurers as the strongest and best company in the country. Its claims by death, during the year 1868, amounted to only $12,500 on the amount of new policies issued during the year, showing great care in selecting risks. Its ratio of expenses for conducting its business was among the lowest.

Its Gross Assets Jan. 1st, 1869, were	$5,262,348
Its Gross Liabilities were	4,335,310
Leaving a surplus of	$927,036

Showing a larger per centage than any other company in this state."

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The National Life (N. Y.) is an offshoot of the Manhattan, and the offspring continues to be worthy of the parent. The National is not a large or plethoric company, but it is an intelligent, energetic, honest, and progressive company. Its president and vice-president are men of decided ability, and rank, by common consent, among our most experienced and shrewdest underwriters. Accordingly, notwithstanding the various panics of the year, the National has increased its business during 1869, as compared with that of 1868, nearly 100 per cent. May we not wish, then. *sine ullo maleficio*, that Batterson, Morgan, Bage, Eadie, Beers, Cooke, Bucklin, *et hoc genus omne*, would take a few lessons from them, but more especially as to the difference between promises and performances, and between what is real and tangible and what is merely imaginary.

If Mr. Jones and his colleague should be too busy to give private lessons to so many pupils who are not very quick at learning, perhaps Messrs. Lawrence and Rogers of the Continental could give them a hand. We could recommend Mr. Wynkoop for the same purpose, especially so far as patience and good temper are concerned; but we are too well aware that any one who has a score or two of modern printers to regulate, cannot have much time or taste, however charitably inclined, for teaching quack underwriters. It is evident, however, that the three gentlemen mentioned find time to secure the steady progress of their own company, for we learn that during the month of November last it issued 902 policies, for an annual premium of $93.814, and that the total number of policies issued since the organization of the company amounted to 19.198 at the first of December instant.

Our confidence in the Continental led us to expect good things for the widow and orphan, from its progeny, which already bids fair to be pretty numerous. We have every reason to believe that in one case our expectations will be fully realized. Far from having any cause to recede from our first impression of the Commonwealth Life, although we admit it was quite sanguine, its recent progress, and the straightforward manner in which it has been attained, have not only made us cling to that opinion, but rendered us more sanguine still. We do not pretend, however, to be infallible in our impressions—especially of companies so young as the Commonwealth, and therefore will say no more until we see its January statement—except that we expect much from that document. It is otherwise, however, in our estimation, with its twin brother or step-brother, although we hope, for the sake of its parent as well as that of the widow and orphan, that it will not justify the title of *Vampire* Mutual, instead of Empire Mutual, which we perceive some have given it already, and yet we must admit we have no good reason to deny the justice of the new christening. But should even the worst happen, it should be remembered that the best parents have often the worst children. None of the new companies makes less pretensions than the Anchor Life; but thus far, it seems preferable to any of the others, except the Commonwealth.

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Speaking of the family relations reminds us that, although the Mutual Benefit, (N. J.) like the Knickerbocker, Phœnix Mutual, New England Mutual, Security Life, and Ætna Life, has recently had onslaughts made upon it in various quarters, we see that, like the same corporations, it has recently afforded new proof of its having a true soul, as well as a pretty large, strong body. We allude to an occurrence which is sufficiently described in a letter, dated Septemder 15, 1869, to Mr. Webb, its Baltimore agent, which we find in a recent number of the "Baltimore Underwriter," and which we copy *infra*, as an illustration of the manner in which the American companies we regard as honest and faithful vindicate life insurance.*

No underwriter is more abused, just now, than Mr. Charles Holland, of the Eagle Life, of Chicago, the ancient and sturdy antagonist of Batterson, the well-known cross-roads insurer of Hartford. We do not pretend to have any particular knowledge of his company, but we think it rather odd that one of the charges made against him is, that, whereas, he should have been all the time absorbed in insurance, if he did not mean to cheat, he has been so careless and forgetful of his duty of late as to write a novel! Now we confess that we rather like him for this; but before coming to any conclusion on the subject, we took the precaution of reading the work. We have never counted either the capital or the assets of the Eagle, but we have carefully examined Mr. Holland's "Aspasia," and our opinion of it will be found in our last number. Whatever the company may be—and we certainly know nothing bad of it—the book, far from being a reproach, does credit to its author. In our opinion, it is vastly more honorable for an underwriter, or anybody else, to write such a book, and prefix his name to it, as Mr. Holland has done, than to write anonymous circulars, stuffed with all sorts of vile misstatements against his rivals in business.

We have but little to say, at this time, on either fire or marine insurance. In both there have been large losses; but those of the insured who exercised ordinary precaution in choosing their policies will be fully indemnified. Not one insured in a good, honest company will lose a penny; and if our readers to not know which companies possess those characteristics it is their own fault, for we have often indicated them. Without any pretensions to infallibility, in our discussions of fire or marine insurance, more than in those of life insurance, we think we can claim the credit of being able to distinguish the honest from the dishonest, when we make careful researches for that purpose; and we can truly

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* "*Dear Sir:* We acknowledge the receipt, this day, of the value of policy for $10,000, which is in full settlement of claim on the life of the late Henry Pendexter, and we take pleasure in testifying to the promptness and entirely satisfactory way in which your company has paid up this loss, so fully in keeping with its well-established character for promptitude in settling all losses which they may be liable for, and we cordially recommend to all desiring first-class insurance and security, "*The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of Newark, New Jersey,*"

THEODORE S. BANTZ,
JNO. K. CALWELL,
Assignees.

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say that, without having done so—without having informed ourselves, as fully as possible, by legitimate and honorable means—we have never condemned any company or association; nor have we been less careful in qualifying ourselves to do justice to integrity and worth. Once in our life we have been mistaken; that was in the case of the Columbian Marine and Morris Fire; we say "once," because although the names and objects of the two companies were different, they belonged to the one party—their interests were, in fact, identical. Even in this instance the original officers meant well; and when they failed, chiefly from lack of experience, they had injured themselves more than the public.

It may be remembered that at the same time we made some comparisons between the Sun Mutual (Marine), and the Mercantile Mutual (Marine), long before the "scrip dividends" of the former had proved worthless. When the president of the Sun was promoted to the custom-house, we said nothing, but we confess that our thoughts on the subject were not very complimentary either to the new functionary or to those who appointed him. Not that we were at all surprised at the appointment, for in our mind there is some resemblance—though it may be distant—between spurious scrip dividends and political dinners, electioneering speeches, etc. What has happened since at the custom-house; how one "scrip" person was allowed to resign, and how another (an individual formerly recommended from the office of the Moon Mutual), was promoted to be the right hand man and adviser of his highness the collector, are things which need not be commented upon here. We will only ask has anything of this kind stained the fair fame of the Mercantile Mutual, or its president? Has the Security (Fire and Inland), or any of its three presidents been caught in the manufactnre of worthless scrip, or in the performance of any other suspicious thing?

Those ready to judge the motives of others by their own may say that it is because the Washington, the Hope, the Security, the Ætna (Hartford), etc., are our friends that we recommend them to our readers. But, assuming this to be the case, does it render their integrity and reliability anything the less valuable to the public? If, in travelling in a neighborhood which happens to be infested with brigands, somebody refers us to one who will protect us, does this protection lose any of its value when we learn that our protector has also protected, or in some other manner befriended, the person who pointed him out to us?

For a similar reason, those who are criticised, are very apt to pretend that it is because the critic has some deadly spite against them—at best because they are not his patrons or friends. Now there are at least a dozen fire companies in this city, with which we have never found the slightest fault, although so far as we are aware, not one of them has ever rendered us the smallest service. Take the Hanover for example. This company has been doing a large business in New York for seven-

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teen years. We were quite aware of its existence ten years ago; but who can say that we have charged it with any improper conduct? Had we known it to be guilty of such, it would have been otherwise; but we have never heard the most censorious express the least doubt of its integrity. Accordingly we are now glad to have an opportunity of informing our readers, that the Hanover has a surplus fund of $300,000, together with a capital of $400,000; that it has never passed a dividend, and that its average annual dividend for seventeen years amounts to 12 per cent. It would be superfluous to say that a company having this record is judiciously managed; suffice to remark, therefore, that Mr. Walcott and Mr. Lane, its president and vice-president, deserve to be ranked with underwriters like Walker, Walter, Hendee, Lothrop, Reese, Hastings, Saterlee, &c., men constituting a guild that has nothing to fear from criticism or publicity, but which is all the more friendly on this account.

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THE

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ART. I.—1. *Œuvres de Rabelais. Edition Variorum, Augmentée de Pièces Inédites, des Songes Drolatiques de Pantagruel, etc.* 10 vols. Paris.

2. *The Works of Francis Rabelais.* Translated from the French. By SIR THOMAS URQUHART and MATTEUX. 2 vols. London.

3. *Recherches Bibliographiques et Critiques sur les Editions Originales des cinq. Livres du Roman Satirique de Rabelais,* etc. Par M. J. CH. BRUNET. Paris. 1852.

4. *François Rabelais.* Par DELÉCLUSE. Paris. 1841.

5. *Rabelais, sa Vie et ses Ouvrages.* Par P. LACROIX. Paris. 1859.

DELVING among the strata of the past, and contemplating the gigantic convulsions of some important mental epochs, we find many things for which it is difficult for us, with the light we possess, to account. Rabelais is a stumbling-block to those of English prejudices and severe tastes. He belonged to a great age, an age that spoke plain truths plainly. This was well; but that epoch saw things grossly, and so gave utterance to much that we feel to be indecency. It was an honest age, otherwise it could not have been great, it could not have produced its great writers and historical characters; but it lacked refinement. What seemed to it truth it uttered boldly and unblushingly, as a man of science can treat of the

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human anatomy without a thought of indelicacy. This great, true epoch has fairly overshadowed all succeeding times, which have refined their manners without improving their morals. For not daring to be true we have degenerated. Yet, in returning to truth, we need not go back to grossness. We must learn to be at once truthful and refined. We may admit, when necessary, that we have a sink-hole in the house, yet we need not keep it always uncovered, to offend the nostrils with its odors. But we must beware of doing injustice to the intellectual giants of that heroic age.

We, pigmies, perched upon our summits of science, and the thought and learning of the past, have no right to assume that we can determine the worth of those colossal figures, although in the valley. We can but clear away the sand and lava about them, measure their gigantic proportions, and humbly admire them. We find that they are not altogether suited to our times, but it does not follow that they are unworthy of our reverence. A colossal statue designed to be placed upon a lofty pedestal, does not require the delicacy of finish of a parlor mantel ornament. It is absurd to exact the fineness of detail necessary to a statuette, in a vast form, intended to bestride an arm of the sea, under which the largest vessels can pass, to bear light to guide the navies of all nations, and to be one of the wonders of the world. Let us unearth the monuments of a heroic past, and study them with due humility and admiration, learning from them what we can, but let us not apply to them the rules which suit our straightened circumstances.

The age of Rabelais was a creative one; ours is not so, except in a material and purely external way. We are creating, or, perhaps, rather reforming, states and statutes, and constructing multitudinous and wonderful material improvements. In the domain of mind and soul there are modern thinkers, who are doing much as analysts and critics, but we have no creators. German, French, and English philosophy and research furnish our best specimens of intellectual effort. In physical science we are progressive, but we can not claim to have brought any extraordinary mental power into this domain. Our age is generally a superficial one. We talk

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glibly and boast bombastically, but we are really doing little more than to use up the materials of the past, and brag about them as though they were our own. This is especially true in literature. We need satirists like Rabelais, to act as critics upon our times. In studying him, and other great critics of manners and morals, we can learn much to assist us in correcting our own. We must believe that Rabelais, whose language so offends us, took the only course then open to him to benefit his cotemporaries. He wished to show up the hideous form of vice, and he must paint her in colors which would serve his purpose. He effected his object most excellently, and it is not for us to criticise too severely the means by which it was accomplished. The people of that day were powerfully moved and benefited by his satire; we must presume that it was done in the best manner.

The period in and for which Rabelais wrote was that of the revival of classical learning in Europe and of reformation in religion. It was a period of rebellion against established authority, of closest scrutiny into the realities and proprieties of doctrine and of custom. The leading minds of the day were disgusted with the fictions of state and society, and were determined to endure the shackles of a false conventionality no longer. "The Lives of Gargantua and Pantagruel" reflects not only the manners, but the tone of thought and the aspirations of the day. It is a record of a gigantic struggle against the tyrannies of custom. It is also an epitome of the state of science, learning, and laws existing when it was written. Coleridge says:

"Beyond a doubt Rabelais was among the deepest as well as boldest thinkers of his age. His buffoonery was not merely Brutus's rough stick, which contained a rod of gold. . . . . I could write a treatise in praise of the moral elevation of Rabelais' work which would make the church stare and the conventicles groan, and yet would be truth and nothing but the truth. I class Rabelais with the great creative minds of the world, Shakspeare, Dante, Cervantes," etc.*

A great deal has been written about Rabelais, yet we have but meagre and unsatisfactory accounts of his life. There

* *A Course of Lectures*, l. ix. See, also, *Table Talk*, v. i., p. 177.

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is much of tradition and anecdote concerning him, but little that is reliable. He has been the subject of much invention inspired by his immortal work, and seeking to connect him with events and to attribute to him sayings and acts corresponding to the nature of his extravagant fiction. He was born, probably, in 1495, at Chinon, a very ancient little town near the junction of the river Vienne with the Loire, in the province of Lorraine. His father, Thomas Rabelais, was an apothecary or an innkeeper, and possessed an estate in the neighborhood of Chinon called La Devinière.* At the age of ten years he was placed in an abbey in the village of Seully. Finding that he learned nothing there he was removed to the convent of La Baumette, or, according to others, to the university at Angers. Here he became acquainted with Geoffrai d'Estissac, afterwards bishop of Maillezais, and with the brothers Bellay, acquaintances which had an important bearing upon his future career. It was in accordance with the wishes of his father, who desired him to become a cordelier, that he decided to embrace the monastic profession.† Rabelais would seem to have had filial piety if no other. The cordeliers of Fontenay-le-Comte, where he was placed, Colletet says: "Faisoient voeu d'ignorance encore plus que de religion."‡ He remained here fifteen years, passing through the requisite degrees to the priesthood, which he received, probably, in 1519.

It is related that while among the cordeliers Rabelais was put in pace, or between four walls, on bread and water, for some misdemeanor.§ According to one account, on a festival day, he substituted himself for the image of St. Francis, and received the worship of the people. He enjoyed the joke so well that he could not restrain his risibles; and the people seeing the saint move cried out, "A miracle!" The wonder being reported to the monks they soon discovered who was the incarnation of the sculptured saint, and demonstrated

* *Particulars de la Vie et Meurs de Rabelais*, imprim. devant ses Œuvres.
† Antoine Leroy, *Florelum Philosophicum*.
‡ *Histoire des poles françois*. manus. in the library of the Louvre.
§ Pierre de St. Romuald, *Feuillant*.

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to him by their formula that he was not made of stone. Whether or not there is any truth in these stories and numberless others of the sort, it is certain that Rabelais was thoroughly dissatisfied with his life among the Franciscans, and that he was eventually treated by them with great severity.

He conceived a lively passion for the classical writers of Greece and Rome, and devoted himself to their study with all the ardor of his soul. This was the chief cause of his disagreement with the convent authorities. The study of the Greek and Roman writers was being revived at this time, but was opposed strenuously by the Franciscans, while favored and encouraged by more enlightened orders. Rabelais caught the progressive spirit of the age, and his fondness for study, doubtless, caused him to neglect his duties as an ecclesiastic. He paid the penalty of persecution, which has always been the price of progress. The monks of his convent were suspicious of one who devoted so much time to profane learning, and especially Greek. Yet we must not forget, in stating the fact, that the ecclesiastics of the day were the restorers of learning, and that it was in the religious institutions the great minds of the age were trained. This is true of Rabelais as well as of most of the other distinguished thinkers of the time, including the foremost of the protestant reformers. Rabelais was so unfortunate as to be attached to an order which did not value learning so highly as some others; and we may remark, in passing, that the same is true of the Franciscans of the present day, whether they call themselves "fathers" or "brothers."

About the year 1823, by order of the superior of the convent, an examination was made of the cells of Rabelais and of Pierre Lamy, confreres in classical study. A discovery was made of many Greek books, and probably also of some works of Erasmus. All were confiscated by the chapter, and the two scholars were not only deprived of the means to make life in the convent tolerable, but placed under ban, and menaced with the severest persecutions. The two friends, doubly endeared by community of tastes and by persecution,

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fled together. They are believed to have taken refuge in some other convent. The only information which we have of this period of our author's life is contained in the Greek letters of Budé, with whom Rabelais and Lamy at this time corresponded.

It is not to be wondered at that Rabelais should have conceived an intense disgust for those who had the power to annoy, while they could not appreciate him; nor that he should have remembered his persecutions, and resented them afterwards in the most biting satire. It is to his credit that he should rather have made them the subjects of ridicule than of anything more vindictive. Probably, had he given vent to his feelings at this time, rather than later, when passion was cooled, his work would have been more bitter and less effective.

Rabelais found many valuable friends at this period, including Budé, several members of the Brisson family, and André Tiraqueau, lieutenant-general of the bailliwick. It is related that the latter, hearing of the incarceration of Rabelais, by the Franciscans, repaired with a *posse* of the principal inhabitants of the city, to the gates of the abbey, in the name of the king, forced them open, and found Frère François in one of the dungeons of the convent, where he would have died in a short time.* In good time the excellent Budé was able to write to Pierre Lamy: "I have learned that your tribulations have terminated, since your persecutors have been made aware that they were placing themselves in hostility with persons of credit, and with the king himself;" and to Rabelais, "I have received from one of the most brilliant and most humane among your brothers the news that there have been restored to you your books, your pleasures, and that you have recovered your liberty and your former tranquility."†

It was decided, with good reason, that there was an emphatic incompatability between the temperament of Rabelais,

* *Nouvelle Biog. Gen.*, t. xli.

† It is proper to state here that Rabelais has been charged with the grossest misconduct in his convent, and there is much reason to believe that his troubles were not altogether attributable to unjust persecution.—*Vie de Rabelais*, prefixed to his works.

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and life among the Franciscans. Accordingly, efforts were made to release him from his vows, and an indulgence was finally obtained from Pope Clement VII., authorizing his transfer to the order of St. Benedict, (which brotherhood were among the most learned and liberal of the day,) and permitting him to enter the abbey of Maillezais, with the title and habit of a regular prebendary, and the right to hold benefices. Yet even here, and in these improved circumstances, was too much restraint for his free and erratic spirit. He soon quitted his new retreat, and, adopting the habit of a secular priest, wandered about, leading a sort of vagabond existence, sometimes practising medicine, sometimes discharging the functions of the priesthood. We find him about this time domiciled with the Bishop Geoffroi d'Estissac, who had been his fellow-student at La Baumette, and who had gathered about him a company of choice spirits at his chateau of Ligugé. Here our author found congenial society among many men of learning and letters, both ecclesiastics and men of the world. Among them was Jean Bouchet, procurer at Poictiers, author of the "Annales d'Aquitaine," whom Rabelais afterwards addressed, in verse, in his "Epistre de Maistre François Rabelais Homme de Grans Lettres Grécques et Latines a Jehan Bouchet, Traictant des imaginations qu'on peult avoir attendant la chose desirée." This is followed by the "Epistre responsive dudict Bouchet audict Rabelais. Contenant la description d'une belle demeure, et louanges de messieurs d'Estissac."* From these epistles and some passages in "Pantagruel," we learn how well Rabelais enjoyed the time spent in this delightful retreat. He speaks in the latter work of his walks by the "sweet river" of the Clain, where he doubtless conceived the plan of his immortal work, while reflecting upon the life among the Franciscans from which he had lately escaped.† While here he devoted himself with renewed delight to study, taking up various branches of natural science, but giving the preference to botany and medicine. He became one of the most profound and encyclopedic scholars of any time. "It is certain," says Colletet, "that

* *Vide Œuvres de Rabelais*, t. viii.
† *Gargantua*, c. xxiii.

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he was a very learned philologist, and a very profound philosopher, theologian, mathematician, physician, juriconsult, musician, arithmetician, geometrician, astronomer, and seems to have been also poet and painter. But as natural science was most to his taste, he resolved to apply himself entirely to that, and for that purpose he went immediately to Montpellier."*

There is a hiatus between his departure from Ligugé and his arrival at Montpellier, during which time we have no authentic account of him. According to Hubert Sassanæus,† Rabelais was at the universities of Paris and Bourges in the period from the year 1524 to 1530. The first record we have of him at Montpellier, is an entry preserved in the registry of the faculty of medicine, bearing date September 16, 1530. This is probably the date of his entry at that university. He followed the school exercises during the whole of the year 1531, and made a commentary upon the "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates and the "Art Parva" of Galen. He went to Lyons in the beginning of the year 1532, where he practised medicine. He was physician of the Hotêl Dieu, of Lyons, from November, 1532, to the end of February, 1534. He is also said here to have discharged the functions of a corrector of the press for a publishing house, and his name is found attached to a large number of publications upon medicine, archeology, jurisprudence, &c.; he also calculated an almanac for the meridian of Lyons.

He made two journeys to Rome, one at the commencement of the year 1534, the other in 1536–7, as physician to the French ambassador, the Cardinal du Bellay. This du Bellay, who had been one of his fellow students at Angers, was a man of learning and taste, and was very fond of having about him men of wit and intelligence like Rabelais.‡ Our author passed his time pleasantly

* *Histoire des Poëts François.* Par M. Colletet.

† *Alexandri Quantitates*, Paris, 1539.

‡ "Ce cardinal qui faisoit grand cas des hommes savants, et qui l'estoit extrêmement lui-même, ayant gousté la doctrine et la suffisance profonde de Rabelais, d'ailleurs l'ayant reconnu de belle humeur et d'un entretien capable de divertir la plus noir mélancholie, le retint tonjours auprès de sa personne en qualité de son médicine ordinaire et de toute sa famille, et l'eut tonjours depuit en grande considération."—Colletet, *Op. cit.*

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and profitably with the duties of his position, the Cardinal du Bellay and the bishop of Maillezais, in archeological and other scientific researches, and in the study of the Arabic tongue, which he is said to have acquired in six months. With the result of his studies and observations, he enriched the edition of the "Typographia Urbis Romæ," of Marliani, which appeared at Lyons in September, 1534. He also sent to France, and introduced the cultivation there of many vegetables and flowers, which he found in Italy, and which were before unknown in his own country.*

Concerning this portion of Rabelais' career, there are many apocryphal accounts. Some writers declare that he went to Rome as a penitent to obtain absolution from the pope for having quitted his convent. It is said, with some show of reason, that had he gone in the position of an attaché of the embassy, he would not have recommended himself to the alms of his superior, the bishop of Maillezais. In one of his letters to that prelate he writes that the last money he had remitted to him was almost gone, adding that he had put none of it to an ill use.† It is certain that Rabelais addressed to the pope a supplication‡ in which he acknowledges his errors, and asks of the sovereign pontiff full absolution, with permission to resume the Benedictine habit, and re-enter some monastery of the order, and also to practice medicine for charity, without any remuneration. This gives Colletet occasion to remark that although Rabelais appeared irreligious to the eyes of the world, "he never ceased to entertain pious sentiments and to defer, remarkably, to the holy constitutions of the catholic and orthodox church, which he ever recognized as his true mother."§ Another view of the case is, that Rabelais found his

* M. Drouyn de Lhuys,, *Discours prononcé à la société d'acclimatation*, Feb. 10th, 1860.

† Et si n'en ay rien despendu en meschanceté."—*Epist. de Rabelais*, p. 5.

‡ *Supplicatio pro Apostasia.*

§ "Ce que je remarque d'autant plus, que je prétends faire voire par là que Rabelais, tout libertin qu'il paraissoit aux yeux du monde, ne laissoit pas d'avoir de pieux sentiments et de déférer merveilleusement aux saintes constitutions de l'Eglise catholique et orthodox, qu'il reconnut tonjours pour sa véritable mère."—*Histoire des Poetes François.*

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anomalous position in the church very troublesome, and desired to have the censure removed that he might accept a benefice which he had in prospect.

Some of the anecdotes respecting this period of our author's life are worth repeating, though little credence can be accorded them. One is, that when the cardinal brought him, with the rest of his retinue, before the pope, that they might ask favors, Rabelais, when his turn came, only begged the favor that his holiness would excommunicate him. When asked why he made such a strange request, he replied, that in his part of France people were being burned for heresy, and he feared it might happen to him as it had to several of his friends; that in passing through Tarantese, being very cold, he and his companions stopped at the hut of an old woman who was unable to make a fagot burn, although she kindled her straw bed for the purpose, and finally declared in despair, that the fagot must have been excommunicated by the pope, therefore Rabelais wished excommunication so that fire could not burn him! This witty reason is said to have greatly pleased the holy father.*

It is further related, that on his return to France he found himself at Lyons entirely destitute of money, and with no means of getting to Paris. He took some ashes from the chimney in his hotel, and wrapped them up carefully in three several packages, labelling them respectively, "poison to kill the king," "poison to kill the queen," and "poison to kill the duke of Orleans." Passing into the street, he met a young merchant, to whom he said that he had a secret for making money. Taking him to his room, he mysteriously revealed his plan, showing him the powders, and enjoining secresy. The merchant promised his aid, but, like an honest man, went immediately to the judge, and disclosed the horrible plot. Rabelais was taken into custody, kept very carefully, and forwarded to Paris. Here he was brought before the king, to whom he gave the reason for his ruse, and swallowed one of his harmless powders in presence of the court. The affair was, of course, regarded as a capital joke, and redounded to Rabelais' credit.†

* *Vie de Rabelais*, prefixed to his works. † *Vie de Rabelais.*

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His degree of doctor of medicine was conferred upon him at Montpellier in May, 1537. The same year he annotated the "Prognostics" of Hippocrates, and the year following received a gold medal from the dean, Jean Schyron, for a course in anatomy.

We are also informed, that, for some disorder of the students, the university was deprived of a part of its privileges. Rabelais was sent to Paris to get them restored. He tried to gain admittance to the chancellor without success. He then put on his red gown and doctor's cap, and when the porter asked him what he wanted, he replied in Latin, which the other, not understanding, ran to fetch one who did; the latter addressing the doctor in Latin, was replied to in Greek; a Greek scholar being brought, the doctor addressed him in Hebrew; a Hebraist being found, Rabelais would speak nothing but Syriac. The learning of the house being exhausted, the circumstance was reported to the chancellor, who was about sitting to breakfast. He ordered the strange man to be brought before him, when Rabelais, assuming a grave and courteous demeanor, stated his business. The chancellor was so well pleased with the wit and learning of Rabelais, that he readily granted his request respecting the university, and invited him to breakfast, treating him with great consideration.*

Another story is, that Rabelais, learning that the faculty of Orleans, or Orange, conferred degrees for money, and without examination, sent the necessary fees, and asked a diploma for one Dr. Johannes Caballes. The degree being conferred, the wit let the learned faculty know that they had admitted into their fraternity his horse, or mule, Jack.†

Rabelais left Montpellier in 1538, and practised medicine in several cities of middle France. He received the revenues of the canonicate of Saint-Maury-Fossés, obtained for him by the Cardinal Bellay, though at the same time wearing the secular habit, and not submitting to the rules of the convent, as required by the terms of the pope's absolution. He was compelled to address to the pontiff a new supplication, which resulted in his position being more particularly

* *Partic. de la Vie de Rabelais.* † *Vie de Rabelais.*

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defined. He was required to put off his doctor's robe, resume that of a Benedictine, and be installed in his residence, which he described as a paradise of salubrity, agreeableness, serenity, convenience, delight, and all true pleasures of agriculture and rural life.* Near him was the splendid abode of his patron, Cardinal Bellay, where he was always welcome, and where he met choice spirits. He followed the same prelate to Rambouillet; here is still shown, in the park, the "grotto of Rabelais."† He also made excursions to many other places, and was well received by some of the most illustrious men of the time. He had a house at Chinon, whither he often went, and where he is believed to have composed his great work. The cure of Mendon was also bestowed upon him.‡ The conduct of Rabelais in his early years may not have been above reproach. Judging from his writings, we should not presume that he was always a saint. Yet he could not have been a notoriously bad man, as his enemies would have us believe, otherwise he would scarcely have obtained so many favors from the highest church dignitaries. On the other hand, there seems to be no reason to complain of the treatment which he received from the church, even if we admit that he was harshly dealt with by the Franciscans.

The two first books of his "Gargantua and Pantagruel" were printed anonymously at Lyons. Permission was finally obtained from Francis I. to print the third part of the work, of which Rabelais now acknowledged himself the author, under the pseudonym of "Alcofribas Nasier," an anagram of François Rabelais. There is a question as to whether the first "Gargantua" was the one now prefixed to "Pantagruel." An old romance has been discovered, bearing the title, "La Chronique Garganturine." The question arose as to whether this was the work published by Rabelais in 1532. M. Jacob decided that it was; and it is also believed

* *Epitre au Cardinal de Chatillon.* † Joanne, *Environs de Paris.*

‡ "Il desservit cotte cure. Du moins l'on ne voit, ni par tradition ni autrement, ancune plainte formée contre ses meurs ni contre sa conduitte pastorale. Au contraire, il y a bien de l' apparence que son trouppeau étoit trés-content de luy."—*Colletet. Op. Cit.*

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to be the one of which Rabelais speaks in his prologue to "Pantagruel," boasting that more copies of it were sold in one year than of the bible in nine, which would not be surprising, where the bible is not generally read by the laity.

If this was Rabelais' work, his original purpose seems to have been merely to ridicule the romances of chivalry. Gargantua is the son of Grondgousier and Galemelle, a giant and giantess created by the enchanter Merlin. He also creates a gigantic mare for them to ride upon. This is retained in the later work. The parents set out with the child for the court of Arthur, but die on their way, in Brittany. Gargantua is found in Paris, where he sits on one of the towers of Notre Dame, with his legs in the Seine, trying to hang the church bells to the collar of his horse, but is bribed by the Parisians to desist. This incident also is retained in the completed work. Gargantua is conducted by Merlin in a cloud to Britain, and assists Arthur, who has just been defeated by the Gogs and Magogs. He routs the enemy, and helps Arthur to defeat the Irish and Dutch. A giant twelve cubits high comes to the aid of the Gogs and Magogs, but Gargantua doubles him up, bags him like game, and carries him dead to the court of Arthur. He remains here *exactly* two hundred years, three months, and four days! He is finally carried off to fairy land by Melusina and Morganne la Faye.

The first three books of Gargantua and Pantagruel were received with delight by all, except by the Franciscans and those who were so unfortunate as to depend on them for their education. Three editions were printed at Lyons in one year. The Sorbonne endeavored to oppose its censures to the approbation of the king, but was compelled to desist. He was accused of all sorts of heresy and impropriety by those who judged themselves aggrieved by his satire, but was favored by the Benedictines and Augustinians as well as by bishops, archbishops, cardinals and princes. The death of Francis I., in 1547, gave the enemies of our author an opportunity to renew their persecutions, which they were too ready to improve. In this year he is found to have been a fugitive soliciting aid of

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the Cardinal Bellay, which the latter was unable to render, having lost his position by the death of Francis and the accession of Henry II. At this time appeared, from the pen of Puits-Herbault, a diatribe against Rabelais, which painted him in the blackest colors, and denounced his work as heretical. Rabelais was obliged to flee, and took refuge at Rome with his steadfast friend and fellow-unfortunate, Cardinal Bellay. There he published his "La Sciomachie et Festins faicts à Rome au Pelays de Monseigneur, Reverendissime Cardinal du Bellay, pour l'Heureuse Naissance de Monseigneur d'Orleans." It was not long before he was permitted to return to France, and by his address he soon succeeded in getting himself restored to favor, and in obtaining from Henry II. a new privilege for the printing of his works "in Greek, Latin, and Tuscan." This was signed by the king and Cardinal Chastillon, to the latter of whom he dedicated the fourth book of "Pantagruel," the dedication bearing date Jan. 28th, 1552.

This fourth book subjected the author to renewed persecutions, and, if possible, to severer censure. It is a noteworthy fact, that nineteen days previous to the date of the authority to publish this volume, Rabelais resigned the two benefices which he held, that of St. Christopher, of Jambet, in the diocese of Mans, and that of St. Martin, of Meudon, in the diocese of Paris.* By this act, it would seem that he thought it proper to withdraw from all connection with the church before publishing what was in many quarters judged to be questionable for an ecclesiastic.

Rabelais died in 1553, at Paris, probably, for the date and place of his death are both in dispute. The fifth book was published in 1553, and it is generally agreed that it was not issued until after his death. The following epigram makes this fact evident:

"Rabelais est il mort? Voici encore un livre!
Non, sa meilleure part a repris ses esprits,
Pour nous faire present de l'un de ses ecrits,
Qui le rend entre nous immortel et fait vivre."†

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* *Notice biographique to Œuvres de Rabelais.*

† This is signed *Nature Quite*, probably an anagram of Jean Turquet.

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It is related that Rabelais ended his life with a jest; that he left a sealed paper containing his last will and testament, which was comprised in these three articles: "I owe much; I have nothing; I give the rest to the poor."* Another reports him, on his death-bed, to have said, "Draw the curtain, the farce is over," and so died.† Many eulogistic epitaphs were written upon Rabelais, of which we give one in French and one in Latin. The first is by Baif:

"O Pluton, Rabelais recoi,
A fin que toi qui est le roi
De ceux qui ne rient jamais
Tu aies un rieur désormais."

"Sive tibi sit Cucianus alter,
Sive sit cynicus, quid hospes ad te?
Hâc unus Rabelæsius facetus,
Nugarum pater, artifexque mirus,
Quicquid is fuerint recumbit urnâ." ‡

His great work, "La Vie de Gargantua et Pantagruel," employed Rabelais only in his leisure hours; he declares that he spent no time with it, but what he usually allowed himself for eating. Many attempts have been made to decipher the "Pantagruelien symbols," as the author calls them.§ Thuanus, who lived soon after Rabelais, thought he had discovered the design of the satire, and the persons to whom it applied. He supposes Grondgousier to signify Louis XII., of France; Gargantua, Francis I.; Pantagruel, Henry II.; Panurge, the cardinal of Amboise, etc. Another interpreter makes Panurge, John de Montluc, bishop of Valence and Die; Pantagruel, Anthony de Bourbon, father of Henry IV.; Garganelle, Catherine de Foix, queen of Navarre; Badebec, Margaret of Valois, wife of Henry of Navarre; and Picrochole, Charles V., of Spain.‖ Esmangart believes he has surely discovered the key to the satire. He has no doubt that Grondgousier is Louis XII.; Gargantua, Francis I.; Pantagruel, Henry II.; and Garganelle, Badebec; Panurge, Frére Jean des Entaummures, respectively, Anne

* P. de St. Romuald, *Rel. Feuillant.* † Friegius, *Comment. in Orat. Cic.*, t. i.
‡ Pasquier, *Liv. des Tomb.* § L. I. *Prologue.*
‖ Motteaux, *Preface to Translation of Rabelais' Works.*

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of Bretagne, Claude of France, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, Cardinal Jean du Bellay.*

To the first book of "Gargantua" is prefixed an address, "Aux Lecteurs," in which we are assured that the work contains nothing harmful, if we but bring the proper spirit to its perusal.

"Amys lecteurs, qui ce livre lisez;
Depouillez vous de toute affection;
Et le lisant ne vous scandalisez;
Il ne contient mal, ne infection."†

We may take for the motto of the entire work what follows:

"Mieulx est de ris que de larmes escripre;
Pour ce que rire est le propre de l'homme."

In the prologue the author addresses himself to the "most illustrious drinkers," etc., and proceeds to give a merry description of Socrates. The French of Rabelais is so obscure that we feel it necessary to give our extracts generally in an English dress:

"Just such another thing was Socrates; for, viewing his outside, and judging him by his external appearance, you would not have given the peel of an onion for him, so deformed was he in body and ridiculous in carriage; a pointed nose, the look of a bull, and the countenance of an idiot; he was simple in manners, boorish in dress, poor in purse, unfortunate with women, unfit for all public offices, always laughing, drinking and re-drinking with every one, with continual jeering always concealing his divine knowledge."‡

The account of the education of Gargantua is intended as a serious dissertation upon that subject by the author. His educational system is worthy of the praise which it

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* *Avertissement, à Songes Drolatiques de Pantagruel*, Œuvres de Rabel., t. ix.

† "Good friends, my readers, who peruse this book,
Be not offended whilst on it you look;
Denude yourselves of all depraved affection,
For it contains no badness nor infection."
Urquhart's trans.

‡ "Tel disoit estre Socrates; par se que, le voyans au dehors, et l'estimans par l'exteriore apparence, n'en eussiez donné ung conpeau d'oignon, tant laid il estoit de corps, et ridicule en son maintien, le nez poinctu, le reguard

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has lately received from Michelet.* His own experiences and character fitted him to speak on this subject. An ardent desire for learning in his youth was but imperfectly encouraged by those into whose hands he had the misfortune to fall. He would deal with students as he had wished to be dealt by in his early years. He had a bitter hatred of tyranny in all its forms, and regarded it as especially detestable when applied in the direction of the immature mind. He did a great work for education. He was indeed one of the first to inaugurate the new evangel of kindness and reasonableness in mental training. His work set the world to thinking upon this topic, and more seriously than it is probable it had ever thought before. The germ of almost all the reforms in our systems for the training of youth are to be found in Rabelais.

He generally keeps up the rollicking and extravagant style of the narrative. With a great deal of wit and raillery are combined some valuable lessons, though the serious reader is disposed to think that there is a very small quantity of bread to an intolerable deal of sack:

"Ponocrates showed him that he ought not to eat so soon after rising from his bed unless he preferred some exercise beforehand. Gargantua answered, 'What! have I not sufficiently well exercised myself? I have wallowed and rolled myself six or seven times in my bed before I rose. Is not that enough?'"

"As for his drinking, he had neither end nor rule. For he was wont to say that the limits and bounds of drinking were, when the cork of the shoes of him that drinketh swelleth up half a foot high."†

This first book has an interpretation somewhat as follows: The war of the Fouaces, made under a ridiculous and tyrannical pretext by Picrochole against Grandgousier, and which the latter, on account of age and infirmities, left to his son to finish, is the first feat of arms of Gargantua. This is said to refer to the usurpation of the Millanais made

d' ung taureau, le visage d' ung fol, simple en meurs, rusticq en vestimens, pavore de fortune, infortuné en femmes, inepte a tons offices de la republique, tousjours, riant, tousjours beuvant d' aultant a ung chascun, tousjours se guabelant, tousjours dissimulant son divin scavois." L. i., *Prologue.*

* *Nos. Fils.*

† A boyre n' avoit point fin ni canon. Car il disoyt que les metes et bornes de boyre estoyent quand, la personne beuvant, le liege de ses pantouphles enfloyt en hault d'ung demy pied." L. i., c. xxi.

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by Maximilian Sforce of the inheritance of Louis XII. The king, yielding to age and infirmities, left it to Francis I. to revenge this outrage, and the latter, imm diately upon assuming the throne, signalized his arms by retaking that country. Like Picrochole, Maximilian Sforce fell into the hands of his conqueror, and received most ignominious treatment.*

Book ii. introduces Panurge, who becomes the real hero of the work. He is said to be the cardinal of Lorraine, a great favorite of Henry II. He is described in this and the succeeding books as wanton, superstitious, and vindictive, which, it is said, was Rabelais' view of the character of the cardinal, who, it seems, had once offended him. The taste of Henry II.—Pantagruel—for astrology, is well ridiculed. The third book also contains an account of the great provision amassed for the voyage to Lanternland. This refers to the persecutions of the heretics and nonconformists in the reign of Henry, and the use made of hemp for the purpose. Book iv. gives an account of the embarkation of Pantagruel and his companions for Lanternland, a description of the voyage, and the various places visited on the way. This symbolizes the accession of Henry II. to the throne, and the several incidents of his reign. This is a most ingenious representation of the morals and manners of the day, and many distinguished personages are covertly satirized. The giant Brinquenarilles of this book is the emperor Charles V. The islands of Papefigues and Papimanes represent bigotry and hypocrisy. The isle Sonnante, in the fifth book, is the church. The author also exhibits the rapacity and barbarity of the tribunals of justice, and holds them up to public execration. He also shows up charlatanism, astrology, and alchemy.† The poor Franciscans get an especial raking in this book. The voyagers, after traversing the satin country, reach the port of Lanternland, where they find the oracle of the holy bottle.

The irregular form of the narrative and its extravagant

* *Esmangart Avertissement*, Œuvres de Rabel., t. xi. † Esmangart

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character furnish the author opportunities to introduce multitudinous events and characters, for the purpose of ridiculing the follies of the day. The most of them are believed to conform to history, yet he uses the privilege of the romancer in altering incidents to suit his purposes. Had it been artistically possible, it was not always safe to be too exact. Rabelais satirized living personages, and had but too much reason to fear their resentment, as the event proved. When he wished to tell an unpalatable truth he had only to transport himself into an imaginary world without danger of shocking received notions.*

The satire of Rabelais is never malicious. He takes no pleasure in contemplating the worst side of human nature, which is forced upon his observation. He finds plenty of errors in church and state, and is roused to a lofty scorn by the consideration of so much meanness and so many shams—noble, hypocrite, and profligate are convertible terms with him. Yet he is not misanthropic. He considers that human nature is weak, and the best way to cure mankind of their follies is to show them that they are ridiculous. There is wisdom as well as charity in this. To condemn severely and uncharitably inspires hatred and resentment. The acrid reformer who denounces others, often merits the punishment which is his portion. He has no right to assume that he is privileged to launch the divine thunderbolts. If he does so, let him beware of the rebound. The history of Rabelais' time illustrates this. The Huguenots and other serious reformers were destroyed by sword and fire, while the good-humored satirist was the pet of princes and ecclesiastics. Rabelais was one of the greatest reformers of his day. He told his severest truths palatably, and thus insured their reception. Some of the greatest minds of succeeding times have heartily commended him. Sir Wm. Temple says: "The great wits of the moderns have been, in my opinion, and in their several kinds, of the French, Rabelais, and Montaigne. Rabelais seems to have been the father of the ridicule, a man of excellent and universal learning, as well as wit." †

* Guizot, *Annales d'Education.* † *Miscellanea*, p. 11.

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The Abbe Costar sums up his qualities thus excellently:

"Rabelais est autant à la mode qu'il fut jamais. Les railleries sont agreeables d'un agrément qui ne finera point tant qu'il y aura sur la terre d'habiles rieurs. Des modes et les habillements changeront toûjours, mais non pas celles des bons contes et des bons mots qui se soustiennent d'eux mesmes, et qui sont en effet de bonnes choses."*

Besides the works we have mentioned, Rabelais left several Latin and French epistles: the "Prognostication Pantagrueline, La Chresme Philosophicale des Questions Encyclopediques de Pantagruel, Deux Epitres à Deux Vieilles de Different Meurs," in verse, etc. The "Chresme Philosophicale" is a series of comical questions in ridicule of philosophical pedantry.†

The two versified epistles to "Deux Vieilles" furnish a fine contrast. Thus the first:

"Vieille edentee, infame et malheureuse,
Vieille sans grace, aux vertus rigoreuse,
Vieille en qui gist trahison et querelle;
Vieille truande, inicque macquerelle;
Vieille qui vends les pucelles d'honneur,
Femmes aussy en crime et deshonneur."

And the second a beautiful picture:

"Vieille d'honneur dont la grace et la forme
A la beaulté des jeunes se conforme.
* * * *
Vieille qui as Jesus Christ imprimé
En ton cerveau (tout vice supprimé);
Vieille traictable en vertu accomplié,
Vieille toujours de charité remplié," etc.‡

If at one period of his life in conflict with the dignitaries of the church, Rabelais seems at length to have become fully reconciled to her, and to have died in her bosom. Like Erasmus, though with a somewhat different spirit, Rabelais

* *Apologie à M. Menage.*

† *Utrum* une idée platonicque voltigeant dextrement sous l'orifice du chaos pourroyt chasses les escadrous des atomes democraticques."—*Vide, Plutarch*, l ii., c. 1 et 111, *of the opinions of the Philosophers.*

Utrum, tant seullement par le long poil donné, l'ourse metamorphose, ayant le derriere tondu a la bougresque pour faire une barbute a Triton, pourroyt estre gardienne du pole arctique." That is, in brief, whether the female bear, transformed and curtailed, can be the guardian of the North Pole.

‡ *Œuvres*, t. viii.

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contended vigorously with the prevalent follies and vices of ecclesiastics, and when he met with opposition, was only impelled to wage still fiercer warfare; but when driven to consider an entire separation from the church, he shrunk from it with terror. "It is certain," says Colletet, "that toward the end of his days, looking within himself, recognizing his sins, and having recourse to the infinite mercy of the Deity, he restored his spirit to the condition of a faithful christian. Thus all the absurd stories that have been told concerning him, and all the licentious words which have been attributed to him, are only vain chimeras and reprehensible falsehoods invented at pleasure to render him odious in the eyes of the world."* Another author says, "I have spoken of François Rabelais in my *Bibliothèque*, following the general voice, and what we are able to judge from his works; but his end requires that he be judged by a different standard than the common talk. He was touched by repentance, for the common belief, sought absolution of the pope for his apostasy and irregularity, as though he were guilty."† This speaks well for the heart of Rabelais, though many would doubtless like him more had he gone to the length of most bitter opposition and an entire separation from the church. We confess that our protestantism is not of that sort. We prefer to contemplate Rabelais as laughing at folly and vice, but never disposed to make a serious matter of it, only making those appear ridiculous who would do so. A life of dogmatic contention did not suit the temper of his mind. The martyr's crown would not have sat well upon that laughing brow. We like him as he was, and would not have had him different unless we could purify him somewhat. He took the world exactly as he found it, and depicted it accordingly, with the hope of making it better.

The obscenity of Rabelais' work is its chief fault. Yet we must remember the time in which, and the manners of the people, for whom, he wrote. It was delicate for the age. Read by the light of our more fastidious epoch, it is shockingly gross. The cotemporaries of Rabelais thought it de-

* *Histoire des Poetés Francçis.* † Antoine du Verdier, *Prosopographie*

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lightful, and not particularly exceptionable. Tastes change rapidly, and even during an individual lifetime it is found that what is agreeable at one period is intolerable at another. Sir Walter Scott relates an incident in point. He was applied to by an estimable old lady for the loan of a book which had charmed her in youth. Scott sent it to her, but warned her that the tastes of the time had so changed, and she had, doubtless, changed with them, that she would, probably, find the work shocking. It was even so, and she sent it back, saying that she could not read it, although in youth she had found it delightful, and did not then dream of its being improper.

It is a pity that Rabelais was ever translated into English, as has been but too faithfully done by Urquhart and Matteux. The English language is equal to any degree of grossness of expression, and the work of Rabelais, as rendered, taxed it to the utmost. No one ought to read the book who is not equal to the task of understanding it in its obscure French garb. Those who can do so will be likely to read it from a scholarly point of view, and not to satisfy a prurient curiosity. It is difficult to read the work in the original. No one will do so who has not a loftier end in view than mere amusement or the gratification of a voluptuous craving. Yet, we believe there is really nothing immoral in Rabelais, with all his grossness. He uses the plainest language, but, like Shakspeare, never panders to pruriency or vice. Foul things he paints with vile colors, and sensuality is never represented in an attractive garb. True religion is always spoken of with reverence. The buffoonery of the work has led some to believe and to assert that Rabelais was a mere scoffer at all that is sacred. Some persons can see nothing but impiety in jocularity, especially if it in any way impinges upon their religious prejudices. La Harpe, who is not disposed to be very favorable to Rabelais, yet says of him: "Au fond, il a, parmis beaucoup de fatras et d'ordures, des traits et même des morceaux pleins d'une verve satirique, originale et piquante; et, apres tout, on ne saurait croire qu'un auteur que La Fontaine lisais sans cesse,

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et dont il a souvent profité, n'ait été qu'un fou vulgaire."*

The disposition of Rabelais was not contentious. He was a scholar, a man of letters, a wit, and a humorist. For religious controversial warfare he had, evidently, little taste, and would not have appeared in it to advantage. His mind required scholarly ease and quiet for its best development and exercise. The catholic church furnished him with the means of education, a secure asylum, and such advantages during his whole career as the student and man of letters would desire. Whether or not the church merited his gratitude for early favors, when she became to him a mother, he did well to cling to her. True, she was vulnerable, and he could and did deal her many severe thrusts, so that, from this point of view, the association between them would seem to have been altogether to his advantage. For a moment, when considering the case in this aspect, we feel like charging the satirist with drawing nourishment from the maternal breast to acquire strength with which to pierce it with the shafts of his wit. We like Rabelais for presenting his unpleasing truths in the least offensive manner that was practicable to make his strictures effective. We, by no means, blame him that he found much in the church of his fathers that he believed worthy of his admiration, and that he adhered to the communion that included so many of his esteemed friends and patrons.†

On the subject of drinking, Rabelais is excellent, convivial,

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*_Lycée_, t. v., p. 51.

† The catholic church did much for letters in the darkest ages of the world. Let us overcome our prejudices sufficiently to frankly acknowledge the fact. For our own part, we extend our protestantism and protest against narrowness and illiberality of every description. Would that we had such opportunities now for the cultivation of learning and literature as were furnished by the catholic church in the middle ages! These "money-making republics," as Leigh Hunt calls them, are by no means favorable to such culture. Here, in America, a man adopts a literary career at his peril—indeed with a positive assurance that he must suffer much with only those compensations furnished by his own spirit, which is rewarded by the satisfaction it feels in being true to itself. Neither church nor state favors him—if, indeed, we can be really said to have either. The shopkeepers and speculators who, with us, are prince and people, and who usually buy what religion we have, look upon the artist and the man of

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and philosophical authority. He must have been the ideal of a boon companion. We can imagine him, with a select coterie of friends like minded, in some obscure apartment of his convent, escaped from the eye of the superior, and the observation of those who would have been scandalized by such conduct, engaged in a merry drinking-bout, and giving loose rein to his astonishing powers of wit and raillery. Such a picture and dissertation as the following has in it the very spirit of the bottle:

"Then did they fall upon the chat of victuals, and some belly furniture to be snatched at in the same place, which purpose was no sooner mentioned but forthwith began flagons to go, gammons to trot, goblets to fly, great bowls to ting, glasses to ring. . . . You have catched a cold, gammer? Yea, forsooth, sir. By the belly of Saint Buff, let us talk of our drink. I never drink but at my hours, like the pope's mule. And I never drink but in my breviary, like a fair father guardian. Which was first, thirst or drinking? Thirst, for who in the time of innocence would have drunk without being athirst? Nay, sir, it was drinking; for *privatio presupponit habitum.* I am learned, you see. *Foecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?* We poor innocents drink but too much without thirst. Not I, truly, who am a sinner, for I never drink without thirst either present or future. To prevent it, as you know, I drink for the thirst to come; I drink eternally. There is to me an eternity of drinking, and a drinking of eternity. Let us sing; let us drink; and tune up our roundelays. . . . Drink everlastingly, and you will never die. If I do not drink I am a dry thing; you see me a dead man. My soul flies off into some marsh. In a dry place the soul cannot dwell."*

He is a jolly companion. A richer vein of unrestrained,

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letters as a fool. Perhaps they are right—at least they are true to the light within them, which is only the glitter of gold. Something like the catholic convents of the middle ages, giving opportunities for culture, and protecting the retiring student and thinker from the turbulent and degrading selfishness of the universal scramble for money, would be a blessing which would react to the benefit of all classes.

* Puis entrarent en propos de reciner on propre lien. Lor flaccous d'aller, jambous de trotter, goubeletz de voler, breusses de tintes. . . . Vous estes morfondue m'amye? Voyre, Ventre sainct Quenct, parlons de boyre. Je ne boy que a mes heures, comme la mule du pape. Je ne boy qu'en mon breviaire, comme ung beau pere guardian. Qui feut premier, soif ou beuvage? Soif: car qui est beuve sans soif durant le temps d'innocence? Beuvage; car *privatio presupponit habitum.* Je suys clerc: *Foecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?*

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frolicsome humor, and deviltry the world has never seen. Then, it is a satisfaction to perceive that there is a stratum of serious meaning beneath it all. One loves to believe in his matchless boon-companion as a philanthropic reformer. That gives a point to his questionable jokes, which conscience is fain to approve. He is rough and uncouth, but all he says has moral depth. Is he really pious at heart? We hope so, and will charitably suppose that he is. We wish that he were not so nasty. Well, it is only his way, and he is surely honest. Let us yield ourselves for the time to his magnetism, for we are confident he does not mean to harm us. He only wishes to convince us what snobbish fools we are in admiring what is contemptible. We should try to be charitable with Rabelais, for his *grossièretés*. We are assured that he was a true man, and that he would be refined if he could. We, therefore, not only pardon; we heartily commisserate him. Looking more closely, we cordially admire him. The man who, in such circumstances, could incline the scale of propensity in favor of integrity and justice deserves our approval. Rabelais did more, and merits our reverence. He had a lofty scorn of vice and hypocrisy, and dealt them blows from which they will never recover while the world endures. If he was ever unjust, he erred on the side of excessive honesty.

Rabelais has had numberless imitators, some of whom have acquired fame, as Swift, Sterne, Butler, and Jean Paul. None of the pupils, however, have nearly approached the great master. Would that our age and country might produce a Rabelais! Our politics, our manners, our social customs—shall we say also our religion?—furnish abundant material for such a master of ridicule. He would be to us a teacher, a pleasing reformer, a leader-up of an age of refinement and truth. He who helps the world to perceive its falsities, to get rid of its shams, deserves the blessing of all ages.

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ART. II.—1. *Social Statics.* By ROBERT SPENCER. London, 1851.
2. *Future Civil Policy of America.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL. D. New York, 1865.

WHETHER it can be properly said that nations have a course of existence like that of an individual man, comprising the successive periods of human life and ending in death, cannot be answered without greater precision of ideas than we commonly find in the discussion of the proposition. If it be meant that there is a development from an embryonic state—a growth according to an inherent germinal power, that, by its very nature, has a pre-determined result, and from maturity, by a like definite law, a decline to final extinction, it is obvious that such terms have no literal application to ethnical life—nor, in fact, is there sufficient analogy to furnish the basis of any substantial argument in respect to the growth and decline of nations.

It is, nevertheless, true, that there is individuality of nations, and, as to the greater number that have existed, that there has been a period of growth and decline. But when we speak of extinction it becomes necessary to fix definitely what is meant by nation, in order to have a consistent idea of what constitutes its extinction. A people may continue to exist when its government has been subverted and foreign domination imposed. In private life old usages may still prevail. Vices incident to a subject condition must, however, be developed. The interior, or political constituency, by which it has been known to the world, may be destroyed, but a people may be under foreign rule a considerable time without losing altogether their intrinsic national spirit, and while that remains there is a possibility of restoration—or, at least, of melioration of the dominant power ultimating in the fusion of the foreign and native races.

The Athenian nationality, it is common to say, was extinguished by the successive Macedonian and Roman conquests. The people, however, still remained—intermingled, it is true, with aliens. The descendants of those who lived in the

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heroic period of the republic were still there, but degenerated to the level of an ignoble commonalty, composed largely of a foreign and a servile element.* Even under the third conquest by the Turks a people occupied Athens, which were descended from this mixed ancestry, and, therefore, in part, from the citizens of an ancient period, yet this people were not ethnically the same; the individualism, or corporate personality, called a nation, was no longer extant; nor did there remain any intrinsic power of restoration to its former condition. Though in physical contour and private manners there is some resemblance to the ancient Athenians, it is impossible that with the environment of the modern kingdom of Greece there can be a reproduction of the nationality that once existed.

On the other hand, we have the Anglo-Saxons, a precedent of a partial restoration after a long subjection. In the reign of Edward III. of England, more than two hundred years after the Norman conquest, the language and usages of the conquered people, which had been rigorously proscribed by the dominant power, had acquired ascendancy, and thenceforth may be considered national, and the subject race, with considerable intermixture and improvement, became the English nation.

It is rare, indeed, if not unprecedented, that a people, after losing their distinctive government by usurpation or by conquest, have been resuscitated to their former state. The record of history is decisive against such resuscitation in the same form of government and national character. Generally there has been an antecedent transition or initiative change of condition which has prepared the way for the final breaking up, and this finality is but the culmination or result of causes that had been long operating, though, perhaps, not observed. The usurpation by Julius Cæsar was

* Tacitus designates the people of Athens as an intermixture from all nations: "Non Athenienses tot cladibus extinctos, sed colluviem omnium nationum." (*Ann.*, 2, 55.) Merivale supposes that after the taking of the city by Sylla it was wholly re-peopled, (*His.*, v. 4, 355). but there certainly was not an entire extinction of the inhabitants. Women and children must have remained in considerable proportion, and some part of the adult population, though small. It is a remarkable fact that through all these and subsequent changes the language has been maintained so near to what it was in the classic age.

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the sequence of a changed character of the people. At no subsequent time was there a possibility of reinstating the ancient form of government. The despotism then commenced became thereafter more and more oppressive, but the final relief came only by the entire dissolution of the imperial regime—the abandonment of old forms of civil life, and even of the language in which the laws had been expressed, and the abrogation of new usages and languages derived from foreign tribes, at first conquerors, and then gradually intermingled with the indigenous population. From such disintegration of the old and germination of new social and political relations came the nationalities now existing in Europe.

Asiatic nations have generally exhibited little inherent principle of reorganization. They have been many times conquered, but, with one remarkable exception in modern history, it has been a mere change of dynasties. The Arabian conquest introduced a new religion and new ideas. The Arabic language was largely disseminated, because the vernacular in some of the subject countries, as Syria, Egypt, and the Barbary states, and in all was, and is now, the language of religion. As it is forbidden to translate the Koran, wherever Mohammedanism has been introduced, the Arabic must be the language of religious services, and this applies to China and Hindostan as well as to those regions which were once ruled by the Caliphs.* Military enterprise was maintained a considerable time after the establishment of the Arabian empire; useful science was cultivated; but the government was substantially like what had before

* The large extension of the Arabic language is getting to be recognized as a fact of momentous consequence as bearing upon the future destiny of Asiatic nations. When christianity was first promulgated the general use of the Greek language was a providential facility to the preaching of the gospel through the whole empire; so now christian missionaries find it an incalculable aid that, by the use of the Arabic, they can impart the knowledge of the scriptures to a considerable population in every country from China to Morocco. Hence it has become a great object not only to publish the scriptures in that language, but to prepare native teachers and preachers conversant therewith. The seminary at Mount Lebanon, where translations are being made—not only of the bible, but of other religious writings, and where natives of Syria are educated, is, therefore, deemed the most important of the missionary stations, and the agency second only to the office of the church at Antioch in the days of the apostles.

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existed, being that which was adapted to the habit of the conquered people, viz., a despotism. The Turkish dynasty, which succeeded the Saracen, has not differed much in its principle of administration from that of the Greek empire, until recently, since there has been intervention by European powers. The present aspect of things, though changed, is not, however, that of development from a Turkish origin, but of restraint and dictation, by other potentates claiming respectively the protectorate of classes of citizens with whom they have affinity by religious faith, or asserting the rights of commercial inter-communication, as the Russians, in behalf of those holding the Greek form of religion, France for Roman catholics, Great Britain for protestants, and all of them, as well as other powers, for the admission of intercourse upon principles recognized by civilized nations.*

Persia has exhibited a partial renovation; it has retained its language, and many usages which prevailed at a remote period, notwithstanding successive subjugations by Arabs, Turks, and Mongols. North Africa has been divided up into independent sovereignties, in which Arabian habits and language predominate, but with some intermixture of barbarian customs of great antiquity, viz., such as are imputed to the Berbers of the age of the Ottoman conquests. These customs, however, instead of being transmitted by the subject race, have, probably, been reproduced by a remnant of the ancient inhabitants, who had retired before the Romans into an inaccessible mountain region, but returned when the Arabs, with whom they had more affinity, had overrun the country. Under the modern governments

* It cannot be predicted, with any certainty, what the result will be of the innovations which are now in progress in the Turkish government. It is questionable whether the toleration to a certain extent of other religions than the Mohammedan and the coerced recognition of the rights of foreign residents, who have come in the pursuit of trade or upon philanthropic errands, will have any effect in renovating the government itself or the ruling class of the people. We may, more probably, expect disintegration of the existing fabric and new combinations of the population under other political relations.

The mohammedan faith is doomed to subversion as the ruling form of religion throughout the empire; the Turkish language will, it may be presumed, become a dialect of a single class, while other languages will become ascendant in proportion to the intelligence and progressive capacity of the classes by whom respectively spoken, among which, according to present indications, the Armenian will become predominant.

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there is substantially an Arab nationality; there has been no resuscitation of the conquered race—that has perished or been incorporated with the Arab stock.*

But without multiplying illustrations, it may be deduced from all past experience, that a nation which has gone through the periods of growth and decline, and has ceased to have the vigor requisite for an administration of government, having co-aptation to their original and peculiar traits, has become more or less effete. The nationality may cease, though this process should not be total—that is to say, although some vitality may still remain; but if not adequate to maintain an independent government appropriate to the idiosyncrasis of the people, it must be resolved into inertia of the subjects and despotism of the rulers. When this takes place, there can be no renovation of the primitive nationality nor the development of a new one without a recombination with exotic materials, which it may take centuries to accomplish.

An important element has been recently introduced into the consideration of ethnical life, which is of much consequence in respect to probable duration, viz., that national organism is proportioned in strength and durability to its capacity of adapting itself to, or counteracting changes in its environment. This principle is suggested by analogy to the law of individual human life as shown by Herbert Spencer. "The life, he says, will be short or long, low or high, according to the extent to which changes in the environment are met by corresponding changes in the organism."† This, as subsequently illustrated, may be more intelligibly expressed as

* Algeria, which has to some extent been Europeanized since its subjection to the French, still retains an aboriginal character among the mass of the people. The population consists of about 200,000 Europeans, about the same number of Moors, who reside chiefly in the towns, and about two and a half millions of a native race, supposed to be mainly descended from the ancient Berbers, inhabiting that region in the time of Masinissa and Jugurtha, now called Kabyles. They are described as being rather of the European than of the Arab type, industrious, frugal, monogamist, the wife being the equal, not the slave, of the husband. Of this population it is estimated that about 500,000 may be of Arab descent.—*North British Review*, July, 1868, Art. "France in Europe and Africa."

In other parts of North Africa the aboriginal proportion is, doubtless, still larger than in Algeria.

† *Principles of Psychology.* By Herbert Spencer. Part 3, c. 5.

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the power of adapting itself to all the influences of co-existences and sequences. In the lowest developments of life only the most prevalent of these co-existences and sequences have any simultaneous changes corresponding to them in the organism. The environment that has influence upon the organism becomes more extended as it becomes more appreciable by the functions of the organism; and in proportion to the extent thereof, and to the correspondence of the organism therewith, will be the complexity and length of life. Death occurs in natural course, because the integrating and disintegrating processes have fallen out of proportion.

The proposition is not entirely accurate in making the length of life in proportion to the number of such correspondences. That activity and intensity will be promoted thereby is obvious, and this is, in fact, the true measure of life; how much has been thought or done, and not what length of time has been occupied in the process. But it is difficult to see how the calling up of this activity by swiftly succeeding appliances, although the interior functions should be fully adequate to meet them, can prolong life. It multiplies the subjects of human thought and interest, and, therefore, adds to the aggregate of happiness, but not to the extent of life as measured by the lapse of time.

Pursuing the analogy of the individual to national life, it may be said that the development of power and capacity to resist sudden and violent infraction, will be according to the intrinsic adaptation of a nation to meet all the influences by which it is surrounded. Thus a formidable military power in immediate neighborhood demands a martial habit for protection; superior industry of one people is calculated to abstract the wealth of another; that is one gains by production, the other is impoverished by non-production. The chief source of revolution has been by exterior force; but, with advancing civilization, it is evident that we are to look henceforth more at the interior influences affecting national well-being. It is not likely that we shall have a renewal of destructive wars merely for the extension of empire—or, rather, for the establishing of a world-wide empire, which has been the *ignus fatuus* that has led conquerors into a course

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of insatiable aggression. It may be hoped that we are approaching a state of things when there shall be no violent disruption of nations by lawless brute force, and that, in general, there shall be a regular fulfillment of what a nation is capacitated to accomplish, corresponding somewhat with that of individual life. But as in the individual, so in the nation, there are seeds of disease which, under certain conditions, may be developed, and the dangers now to be guarded against are chiefly those which arise from a latent virus in the organism, or defect in some of the functions of life.

A theory has been maintained that national existence is the development of an *idea*— that there is some predominating thought or aspiration which gives energy and direction to the forces inherent in a people. There is a supposed analogy to individual life. A man accomplishes only what he pursues with systematic perseverance, in accordance with his natural endowment. Ordinarily he will seek what he is fitted for by peculiar faculty or concurrent advantages—if he does not, failure will be the consequence. So it is argued a nation may have fitness for war, or for trade, or arts in a multiform variety of modifications, or by climate and situs have superior facilities for success in certain pursuits. The general tendency of individuals to use such natural advantages, becomes a national character. Success is not absolutely certain. There may be competition with more powerful rivals—war may overwhelm a nation devoted to peaceful employment. But this is only another analogy of the nation to an individual, for the latter is in like manner liable to the pressure of competing enterprize, to unforseen casualty, to sudden and inevitable disaster, to a violent and premature death.

Cousin's exposition of a nation representing an idea, is substantially that the nation, like an individual, has a certain part to perform in the world. The inquiry is "why a nation has come into the world? what it has there to do? what end it pursues? what idea it represents? If the nation does not represent an idea its existence is simply unintelligible; the events by which it develops itself having no common end can have no common measure. . . . In order to

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comprehend the different events which take place we must refer them to some common idea. . . . The events of which the life of a nation is composed, aspire to and end in the complete representation of this idea."* Dr. Draper groups together facts showing the force of ideas at certain epochs, or as affecting an entire race under local influences, as climate and geographical position ;† but his illustrations are exceptional, and by no means apply to the great aggregate of nations. The Arabian race, as energized into the Saracen, was in the first instance acted upon by the creed of Mohammed ; but the subsequent advancement in civilization grew out of rapid contact with other nations, and the acquisition of knowledge which had till then been hidden from them. The Jews constitute a solitary example of a nation, or rather a race, mantaining a character impressed by peculiar thought and expectation under all diversities of condition. But in general if may be said of nations as of individuals, that the far greater number live without aim, the mere creatures of physical circumstances, and become extinct or transfused into other forms of nationality, leaving no permanent trace of their existence.

There is, however, some force in the hypothesis that conflicting ideas give rise to collisions of nations, and therefore to enterprize. In this view war is not, what has been supposed, altogether an evil. "The hypothesis of perpetual peace," says Cousin, "is a hypothesis of absolute immobility. . . A nation is progressive only in the condition of war. . . War is nothing but the bloody exchange of ideas. . . In great battles men are not the objects of contention but causes—the opposing spirits of an epoch."

We have stated the theory, not in the precise terms used by the authors above referred to, but it is reducible to the proposition as we have paraphrased it, or is too shadowy to furnish the basis of argument. It will be obvious that the analogy fails in one important particular. The individual dies, but the nation, considered as an aggregation of individuals,

* *History of Philosophy*, v. i., p. 175.

† *Future Civil Policy of America*, c. iii.

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has no decease, except in the rare cases of utter extermination by war. There is a perpetuity by continual succession or renewal of the component individualities of a people. As Burke said of the great incorporation of the entire human family: "The whole is never at one time old, or middle-aged or young, but in a condition of unchanging constancy moves on through the varied tenor of perpetual decay, renovation, and progression." The most important analogy involved in the comparison is, that all substantial growth of a nation must be as that of an individual, from intrinsic elements; like the germination of a plant from the seed, the accretion of a tree by the assimilating process going on within it from root to leaf, so the evolution in the mature man of the qualities latent in the embryo. Institutions transplanted from one country to another are like the products of forced vegetation which require the continuance of artificial heat. A colony may carry with them the laws and usages of the mother country, and have, to a certain extent, an increment of strength, provided there is liberty of change at their own election as circumstances may make expedient; but it is otherwise when an arbitrary domination is retained by the *parens patriæ*. The British colonies in North America, particularly those which became afterwards independent, had a vigor of growth which was the natural sequence of the political liberty and personal rights which they were permitted to enjoy, limited though they were in comparison with what are now possessed. The Spanish colonies in Mexico and South America never advanced in national character, for the reason that they remained subject to a government in which they were unrepresented, and when successively those colonies threw off this foreign rule during the Napoleonic war in Spain, it has been found that they have not the elements of self-government so as to insure permanent tranquility and future growth. Still more marked has been the failure of success when a conquering nation, even the superior in civilization, has imposed its laws and customs upon the vanquished people. The Celts that were subdued by the Romans, settled into a degeneracy unmarked by recuperative

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force, or further original development.* The Anglo-Saxons resisted the attempt of the Normans to subvert their previously existing laws, and succeeded in maintaining them in a modified form; and there has been wrought out a peculiar system of civil rights and legal forms adapted to the mixed character of the people, which has been, and still is, in progress of improvement.

Government and laws may be changed by superior force; religion, language, diet, and the like, are adhered to with greater tenacity, and may outlast dynasties and successive conquests. This is best illustrated in the Chinese and Hindu races. Hindostan has been under the rule of various conquerors from a remote period, but its ancient religion and social practices still prevail among the people. Mohammedanism has never obtained preponderance. Buddhism, which was more congenial to the contemplative minds of the people, has had, and still retains an influence upon theological opinions, but was never able to break up the brahminical prescription of castes, self-immolation of widows, and other peculiarities. China has been several times conquered by Tartar races, and is now subject to Man-tchou rulers, but the administration of the government has remained substantially unchanged, and so also the customs of the people, with only one remarkable exception, viz., the compulsory shaving of the head, leaving a tail in the Tartar fashion.† In fact the distinctive character of the Chinese is a venera-

* It is a question, however, whether it was not a *Celtic* rather than a *Latin* stock which was existing in the Western provinces of the empire at the time of the conquest by German tribes—that is to say, whether the character of the people has been Latinized. The Latin was not the language of the common people. It had been introduced in public business, it was the language of the laws; but the administration of the laws, the proceedings in courts, etc., may have been in the vulgar dialect. It was also the language of literature; and there were Roman emigrants in all parts of the empire who would, of course, keep up the use of their native tongue among themselves; but that the original dialects and customs of the Celts were maintained, to some extent, is inferrible from the fact that the remnant of the Britons who were left in Wales were Celtic, not Roman in character—so also those who emigrated to Brittany, in France.

† An attempt by the Emperor Paul to change by a decree the dress of the Russians, and to revive certain old customs of homage to the imperial family, was the immediate cause of his dethronement and death. It is not probable that interference with civil rights of far greater consequence would have had the like result.

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tion for all that is ancient, and a tenacity of doing what was done by their ancestors; so that even superstitious rites are observed which they do not believe in, as the invocation to the dragon of rain in time of drought.* This is the explanation of their stationary condition through so many centuries—non-intercourse with other nations has had little to do with it, the adjoining nations were less civilized than themselves. What influence Europeans may have remains to be seen. Roman catholic missionaries, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, made many converts. The Jesuits, who went into China near the close of the seventeenth century, obtained the favor of the government and proselyted largely among the people, but were expelled in 1724 for an alleged attempt to get the sovereignty of the country.† Reasoning from analogy, it may be inferred that had they succeeded in any such attempt, they would not have denationalized China and made it European; but that, like the Tartar conquerors, they would have conformed to the habits of the people and governed in the ancient mode. Papal authority would of course have been acknowledged; but it would have been exercised in mere externals, while the essential principle of the christian faith would have merged—it is likely—in concession to the sensuous habits of the people. And now, when

* Huc says that they do not hesitate to avow that it is a mere mummery, but that it is necessary to observe it because it has always been so done.

† Young-tching, the emperor who exiled the missionaries, attributed to them an intermeddling spirit during the life of his father, and entered upon his administration with a deep-rooted prejudice against them. There was, however, good sense in his answer to the petition of the Jesuits against the decree. "The christians whom you make" (that is the Chinese converts), "recognize no authority but you; in times of trouble they would listen to no other now. I know there is nothing to fear at present, but when your ships shall be coming by thousands and tens of thousands then we shall have disturbances." He confined them to Canton, and broke up all the religious organizations in the interior. Under his successor, Kien-Long, the missionaries recovered favor at court; but the suppression of religious orders in Europe interrupted the support of the missions. A new persecution broke out under Kia-King, and many of the religious communities disappeared. Within a recent period the communities have been reorganized, the dispersed christians collected, schools established for the education of boys and girls, and a seminary to prepare young Chinese for the ecclesiastical profession. At the time Huc visited China, foreign missionaries were proscribed: they had to go secretly, but native catechists were allowed in each community, who could instruct the people and make converts, but the instruction was of course imperfect.

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free access to the Chinese by missionaries is admitted, it is still to be tested how far the christian religion in its purity can transmute the character of the people, and effect a civil renovation. Moral principle is represented to be of low degree, venality prevails in public office, falsehood in private dealings, and licentiousness in domestic life. Yet christianity in its early age did work a moral reform in a people that seemed to be beyond the reach of any renovating power. A still greater trial of its power is now to be displayed in its application to a people still more given up to materialism than the Roman.* It is questionable whether facility of intercourse is the best condition for imparting to them the true spirit of christianity. It may be plausibly argued that a people which is utterly without religious ideas, in the proper sense, may need, in the first instance, a method of instruction adapted to their low ideas; that they must be gradually elevated, and that the semi-christian converts will be more susceptible of sound religious impression than those who have had no spiritual experience, and whose habit of life is directed by propensities little superior to animal instincts.

It is a more interesting question to us what is the probable future of the existing nationalities of Europe, and of our own country. According to principles before adverted to, the longevity of a nation may be calculated as well as that of an individual, if we have equal knowledge of all the circumstances that will have a material influence. A new

* It would, perhaps, not be just to say that the Chinese are more *licentious* than the Romans; but they have less intellectual culture; they are, at all events, destitute of religious ideas, and cannot without difficulty be made to comprehend christian doctrines. By perseverance and zeal the Roman catholics made a large number of proselytes; but these appear to have learned little more than mere external rites. The report we have of the Chinese in California is more favorable than we should have expected. They are said to be industrious and reliable, but they seem unimpressible by religious truth; and they return to their own country with no other effect from all the efforts of missionaries than becoming ashamed of their native ceremonies, without, however, becoming more inclined to the christian faith. There is, in fact, an apparent want of spiritual perception. Some of the American missionaries—Williams, Martin, Speer, and others—rate the Chinese intellectual character more favorably than we have stated it. We think, however, that it will be found that education in the proper sense is limited to the higher class, and that even this has been very much advanced by intercourse with foreigners within a recent period; and that the common people have rather imitativeness, or keen instinctive observation of a sensuous kind, than any elevating knowledge or independent thought.

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element has, however, been introduced into modern states. Checks are interposed against the violent subversion of one by another, and so likewise against the tendencies to exhaustion of a nation's vital forces by internecine war, or other destructive influences. The Turkish government has had a protraction of its existence by the intervention of England and France, without which it would have been overwhelmed by Russian military force, or broken into fragments by successful domestic insurrections. The smaller states of Europe (Holland, Belgium, Greece and others), are maintained in their independence by the watchful supervision of the great powers, who will not suffer the aggrandizement of any one to the danger of the others, The late revolutionary movement of Prussia, which has broken up a number of the principalities of Germany, and added largely to the territory of that state, and still more to its political power, is as yet too recent to admit of any absolute forecaste of the final result. If the population thus brought under the control of Prussia shall submit without further contest to the change, and if there shall be no serious indication of an aggressive use of the power thus suddenly acquired, there will be merely an alteration in the relative importance of the larger states; but no one of them will still be strong enough to contend single-handed against all the rest. It is, however. by no means clear that the change, which is as yet inchoate, will be allowed to become permanent.

The most remarkable incident of this political roconstruction is, that Austria, which has heretofore wielded the forces of a large empire, whereby it has maintained the leadership of the German states, and a distinguished prestige among the great powers of Europe has been suddenly isolated from its position as a German state, and thrown mainly upon its Sclavonic population as a constituency. Still more marvellous has been the change of its political policy, from arbitrary absolutism to the admission of popular rights to a large extent. Nor has the end yet come. We may reasonably expect a further re-constitution in uniformity with the justifiable claims of the people in the different provinces; and this will have a magnetic attraction,

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powerfully operating upon the adjoining principalities of Turkey, while the German population, now remaining in the empire, will be as strongly drawn in the other direction to political union in more congenial relationship with a people of the same origin and having the same language.

In other countries of Europe, where intolerance has prevailed, and civil freedom been repressed, changes are impending. There is an upheaving of the lower strata, a commotion of popular impulses, liable to break out in explosive violence and end in revolutions; but whether in the thoughtless minds of the people there shall be developed a law-abiding, or an Ishmaelitish spirit, industrial and orderly habits, or unsettled and predatory, cannot now with certainty be predicted.*

A singular fact has been developed in respect to the Russian government, which will go far to reverse the opinion heretofore entertained in respect to its future development. It has created some surprise that there should have appeared so strong a sympathy between Russia and our own country. Political views in regard to the balance of power in Europe, and the desire of gaining strength by an outside alliance, will hardly account for it. Recent concessions by that government to the lower order of the people, which were supposed to have originated in the mere liberality of the emperor, may, more properly, be taken as indications of the natural tendency of the government itself. In other words, it is an admitted principle that the government rests upon the people, and is sustained by the popular will. It is, therefore, true policy to foster the attachment of the people to the government, and, consequently, as far as possible, to contribute to their satisfaction and contentedness. This is, in truth, the patriarchal form, and so far from being oppressive to the commonalty, it recognizes rights somewhat like those existing in the family. Local administration of the laws is left very much with the people, and a considerable degree of freedom is allowed, while imperial authority, however abso-

* It may be anticipated that slavery will be abolished in the Spanish colonies, or it may be that the action of the home government in that direction may be forestalled by the assertion of independence by the colonies, which would necessarily be attended by the recognition of unconditional freedom.

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lute, is not recognized as arbitrary or oppressive, but rather as that of a father. Whether the rights newly acquired by the serfs will be providently used remains to be seen. Some doubt is raised, by what has been reported, whether indulgence in vice may not preponderate over honest and plodding industry.

There is, however, an element peculiar to modern civilization, which is more effective and far-reaching for the conservation of existing nationalties than any intrinsic force, viz., social influences, which are gradually bringing all the states of Europe into a homogeneity. Free intercourse is instituting similarity of manners. Anything repugnant to the more cultivated nations is silently renounced, or becomes obsolete in the less refined. The general principles of international justice are getting to be fully recognized, and it seems safe to anticipate that the intercourse of nations will become as much subject to fixed laws as that of individuals. This anticipation assumes that the existing relations of the respective governments shall not be essentially impaired. If there should, by any means, be a great preponderance of some one power—as, for example, Russia, which has somewhat of a barbarian element that has affinity with brute force—or which is more supposable, should it be our own republic, which, by its superior energy, is absorbing or overaweing the weaker states of this continent, national ambition would, in either case, be developed into an aspiration for universal dominion. The theory that the people of this country are already actuated by such an aspiration, is premature. The aggressive course of our government, in many instances of the past, has grown mainly out of the struggle of the slave states to maintain ascendancy by an addition of slave territory.

The danger of this country is in a different quarter; it lies *inter penetralia*, and not primarily, in external relations. A principle has become all-controlling in individual life, which is gradually moulding and controlling the policy of our government—it is intense eagerness in the pursuit of wealth. In the earlier period of our history this trait was displayed on a smaller scale, and was, for the time, instrumental to

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national advancement, by inducing men even to undergo the hardships of a frontier life, the risks of foreign adventures and domestic privations, beyond the limit of mere frugality. The settlement of our western territory was thus rapidly accomplished. Such a marvellous creation of civilized life in the midst of vast forests and prairies would hardly have been wrought by any other people; and no other motive than that we have referred to would have energized them to the degree requisite for such an herculean work. Another phase of rapid population has grown out of the discovery of gold in California and the adjoining territories. The greed that drew emigration from every part of our country is paralleled only by the *auri fames* of the Spaniards, which caused a rush to the silver mines of Mexico and Peru. But the enterprise of the latter wrought depopulation of the natives, 15,000,000 of whom perished before protection was extended to them by a settled government. In Hayti the entire race became extinct within the period allotted to a single generation. It was fortunate for the well-being of this country that there was an able-bodied people ready for the work and a continual stream of the laboring class from Europe to this country. Mortality by exposure and imprudence rapidly thinned out the first adventurers, and still sweeps away a large proportion, but the supply vastly exceeds the destruction, and the entire mining region and contiguous territory is assuming the aspect of the older settled parts of the country. In this confluence of adventurers has also been recently intermingled an Asiatic representation, and the Chinese are already competing on our soil with our own people in all the pursuits of industry.

Similar to the enterprise which has thus populated our territory has been the adventurous spirit that has carried our trade into the remotest parts of our own land and expanded into active intercourse with all civilized nations, and even with savage tribes of Africa and the islands of the Pacific. But as wealth has been accumulated by this immense appropriation of new territory and its subjection to productive industry, and the profitable interchanges of foreign commerce, a change has come over the habits of

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our people. Large fortunes are acquired in a single life, but are speedily dissipated by the immediate descendants of the adventurer. Ostentation of riches has become the chief mode of distinction—certainly the most prevalent, for it is open to all—and success is attainable without education or advantages from family connection or ancestral note. But as wealth may be thus acquired by any man, however humble his origin, so being his sole means of elevation, it must, when acquired, be displayed to the world. This may be done by philanthropic liberality or by expensive living, a costly mansion, extravagance in dress, and the like—in the next generation very likely to be in wasteful profligacy in the drain of harlots or of gaming. With the more general diffusion of wealth this love of display has become as absorbing as the original pursuit of wealth. These fortunes are rapidly dissipated, but the man who has possessed means, or wasted them, or has attempted to make a show of what he had not, retains in his impoverishment an intense longing for the re-acquisition of what he has lost, or the realization of what he has never had. A class of men is thus created who will not submit to plodding industry, but seek to lay hold of the object of their desire by *unlawful methods*—in other words, they become needy adventurers with an unlimited craving for the material whereby to gratify passion for display and sensual enjoyment, and a destitution of moral principle to restrain them from dark machinations. Such is the fruitful source of the infinite variety of frauds, false pretences, embezzlements, thefts, forgeries, and violence, which alarmingly abound in our midst.* A state of things may be supposed, of which this is but the exception, when anarchy must be the result and the theory of

* In England a like condition is seen in the industrial class, which has now become politically predominant. An aristocracy and a state religion are, however, checks upon the popular tendency, and will retard its progress; but these checks are themselves being undermined, and must, ultimately, be overthrown, or resolved into new forms of social distinction The same remark applies to all other European states which are not insulated by remoteness of territory, as Russia. Yet the European population of Russia is becoming assimilated in habit to their neighbors of Germany; and in the other states great changes are impending, which seem likely to ultimate in popular ascendancy, and opening the way to free enterprise and all its cognate perils.

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Hobbe's find vindication, viz., that government is intended simply for the repression of the evil impulses of men, and that the despotic is the best because the strongest.

The greater diffusion of knowledge by common schools will not alone be effectual for the counteraction of social evils. Moral restraint is mainly dependent upon early discipline, upon parental example of sobriety of thought and moderation of desire, and the direction of the youthful mind to an honorable life and refined enjoyments—above all, by religious culture, a reverance for divine truth and of the outward forms of worship. Without such directing and moulding forces education may be but a power of evil.

Another trait of our people is of great interest as bearing upon the future of the country. The migratory habit which has grown out of the restless enterprise above adverted to has had the effect of breaking up large families and transmuting entire neighborhoods. Young men in the older states emigrate in pursuit of more remunerative returns for industry, and gradually draw after them others of their kindred, besides, in many instances, returning for wives. Thus an entire family may in one generation be transplanted to a distant region, and, at all events, the larger number of its members are scattered, their places in the villages of the east being supplied by the incoming of the poorer class from the adjacent country, or if not thus supplied, causing a diminished population. Again, there is a continual stream of migration from the country to the larger cities. Merchandising is crowded to the extreme degree of competition, and speculation of every kind is pursued with a reckless avidity, resulting, if not successful, often in all the baseness of charlatancy. What we refer to here as of special consequence, is the weakening of family ties. While the emigration was in larger numbers to limited district, there was, in some degree, a conservation of families, they being, as before observed, drawn together after a time, and, therefore, only changing their residence; but with the present immensely enlarged area attractive to adventurers, the members of a family become widely dispersed. There is no longer, as a general rule, the hallowing influence of the pater-

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nal home to restrain the young, just arriving at manhood, when such influence is most of all needed. One after another of the sons embarks upon the world, and the risk is great of wreck in the commotions of untried perils. The adhesiveness of kindred is impaired; the bond that should hold together for mutual aid, those having a common lineage, is severed. The early associations of life, which ought to have a lasting influence, fade out from the mind for want of local mementos.

Now, it cannot, we think, be questioned, that the strength of a people is made up of the aggregate of all the affinities that hold men together in their social relations. The Hebrew type of division into tribes and families, whose genealogies were carefully preserved, exhibited a marvellous power for the sustentation and distinctive perpetuation of the race. So the Roman tribes constituted a cohesiveness of the people, the rich and poor being in these brought together, and the members of each tribe being mutually obligated to each other. The extent of the influeuce exercised thereby in harmonizing the conflicting elements of the Roman democracy must have been far greater than has been generally supposed. One pleasing incident stands ont prominently, the care of the needy by the tribe to which they belonged. Nor can it be doubted that patrician ascendancy was largely sustained by the association of the nobility individually with the plebeians of their respective tribes.*

In our own country there is scarcely anything of family tie beyond near blood relations. It is, indeed, not unusual

* The Roman cuna, or tribe, was composed of a certain number of gentes. All belonging to the same gens bore its name, which was the woman, the additions being the pre-woman. Similar to what with us is the baptismal or christian name and cognomen, which was appended as a mark of distinction for public service, as Africanus, the appellation of Scipio, after the conquest of Africa, or assumed as distinctive by the progenitor of a family, as Cicero, Cæsar, and the like. While there was an honorary obligation on the patrician to protect the humbler members of the same gens, there was a reciprocal advantage in having a considerable number of retainers who were proud of their gentile relation, and ready to support the chiefs of the gens.

So the obligation of patron and client, which continued in most cases through several generations, whereby a noble family was committed to the defence of the *clientele*, who attached themselves to it, and who, in their turn, rendered political service to the patron, was a strong bond of union and a source of national strength.

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to have a genealogical record; but this is rather for the purpose of showing ancestral connection than collateral kindred, and, at all events, has a very slight influence in keeping up any especial regard for those remotely related. A custom has been somewhat observed in New England of having family meetings, usually on the annual thanksgiving day, and it is worthy of being still more observed. But it may be said, in general, that we have no equivalent for the Hebrew or Roman tribal or gentile stock. The civil division into states was formerly the basis of allegiance to the state, which, in the southern part of the confederacy, was considered paramount to the allegiance due to the federal government; but this doctrine has been overruled by the arbitrament of arms in the late civil war. There still remains the civil union of the people of a state in the administration of its local affairs, and this would be of controlling efficacy in keeping up a distinctive regard for the state akin to that of the ancient tribe, if the population of each state was homogeneous, and permanently fixed within its territory. But it is obvious that the migratory habit which is so disjunctive of the family tie, is even more so of a merely local or civil bond. Successive residence in different states impairs whatever patriotism there might be as related to state territory or political organization. Again, while the native element is thus continually disintegrated, there is a simultaneous accretion from a foreign source, which, in like manner, is equally mobile and unapt to contract the adhesiveness upon which the love of country must in great measure be founded. It may be anticipated that at some future time, when our whole territory shall have become more equably populated, and the inhabitants more permanently fixed in their locality, that the division into states will have an important influence in binding together more closely those who are held respectively in each, under a sort of sub-nationality. Yet even then the facility of intercourse between the several states, common rights of citizenship reciprocally acquired in each by mere residence, the multiform relations of trade, rapidity of travel and other means of communication, together with the restless habit of

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the people, must interpose a bar to any such subordinate affinity as was wrought by the genealogical inclusiveness of the ancient tribe, the restriction of intermarriage, and the witholding of membership even from those belonging to the same nationality. Add to this, that in this country all the rights of citizens are open to aliens after a short residence here, with no other restriction than a slight formality declarative of a change of allegiance. It is the first experiment in the world's history of the unrestricted admission of aliens to the rights of citizens.* This experiment has become of portentous consequence, now that immigration has set in from the semi-civilized races of Asia, and it cannot be predicted with any certainty what will be the final result; whether it will go on with such rapid aggregation of the foreign element that the original nationality shall be merged and lost in the new constituency, or whether the intrinsic vigor of the germinal race shall be able to transmute and assimilate these diverse masses of population into a homogeneous people, retaining the characteristics of the original stock; or, lastly, whether with provident foresight the danger shall be averted by a radical change of policy, and the exclusion of inferior races from intermixture with our people upon the terms heretofore conceded to the more cognate population of Europe.

We have said that in the American people there is nothing

* In the most democratic state of antiquity (the Athenian) no length of residence entitled an alien to political rights—that is, to take part in public business, nor was the descendant of an alien, father or mother, upon any better footing The citizenship granted to some of the subject races by Rome in the latter days of popular government consisted only of certain personal immunities and municipal rights—in other words, the transference to the province of the administration of Roman laws, but did not carry with it incorporation into the tribes or centuries of the people of Rome.

In modern European states nothing short of a statute or decree of the government in the individual case can convert any one foreign born into a citizen; but there is an amelioration in one respect, viz., that birth within the territorial limit of a state is generally recognized as the ground of allegiance, and, therefore, the children of residents are citizens with only a few exceptions, as in the case of representatives of other governments, whose families are not deemed subject to the laws of the country in which they are temporarily resident, so, also, of persons travelling through the country, or transiently there for mere business transactions. But it is not long since the property of resident aliens dying in France were confiscated to the government even if they left children; but this is now modified in favor of those countries who reciprocate in a like milder treatment of French citizens.

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equivalent to the old hereditary distinctions of tribes and families. There is, indeed, somewhat still remaining of the English pride of family; but the latter belonged to an aristocracy, and was upheld by the law of primogeniture. In this country it is faintly imitated by the voluntary action of men of wealth in attempting to preserve large estates by devising the greater part to some one representative of the family; but the number is few who have the forecast and persistence required for carrying out such domestic policy, and the laws are adverse. Equal distribution of real and personal property to all the children and their descendants, *per stirpes*, which is the incident of intestacy, speedily obliterates the landmarks of great fortunes, and the attempt to counteract it by *will* in most cases does not extend beyond one or two generations consecutively.

ART. III.—1. *Histoire de France.* Par M. MICHELET, Professeur-Suppléant à la Faculté des Lettres, Professeur à l' Ecole Normale, Chef de la Section Historique aux Archives du Royaume. Paris.

2. *Histoire de Louis XI., Roi de France.* Par M. DUCLOS, member de l' Academie Royale des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres. Paris. 1746.

3. *The Memoirs of Philip de Commines, Lord of Argenton:* containing the histories of Louis XI. and Charles VIII., kings of France, and of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. To which is added *The Scandalous Chronicle, or Secret History of Louis XI.*, by Jean de Troyes. Edited, with life and notes, by ANDREW R. SCOBLE, Esq. In two volumes. London: Henry G. Bohn. 1855.

FEW epochs in the history of Europe have been more fertile in great results than that of Louis XI. (1461–83). In it were laid the foundations of the great modern monarchies of France, England, Spain, and Germany, which have exercised so powerful an influence, for good and for

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evil, on the destinies of mankind. From these foundations arose the superstructure of the mighty empire of Charles V., the gay brilliancy of Francis I., and the tyranny of Henry VIII. But, without them, it is doubtful if the consolidation of their respective kingdoms, by those monarchs, could have been accomplished. The great work of uprooting the feudal system had to be achieved before it was possible to establish durable thrones. This was brought about in England by the civil wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, which occasioned the destruction of most of the ancient noble families, and left the country so exhausted that she could neither prosecute her foreign wars, nor retain her conquests abroad, nor resist the encroachments of the kingly power. Hence, when Henry VII. married Elizabeth of York, all the parties who could dispute the crown with him had disappeared, and he was left to occupy his throne in comparative peace, and to transmit it to his son Henry VIII. The royal power was then consolidated, and was never more arbitrarily exercised than by the Tudors and the Stuarts. It cost England another sanguinary civil war to regain the liberties she had lost. But the wars of the Roses were directly beneficial to France, for they disabled England from prosecuting her ambitious schemes for the subjugation of her neighbor. For nearly a century after the invasion of France by Edward III., in 1346, that unhappy land was a prey to foreign foes and intestine disorders, many of the latter being attributable to the imbecility of her rulers quite as much as to the skill and valor of her foes.

The French monarchy was never nearer to ruin than in the reign of Charles VII., with the exception of the period of the revolution of 1789. The unfortunate condition under which France then groaned may be traced back to the battle of Poitiers in 1356. The capture of King John, in that conflict, and his long imprisonment in London, filled the kingdom with intrigues and factions, and all the disorders consequent upon anarchy. The powerful nobles set up their claims to independent authority, and but for the firmness of Charles V., the son and successor of John, who contrived to make head against the rebels, France would have been rent

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into a number of petty kingdoms. The wisdom of his administration, during the sixteen years he held the sceptre, gave her breathing time. But it seems as if Providence had ordained that she should undergo a much heavier probation than any she had yet experienced. Charles V. died, leaving, as his successor, his son, Charles VI., a boy twelve years of age. The dukes of Anjou, Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, the uncles of the young and imbecile Charles, hoped to use him for their own purposes. No sooner was the old king dead than each of these princes claimed the guardianship of the boy monarch, and prepared to enforce their claims by the sword. By his will, Charles V. appointed the dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon his son's guardians. The disappointed dukes of Anjou and Berri, therefore, filled the kingdom with dissensions. The rivalry of these four princes brought untold calamities upon France. It requires the graphic pen of Michelet to depict them, and to his pages those who wish to become acquainted with the horrors of that period are referred.* We are not writing the history of France, but it is necessary to review a certain portion of it in order properly to comprehend the position of Louis XI. on his accession to the throne, and the work he accomplished. The minority of Charles VI., and his subsequent insanity added to the general misery and weakness of the kingdom. The English profited by it to prosecute their ambitious schemes, and thus the country became the theatre of lawlessness and violence. The unfortunate peasantry were pillaged and slaughtered at will by the licentious soldiers of England and Burgundy. The inhabitants of the towns were driven to revolt by taxation and hunger. There was no government, except what was exercised by the usurping dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. These princes deluged France with blood. Their factions were distinguished by their avarice and their unscrupulous resort to intrigue and murder to further their objects. It was generally believed that they poisoned the two elder dauphins, Lewis and John,† whereby Charles, (afterwards the seventh of that name) became heir to the

* *Histoire de France*, books vii. to xii.

† Duclos, *Histoire de France*, p. 3.

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throne. This young prince was anxious to assume the government during the insanity of his father. In this he was thwarted by his mother, Isabel of Bavaria, who entered into confederation with all the factions that were opposed to him, in order to maintain her own usurped authority, which she chose rather to divide with the rebels than to hold of her son. In the midst of all this confusion Henry V. of England invaded France, gained the battle of Agincourt, and made himself, for a brief period, master of the country. Isabel, the queen mother, signed the treaty of Troyes, gave him her daughter, Catharine, in marriage, and declared him heir to the throne of France, and regent of the kingdom, to the prejudice of the dauphin, whom she never treated as her son. Indeed, it may be inferred from the concluding portion of this treaty, that she did n own him as her offspring. The words are: "Considering the horrible and enormous crimes and delicts perpetrated in the said realm of France, by Charles, *self styled dauphin*, of Viennois, it is agreed that we, our said son the king, and also our very dear son Philippe, duke of Burgundy, *shall in no wise treat of peace*, or of accord with the said Charles, and shall neither treat nor cause overtures to be made, except by the counsel of all and each of us three, and of the three estates of the aforesaid two kingdoms."* Upon the ratification of this infamous treaty, Isabel was assigned two thousand francs a month, her remuneration for denying her son and yielding up her daughter. Destitute of natural affection, and utterly unprincipled, she di l not hesitate to sacrifice France as she had sacrificed her children, acting more like a foreign enemy, as she was, than as the sovereign of the realm. Henry assumed the regency of the kingdom. Paris was surrendered to him, and he made his entry into that city on horseback, between the king and the duke of Burgundy. He was well received there, the inhabitants welcoming him, says Michelet, as they would have welcomed Peace herself.† To

* Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. iv., part ii., pp. 171–179.

† "Le roi d'Angleterre fut bien reçue à Paris. Ce peuple sans coeur (la misère l'avait fait tel) accueillit l'étranger, comme il eût accueillit la paix elle-même —L. ix., c. 2.

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add to the degradation of the French, Henry assembled the states general or parliament of France, and made them confirm the treaty of Troyes, December 6th, 1420. But the depth of shame was reached when the duke of Burgundy and Queen Isabel, (or Isabeau, as it is sometimes written,) appeared before Charles VI., who sat as judge at St. Pol's, to make complaint against the dauphin Charles, on account of the death of John, duke of Burgundy. The king of England sat on the same bench with the French king, before whom appeared Maître Nicolas Raulin, and demanded, in the name of the duke of Burgundy and his mother, that Charles, *calling himself dauphin*, Tannegui Duchâtel, and all the assassins of the late duke of Burgundy, should be drawn in a tumbril, torch in hand, through all the squares, to make the *amende honorable*. The king's advocate supported the same view, as did the university.* The king authorized the process, and Charles, having been proclaimed, and cited to appear in three days before the parliament, at the table of marble, was, in default, condemned to banishment, and ejected from all right to the crown of France.†

The dauphin had too much wisdom to allow himself to fall into such treacherous hands. He withdrew to Poitiers, and the king, his father, dying soon after, (October 22d, 1422,) he caused himself to be crowned in that city. Henry of England had died a short time previously, (August 31st,) having appointed John, duke of Bedford, regent of France. This was a critical epoch in the affairs of that country. The minority of Henry's son and successor, Henry VI., who was but nine months old when he was proclaimed king of England and France, brought as many evils upon the former nation as that of Charles VI. had upon the latter. There followed the old story of the quarrels for ascendency between the powerful nobles, and these disputes culminated in the civil wars of the Roses. If France desired to free herself from the English yoke, now was her opportunity. Charles VII. was no warrior. He was affable, good natured, generous, and sincere,

* Monstrelet, *Chronicles*, t. i., p. 289.

† Rymer, *Fœdera*, v. x., p. 273. Michelet, *Histoire de France*, l. ix., c. ii.

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a good parent and master, and he had all the qualities which would shine in a private person. But he was entirely devoted to pleasure, cared little for the splendor of a crown, and was chagrined at having to discharge the duties of a king. He disliked the fatigues of war, though he was intrepid in the midst of danger. With the valor of a hero, he failed to exhibit firmness of character, or judgment in surmounting difficulties. Such is the character drawn of him by an impartial historian,* whose freedom of speech, regarding the events of that period, gave such offence to the chancellor of Louis XV. and the parliament and clergy of France, that his work was suppressed by an order of council, but not before two thousand copies of it had been sold. The history of this order and the order itself are curious. At the time the work was written, (1745,) no book could be printed at Paris until the manuscript had been read by a censor, whom the chancellor appointed for the purpose. The censor made and signed his report, which, if favorable, was to be published with the book, and the privilege of printing it was then granted. In Duclos' case all the requisite formalities had been complied with; the manuscript had been carefully examined, and the work was published. But the clergy loudly exclaimed against the book, as wanting in respect to the church. The pope's nuncio denounced it. The government was annoyed because the author had given what it considered an inaccurate account of the acquisition of Burgundy and Dauphinè, thereby throwing doubts upon the title of the crown to those provinces. The parliament would have taken this point into consideration, but it was well known to Louis XV. and his ministers, that that body would also have taken that opportunity for commending the author, for the great and sound maxims of government he had laid down, and for his advocacy of the liberties of the Gallican church. The council would not permit this, and, for that reason, they issued the order in question.

It was fortunate for France that Charles fell into patriotic hands, as, otherwise, his native love of ease and pleasure

* Duclos.

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might have rendered him incapable of making any efforts to regain his independence. As he scarcely ever exercised his own judgment, he allowed himself to be swayed by his favorites. Among these were the beautiful Agnes Sorel and the valiant count de Dunois, a natural son of the duke of Orleans. To these two personages France was indebted for her emancipation from the yoke of England. Agnes concerted with Dunois the proper measures for rousing the king out of his lethargy. She awakened his courage, and recalled him to a sense of his duty. By a political contrivance, of which, possibly, she and Dunois were the promoters, Joan of Arc was introduced to him as a person sent from God to deliver France from her enemies. The king believed, and the army did the same, and through her extraordinary heroism the first successes against the English were obtained.

Just six years previously Louis the XI. came into the world. He was the eldest son of Charles VII. and Mary of Anjou, and was born at Bourges on the 3d July, 1423. He was brought up under the direction of his mother. When he was but five years old they betrothed him to Margaret, daughter of James I. of Scotland. The actual marriage took place on the 25th June, 1436, the prince not being quite fourteen, and the princess thirteen. Before that time Joan of Arc had run her remarkable career, and fallen a sacrifice to the hatred and brutality of the English. Her murderer, the duke of Bedford, died four years after the horrors of Rouen, and with him expired the hopes of English domination in France. Paris was retaken by the French, and Charles entered the city in triumph. But though the English lost their foothold in France, the condition of the country was most deplorable. "All degrees of men in the state," says Duclos, "were in general corrupted. * * The gentry valued themselves chiefly upon a romantic gallantry and a savage bravery. And the soldiery, who were ill-paid, lived principally upon pillage, and looked upon everything they could carry off by violence as lawful gain. Bands of thieves, under the names of *Tondeurs*, (shavers,) *Retondeurs*, (re-shavers,) *Ecorcheurs*, (flayers,) over-ran and ravaged the provinces. The country was left untilled, and nothing was heard

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of but robberies and assassinations. The pardons which were granted at that time cannot be read without horror; and there was scarcely a soldier who did not stand in need of a pardon; and it is from these pardons we learn what the crimes were which were then committed."*

We have made this extract because it should be borne in mind that Louis was brought up in the midst of these disorders, and they naturally had an influence on his character. He was constitutionally precocious, and fond of hard work. After his marriage, he, being then only fourteen, attended his father, the king, in his wars and expeditions, and from that time entered upon the laborious life he afterwards followed.† "The leading trait of his character was impatience," says Michelet: "he longed to live and to act. He had quickness and intellect enough to make one tremble; no heart; neither friendship, nor sense of kindred; no touch of humanity, no conscience to restrain him. The only feature he had, in common with his time, was bigotry; which, however, far from holding him back, always came to put an end to his scruples. Day and night he would refine upon different thoughts. Every day he would suddenly strike out many singularities.‡ Strange to say, with all his drivelling and petty scrupulosity of devotion, the instinct of novelty was quick within him, the desire to upstir and change every thing. The restlessness of the modern spirit was already his, inspiring his fearful ardour to go on, (where? no matter,) to be ever going on, trampling all under his feet, walking, if need be, over the bones of his father."§

While his father was indulging in sensual pleasures, Louis was actively reducing the turbulent nobles to obedience. He was present at the storming of Monterau, and through his intercession the English garrison of that place was spared. In Poitou he suppressed the disorders occasioned by the tyranny of La Tremoüille, Amboise, the De la Rochefoucaults, De Siguinville, and others, who were laying

* *Histoire de Louis XI.*, t. i., p. 6. † *Ibid*, p. 9.

‡ "Il ne faisoit que subtiliser, jour et nuit diverses pensées."—Chastellain, *Chroniques des Ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. Buchan, 1831, pp. 157, 158.

§ l. xi., c. 2.

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waste that province and Saintonge and Angoumois. He caused the most turbulent of the offenders to be arrested and punished, and he brought back the most rebellious to a sense of their duty.* This unusual display of vigor eminated from a boy of fourteen, as he then was! France was astonished, and the king was delighted. Louis soon had his hands as full of work as he could desire. He was sent into Languedoc to pacify the states there, and to suppress the licentiousness of the army, in all which he succeeded, and, moreover, induced the people of Toulouse to present him with six thousand livres, and the state to grant him a subsidy of forty-six thousand livres. So that he had an eye to money making, even at that early period of his life, and gave vent to one of his ruling passions, avarice, which subsequently rendered him a miser.

We soon, however, see him in the capacity of rebel against his father. The successes of the constable of Brittany against the English induced the princes, prelates, and notables of the realm to assemble at Orleans, to decide whether it were better to carry on the war or to sue for peace. The decision was in favor of the latter, and the states-general were called together at Bourges by the king, to take action in the matter. Some idea may be formed of the condition of France at this period, when we find that the deputies of provinces attended upon the king for six months without any effect, and were most of them robbed and plundered by the persons employed to escort them.† The leading princes and nobles then entered into a league to oblige the king to remove his principal ministers. Louis, flattered by all parties for his exploits, joined them. This event filled the court with divisions, and brought the country to the verge of civil war. The anticipation that the doings of the Hussites at Prague would be imitated in France, caused the movement to be called "the Praguerie." But the king roused himself from his lethargy and marched against the rebels. The count de Dunois was the first to make submission; and his example drew many others, so

* Duclos, t. i., p. 9.

† *Ibid*, t. i., p. 11.

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that Louis, finding himself deserted, fled into the Bourbonnois. Thither the king pursued him, vanquished the rebels in several encounters, and finally terrified them into submission. He behaved generously, and pardoned nearly all of them, including the dauphin. It is recorded that when the young prince fell on his knees and asked for pardon, the king merely said, "Louis, it is well you are come; you have been away a long time; go to bed, and we'll talk to you to-morrow."* When the morrow came, and the prince had received his pardon, he found that the king would not admit Le Tremouille and two others of his late associates to his presence. Louis, thereupon, thinking to frighten him, said "Monseigneur, I must return, for I pledged my word to them." But the king, looking at him with contempt, replied, "Louis, the gates are open, and if they are not wide enough, I will order sixteen or twenty fathoms of wall to be pulled down for you."† The king, it is said, added other stinging words, and we have here a notable instance of the unreliability of historians. Monstrelet states that the additional words were, "By God's good will we shall find some of our blood who will help us better to support our honor and sovereignty than you have hitherto done."‡ Duclos records them thus: "'Tis very strange that you should pass your word before mine; however, the house of France is not so far unprovided with princes but that there are some left, who will show a greater regard than you to keep up its grandeur and honor."§ The terseness of one bears the stamp of truth; the turgidity of the other makes us believe that M. Duclos was not satisfied with Monstrelet's language, but thought he could improve upon it, and so he framed the vapid sentence above recorded. He seems to have forgotten that the then reigning family styled itself the "House of Valois," not the "House of France;" besides, the terms "grandeur and honor" were singularly inappropriate as applied to a royal family which had been on the brink of ruin, and was even then in a

* *Ibid*, p. 14. † Michelet, l. xi., c. 2. ‡ *Chroniques*, t. vii., p. 83. § t. i., p. 15.

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tottering state. But historians sometimes nod, as Homer did. Monstrelet lived near the time of Louis; Duclos lived three centuries later.

The most important event in the career of Louis was the grant to him of Dauphinè, and he at once displayed his administrative ability by setting to work to remedy the abuses in the government of that province, especially with regard to the coin, which had been shamefully tampered with. Soon after this we find him distinguishing himself against the English in Picardy and Brittany, and against the Swiss. He had the tact to make himself liked by the latter, with whom he cheerfully made peace, having found out what might be done with so brave a race of soldiers, willing to take pay. He invited them to France, showed himself their friend, against the nobles whom he had come to succor, and declared, that if the nobles of Basle would not come to terms, he would assist the townsmen to put them down. So dear was his love for this town of Basle, that he would have been heartily glad to see it turn French. On their side, the Swiss, who asked no better than to gain money, made him a friendly offer to hire out to him some thousands of men.* The profound wisdom of this policy was fully proved thirty years afterwards, when the Swiss became the best and bravest allies of Louis, in his contest with Charles the Bold, of Burgundy.

These important reforms were carried out by Charles VII. about this time, mainly through the advice and aid of the celebrated merchant and silversmith of Bourges, Jaques Cœur, to whose practical knowledge of finance France owes a debt of gratitude which has not been sufficiently acknowledged.

The first of these reforms was a great military one. The disorderly bands of mercenaries, who were the terror of the citizens and peasantry, were organized into companies of six hundred men each, and quartered in the towns, but with such careful division of their strength, that there were not

* "Il aimait tant cette ville de Bâle, qu'il aurait voulu qu'elle se fît Française. De leur côté, les Suisses qui ne demandaient qu'a gagner, offrirent amicalement de lui louer quelques milles hommes."—Michelet, l. xi., c. ii.

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more than from twenty to thirty lances in each town, even the largest. The town paid the small squadron, and acted as a watch upon it. Thus a large number of disorderly men were converted into well behaved ones, while those who were not admitted into the companies found themselves isolated and powerless, and sought occupation elsewhere.* "The marches and countries of the kingdom were safer and quieter in two months' time than they had been for thirty years before," says Mathieu de Coucy.† The second reform was a financial one, carried out by Jaques Cœur, in 1443, by an ordinance regulating the mode of keeping the public accounts, and substituting a system of checks upon the treasurers and receivers of the revenue.‡ The third was, the taking the police of the kingdom into the king's own hands, and extending the jurisdiction of the provost of Paris over all vagabonds and malefactors throughout the realm.§ By this measure the brigands were withdrawn from the protection of the nobles, and the connivance of the local jurisdictions. These great reforms were the regeneration of France, and paved the way for the subsequent policy of Louis XI.

They were followed soon after by the creation of a national infantry, called "free archers," from their being exempt from all taxes, provided they would arm themselves at their own expense, and practice with the bow every Sunday and holiday. They were selected by the king's tax-collectors, one in every parish, and were to receive pay in time of war only.‖ All sorts of ridicule were showered upon these soldiers, but they speedily became formidable, and ultimately proved the precursors of the great warriors of Napoleon. During the middle ages it had been the fashion to consider the cavalry the main strength of an army, but this delusion was about to be dispelled by the hardy pikemen of Switzerland and Spain. France speedily reaped the benefit of the innovation in the approaching final struggle with England, which resulted in the expulsion of the invaders. But before this took place there are several occurrences to be

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* *Ibid.* † Quoted by Michelet, p. 546. ‡ Ordonnances, xiii., 377.
§ *Ibid*, 241-7, 260, 509. ‖ Michelet, l. xi., c. 2.

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noted. Louis, devoting his attention to the suppression of disturbances in Dauphiné, was much annoyed at the influence which the king's ministers and mistress had in public affairs. It is said that he treated Agnes Sorel with contempt, and went so far as to give her a box on the ear, and for this he was obliged to leave the court.* He then formed a plan to seize the king's person at the castle of Razilly; but the plot was betrayed, and the prince was ordered to retire into Dauphiné, which he did, giving himself up entirely to the regulation of his dominions, and to hunting, of which he was passionately fond.

The truce with England was broken in 1449. A series of successes attended the French arms. The internal dissensions between the houses of York and Lancaster rendered it hopeless for the English commanders in France to procure reinforcements, and they rapidly lost all the possessions of the English crown in that country, except Calais, which was destined to remain an appendage to it for more than a century. Thus France was freed from the most dreaded and troublesome of her enemies, and the patriotic Agnes Sorel lived just long enough to see the commencement of the realization of her aspirations. She died in the year 1450, very much lamented by the king, the court, and the people; but hated by Louis, who, it was suspected, had poisoned her. "She never abused the royal favor," says Duclos, "and united in her single person the extraordinary characters of a tender mistress, a faithful friend, and a good citizen."

In 1451 Louis, notwithstanding his father's opposition, married Charlotte, daughter of the duke of Savoy, though she was not then twelve years of age. With her he received a large sum of money as dowry, and returned to Dauphiné, where he encouraged trade, and sought to put a stop to the practice of gentlemen making war upon each other. But the breach between him and his father grew wider and wider; the real cause of it being his ambitious designs, which the king strongly suspected and the prince as strongly denied.

* Duclos, t. i. p. 41.

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The king withdrew the prince's pensions, a measure which caused the latter to raise more taxes from his province. Hence loud complaints against him reached the king's ear, who, swayed by evil counsellors, gave directions for his arrest. Whereupon Louis fled to Brussels, where he was generously received by Philip, duke of Burgundy, A. D. 1456. All attempts at reconciliation with his father having failed, Louis remained the guest of the duke until the death of Charles VII. in 1461. During his sojourn in the duke's dominions, Louis became intimate with his son, the count of Charolais, afterwards so famous as Charles the Bold, or, more properly, the Rash, for whose daughter he stood godfather. She was named Mary, and subsequently became sole heiress of the house of Burgundy, and the cause of many sanguinary wars.

It is time now to take a view of the state of Europe, and the position of the contemporary potentates with whom Louis was to come in contact as king of France. The most important of these was the duke of Burgundy. The dominions of this prince—he might as well be called king, for he lived in royal state and had kingly power—comprised Flanders, Holland, Lorraine, Luxembourg, Burgundy, Franche-Comtè, and smaller provinces on the Rhine. They were the wealthiest and most populous regions of Europe at that period. The duke's court, whether at Dijon or Bruges, was the most sumptuous and splendid in Christendom. The Flemings, though very insubordinate, were very profitable to him, for they were the manufacturers and merchants of northern Europe, as the Italian republics were of the south. Painting and architecture flourished among them, and open hospitality to all comers attracted crowds of the great barons of Christendom to the palace of "the great duke." Besides all this, his kinship to the French royal family of Valois gave him pretexts for interfering in the affairs of France, and enabled him to inflict great calamities on that unhappy country. Alternately the friend and the foe of France, he might be seen fighting for or against the English as his inclination or interest dictated. Yet Philip the Good found it very difficult to withstand the indefinable influence which France exercised over him and

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his court. Although he strove to become German, or Dutch, or English in his feelings he ultimately yielded, once for all, to this French influence. Michelet has well illustrated this in one of the most brilliant portions of his great work.* The power of the Burgundian princes was, however, more showy than real. Their empire was an artificial one, formed of twenty antagonistic parts, which only awaited the signal to return to where they belonged. And, accordingly, it came to an end with the meteoric career of Charles the Bold; its provinces becoming so many bones of contention among the neighboring potentates. The Flemings were the natural allies of England, from whom they drew large quantities of wool for their manufactures; but as the English were the disturbers of the peace of western Europe, and did a considerable amount of piracy, the Flemings were frequently forced to take up arms against them. It appears that the fierce invaders resorted to the favorite practice of the ancients, that of kidnapping the inhabitants of the coasts. On one occasion they carried off five thousand children: but what was still more exasperating was that the officers and men whom Flanders paid to guard the sea, and drive off the pirates, actually sold provisions to them instead of repulsing them.† There was an understanding between the English, the Zealanders, and the Hollanders.

The distracted condition of England during the last years of Charles VII. and the first of Louis XI. rendered her comparatively unimportant as regarded foreign nations; and the exhaustion of the country occasioned by the long and sanguinary wars of York and Lancaster prevented her from assuming the aggressive character she bore under the Plantagenets. On a few occasions she threatened France, and some unimportant encounters took place, but more than two centuries elapsed before there was any real fighting between the two powers. Thus Louis was relieved from one great cause for anxiety. And on the side of Spain that nation was so occupied with its own affairs and with the grand design of completing the expulsion of the Moors and of consolidating the kingdoms of

* L. xii. † *Ibid*, t. xii., c. 1.

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Castile and Aragon, that it was not until the next generation that she assumed that attitude which menaced the liberties of Europe, when the discovery of America, the conquest of Mexico and Peru, and the brilliant exploits of her sailors in the east, made her the most powerful empire in the world. All this was to come; Louis could not foresee it, and Spain was to him of secondary importance.

Burgundy interposed between him and Germany, and it was not until the death of Charles the Bold, in 1477, which left his daughter Mary duchess of Burgundy, that the emperor became formidable. Could Louis have foreseen that the marriage of that lady with the emperor's son, Maximilian, would have been the forerunner of the transfer of all her possessions to Spain, he would, probably, have spared no means to compass the destruction of one or both of them. The duke of Savoy and the Swiss were his only other neighbors, and from them he had not much to fear.

When Louis XI. ascended the throne his reputation for subtlety and diplomatic ability had already been recognized. The English said that of all the men in France, the dauphin was he whom they most feared.* The nobles of France had also had a taste of his powers in this respect, and were cautious accordingly. It is to his honor that he early recognized the value of printing, then recently invented. He was an insatiable reader, and when he fled to Flanders he ordered his library to be sent to him from Dauphiné. On his accession to the throne he invited printers from Strasburg to Paris, and he protected them against such as believed them to be sorcerers.* In this he was in advance of many of his contemporaries. Michelet, however, throws some doubt upon the statement.† But the estimate which the historian has made of Louis XI. rather corroborates it. He says: "This restless man was born with all modern instincts, good and bad, but chiefly with the zeal of destruction and

* Taillandier, *Resumé historique de l'introduction de l'Imprimerie à Paris. Memoires des Antiquités de France*, t. xiii.

† "Nul n'aurait mieux senti l'importance du nouvel art, *s'il était vrai, comme on l'a dit*, qu' à son avenement il eût envoyér à Strasbourg pour faire venir des imprimeurs."—l. xii., c. 4.

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impatience of the past. His was a quick, dry, prosaic intellect, which nothing and no one could blind, save, perhaps, one man, the child of fortune, of the sword, and of stratagem, Francesco Sforza."* He was, then, eminently qualified to take a leading part in the affairs of an age when old things were being destroyed and that generation was becoming "impatient of the past." The ancient Byzantine empire had just succumbed to the Turks, who stormed and took Constantinople in 1453, thereby driving the learned men of Greece into other lands, where they contributed to the revival of learning and the cultivation of the classic languages. Old ideas, which had long been buried in the darkness of the middle ages, came to light again, and were hailed with delight. Ladies of rank studied them zealously, and gentlemen began to take pride in their own progress in ancient literature. Louis XI. early perceived this and encouraged it. He despised the childish chivalry of the house of Burgundy, and showed as much the moment he became king. At the grand tournament given by the duke of Burgundy at Paris, when all the great barons had run courses, tilted, and shown off, a stranger entered the lists, a rude champion hired by the king for the purpose, who defied and unhorsed them all. Louis enjoyed the sight, concealed in a corner.

His first step on his arrival at Paris, after being crowned at Rheims, was to displace the ministers and servants of his father, and to substitute for them those who had been partizans of his own in former years. He imposed some fresh taxes, which some of the cities resisted; but he made such an example of the leaders of the revolt that they speedily submitted. He was determined to secure his authority in his kingdom and to reduce the power of the nobility. But before he undertook to attempt the latter after considerable negotiation, he gained over the pope, Pius II., to his side, by abolishing the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII. By this famous document it had been declared "that every general council represents the church universal, and has a spiritual

* "Sforza et le dauphin son admirateur, s'entendaient à merveille. Sforza ne dedaigna pas de faire un traité avec ce fugitif (6 Octobre, 1460."); —*Bibliotheque Royale, mss.*, Legrand, l. iii. p. 59.

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authority to which even the authority of the pope is subject, and that the nomination to bishoprics and other benefices be taken away from the popes; that every church shall elect its own bishop; every monastery its own abbot or prior, and so on." This pragmatic sanction had been adopted in an assembly at Bourges in 1438, whereat Louis himself, then dauphin, the princes of the blood, the grandees, and the prelates of the kingdom were present. The king had caused it to be published and registered by the parliament, and that body now opposed the repeal of it. Louis, however, paid very little attention to them. The document was delivered up to Pius II., on condition that he would abstain from aiding and abetting the claims of Ferdinand of Aragon to the kingdom of Naples, in opposition to the duke of Anjou. The pope accepted the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, but not the condition. To Louis' great annoyance, however, he smothered his anger. The course of events proved favorable to Ferdinand, who defeated his rival at Troia, August 18, 1462, and John of Anjou fled to Ischia. Not much better success attended the operations of the French in England, where they appeared as the auxiliaries of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. They escaped from shipwreck off the coast of Yorkshire only to be twice defeated and their party ruined. Margaret fled to Flanders and Henry concealed himself in Lancashire. Hitherto the foreign policy of Louis had not been successful, nor did he add to his credit by the part he took in the affair of Blanche of Navarre, about which it is unnecessary to say anything here.

But he played a more artful game in Burgundy by secretly encouraging the people of Liège in their rebellious projects against the duke; and he gained the favor of Castile by giving her a part of Navarre, and the cities of Savona and Genoa to Sforza of Milan. As he did these and many other things without consulting the ministers, the latter could not fathom his designs. Nevertheless he was strengthening himself on the south in order the better to encounter his enemies on the north, for he dreaded a combination of England, Burgundy, and Brittany against him. To fortify him-

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self still further, he raised money enough by his own personal exertions to redeem the towns on the Somme from the duke of Burgundy. And he induced the indolent, pleasure-loving Edward IV. of England, to sign a truce. Thus secured from aggression on the part of the foreigners, he began his long-meditated attack on the independence of Brittany and Burgundy. His first step was to fulminate ordinances against the avidity of Rome, and declare that he or his judge would determine all questions of disputed possession in ecclesiastical matters. This was followed by a proclamation ordering the clergy to give in within a year a statement of the property belonging to the church, and another to viscounts and receivers to collect the fruits, fiefs, lands, and seigniories, to be paid over to the king in default of homage or non-payment of dues. These great measures were promulgated by a simple decree of the chamber of accounts. The provost of Paris was charged with the carrying out of the proclamation to the clergy, and commissioners were sent into the provinces to collect the fines, dues, and taxes. The king then banished the pope's collectors and seized the temporalities of three cardinals and several bishops. Moreover he took possession of towns belonging to the most powerful nobles as security for their good behavior, and he continued to keep near him the children of many of them as hostages. He entered into a scheme for inducing Edward IV. to marry the princess Bona of Savoy, but this was thwarted by the romantic marriage of that voluptuary with Elizabeth Woodville.

His most subtle scheme of all, however, was to induce the aged duke of Burgundy to give him control over the count of Charolais. But this, also, was thwarted by an accident; for while Louis was plotting to get possession of the young prince, a bandit or rover, connected with the house of Croy, the enemies of the count, undertook the enterprise on his own account; the adventurer, however, set about it in such a blundering manner that he was detected.* The count, glad

* For a full account of this affair, see Michelet, l. xiii., c. 2. Duclos, t. i., pp. 152–7. The two accounts differ in some important particulars.

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of an excuse for a quarrel with Louis, made the most of this affair, and frightened the duke from keeping his appointment with the king on the frontier. Louis demanded an apology, but got nothing but defiance. Meanwhile a formidable conspiracy against him was organized between the king's brother, the nobles, and the clergy. Louis saw the crisis coming, and found himself alone in his kingdom, without a friend, and from abroad he could obtain no aid except from Naples and Milan. Now was the time for him to show what stuff he was made of, and he proved equal to the occasion. We think that on a fair review of his position, and of the mode in which he extricated himself from his difficulties, it will be admitted that he was a really great man. The first thing necessary was to get good information as to what was going on as soon as possible. To do this he at once established the post. Every four leagues there was a station, at which horses were provided for the king's couriers, but for none other on pain of death. He re-established the high financial tribunal, the court of aids; and he obliged all clergy and nobles, on purchase of estates from plebeians, to pay taxes—a measure which, while it increased the hatred of the privileged classes against him, made the plebeians his friends. He next convened, at Rouen, deputies from the cities of the north, justified himself before them, and drew from them a promise that they would fortify and defend their respective towns. The princes were not idle all this time. "The league for the public good," as it was called, was headed by the count of Charolais, who had assumed the government of Burgundy. The king's brother (the duke of Berri) the dukes of Bourbon, Brittany, and Anjou, were the other leaders. They threatened the king from east, west, north, and south; but he adopted the tactics since so successfully pursued by the first Napoleon; he attacked them in detail with such celerity that they had no time to concentrate their forces. Town after town fell into his hands, and as he showed clemency to the conquered he gained friends everywhere. The conspirators were struck with amazement, and fled; the Armagnacs obtained a truce; the count of Charolais (whom we will henceforth call Charles the Bold) marched to Paris, thinking he

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would be welcomed there; instead of which the Parisians shut their gates and repulsed him. But Paris was equally unfriendly to the king, and when he advanced to its relief, the citizens would not assist him. In this dilemma he boldly attacked Charles at Mont l'hery, where ensued one of the most singular battles on record. The Burgundians, unable to comprehend the situation, fought for awhile, and then marched off the field, burning their baggage. The bulk of the king's forces also deserted him; so that Louis and Charles found themselves face to face, unsupported. The former remained on the battle-field; the latter, with great hesitation, entered Paris, where he was coldly received.

His trials had only begun. He contrived to overawe Paris, but his enemies were concentrating their forces, and his cause was considered by every one hopeless. The principal cities went over to the princes, and it became necessary to treat. Louis yielded to the demands of his foes, giving up Normandy, Brittany, and Saintonge, and betrothing his eldest daughter, then two years old, to Charles, giving her as a dowry, Champagne, Langres, Sens, Laon, and the Vermandais. The states-general was abolished, and, in their stead, thirty-six notables, with Dunois as their president, were to consult for the public good. The king was shut up within Paris, with no power to collect taxes or to give or sell an office. "He was," says Michelet, "in the situation of a poor arrested debtor, who can neither retrieve himself nor pay, but whose very entrails are being devoured by a ravenous set of bailiffs, tipstaffs, and bailiff's followers, quartered in his house, to live at rack and manger."* The wonder is that he was not got rid of all together; but he was not; and a turn of the wheel of fortune brought him to the top of the tire.

The dukes of Berri, Brittany, and Bourbon could not agree among themselves about Normandy; and the former, six weeks after the signing of the treaty, sent for Louis to assist them. The moment was favorable. Charles the Bold was occupied in chastising Dinant and Liege. The duke of

* t. xiv., c. 1.

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Berri, who had been made duke of Normandy, was a minor, and quite incompetent to manage for himself. Louis heavily bribed the dukes of Brittany and Bourbon to remain neutral, and then he proceeded to take possession of the Norman cities, one by one. Rouen itself at last surrendered, and Louis had the consummate policy to treat them all as if they had not misconducted themselves. Very few persons were punished, but many were laden with benefits, among others his great enemy Dammartin, all of whom became his faithful friends. The king's brother fled into Italy instead of to Charles, who thus lost forever the precious opportunity of having him to turn to an account for the disturbance of France when he wanted. Louis entered Rouen on the 7th February, 1466. The dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, exasperated at his success, courted the alliance of England. To meet this fresh storm the king laid on heavy taxes, and secured the services of the duke of Bourbon, by making him lieutenant over the central and southern districts of France. He also detached Dunois and St. Pol from his enemies; but the latter gave him no breathing time. England and her allies, Aragon, Castile, and Brittany, prepared to assist Charles the Bold (now become duke by his father's death). Louis was again in a critical position; but he did not lose his presence of mind. He armed Paris and exempted the city from taxes, notwithstanding his pressing need of money, and he made a great parade of piety, continually attending mass, offering gifts at the altar, and granting pardon to criminals. In another respect he resembled Napoleon: he believed in his star! On the 12th October, 1467, after attending vespers at Notre Dame, he returned to his palace, it being pitch dark, and saw above his head a star, and the star followed him until he had entered the Tournelles.* Call it superstition or what one will, there is undoubted pluck in adhering to such a faith, and taking all consequences.

Louis soon had them to take. The duke of Burgundy had taken vengeance on Dinant and Liege, and was at liberty to

* Michelet, l. xv., c. 4.

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march against him. The duke of Brittany had taken Caën and Alençon. But it happened, fortunately for Louis, that Charles, instead of commencing operations, busied himself with his marriage with the English princess, Margaret of York, Edward's sister. This gave Louis time to fall upon the duke of Brittany and force him to treat, and to cede Normandy to John of Anjou, the duke of Calabria, who was now wholly the king's. Whatever may have been the vices and failings of this extraordinary man, it is impossible not to allow him the credit of being one of the most astute statesmen of his age. Not one of his opponents, not even Charles the Bold, possessed a tithe of his craftiness and finesse. In fact, had he not been so gifted he could not have maintained his position in those days of perfidy and cruelty. He conceived the scheme of gaining over Charles himself, his most bitter enemy. He persuaded the duke to consent to an interview, but not without difficulty; and, having obtained a safe-conduct, he went, almost unattended, to Peronne, where the duke then was. He was considerably alarmed, however, at finding there several of his most inveterate enemies, whom he had tried to catch and who had tried to catch him. He, therefore, took up his residence in the gloomy castle of that city. He was really in danger, for his enemies had spread a report that at his instigation the people of Liège had murdered their bishop and risen in rebellion again. Charles was furious, and for three days seriously contemplated putting Louis to death. The horrible anxiety of the king at this time, and his rage at having placed himself in his enemy's power, have been well depicted by Sir Walter Scott in "Quentin Durward." But Charles contented himself with extorting the districts of La Brie and Champagne from his prisoner, and making him accompany him to Liège to pacify the revolters. The king, doubtless actuated by fear, assisted at the destruction of this unhappy city, and was a witness of the horrors perpetrated by order of Charles. But the latter was appeased, and allowed Louis to return to Paris, amazed at his good fortune at escaping at all, but humiliated at having been so rash as to trust himself with Charles.

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Louis had behaved with great courtesy and liberality to everybody during his visit to Peronne, and in this respect he was favorably contrasted with Charles, who was coarse, violent, and stingy. He made many friends—among them the celebrated Philippe de Commines, the historian, who now appears upon the scene. Born and brought up in the household of the duke of Burgundy, entirely dependent on him, he became his chamberlain and confidant. He was a very wary man, and thoroughly posted up in public affairs, and he probably foresaw that the deep cunning of Louis would one day triumph over the rashness of Charles. The latter was hastening to his ruin. It would be impracticable to go in detail into his intrigues with England, and his scheme to acquire control over the duke of Guienne, the king's brother. The first failed through the death of the earl of Warwick on the field of Barnet, the last through the death of the duke of Guienne himself. Charles and his allies of Brittany, Spain, England, and Savoy, determined to dismember France, but, as usual, they were not united. Charles entered France, burning and ravaging, but was foiled in his progress by the heroic defence of Beauvais (June, 1472). He returned to Burgundy, leaving the duke of Brittany to his fate. Louis had again extricated himself from his difficulties, conquered Brittany and recovered the whole south. Commines left the duke's service, and entered that of Louis—A. D. 1472)—a very significant sign. He became the historian of that period. From his memoirs it may be conjectured that he wrote them about eight years after the death of Louis, and twenty-seven after the events he relates. As he wrote chiefly from memory he has not always been very exact in his relation of facts, though there is no reason to suppose that he designedly falsified anything. Contemporary authors are not always the most capable of writing the history of their times; they frequently do not know the hidden springs which give rise to the facts they relate. These become known subsequently, through the medium of memoirs written by the chief actors in them, and published after their death.

It is almost impossible to discuss the merits and demerits

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of Louis XI. without going into considerable detail of his history. The voluminous particulars given by Commines and Jean de Troyes* show what an eventful life he led. One secret of his success was, that he never lost an opportunity of engaging men of merit in his interest, no matter what their origin, noble, humble, or base, as in the case of Oliver le Roux and Le Balafrè, Juvenal des Ursins and Commines. It does not distinctly appear what were the motives which prompted the latter to exchange the service of the duke of Burgundy for that of Louis, but the king gave him 40,000 livres wherewith to purchase the lordship of Argenton, and he bestowed upon him the principality of Talmont. This was the price of the first statesman of his age, whom, however, Louis did not admit to any share of authority. One object the king had in engaging in his service men of this description was to draw them off from his enemies. We must be brief in reviewing the remainder of the career of Louis. After the retreat of Charles, the king negotiated a truce with him and the duke of Brittany, and Charles, restless and revengeful, turned his enmity against the Germans and the Swiss, from whom he received severe checks. Still more enraged, he resolved to attack his old enemy, Louis, once more, and stirred up England and Brittany to join him. Edward IV. was bent upon making a great display in this revival of the designs of Henry V., and took a year to make preparations. The consequence was that when the time for action came there was no concert between the allies, Charles was exasperated at the delay, and when the English landed in France he treated them with rudeness, and failed to provide them with provisions. The Bretons, too, staid at home, so that the English found themselves left in the lurch. Now, if there was one quality which Louis could boast of more than another, it was knowing how to treat his enemies with generosity and to bribe them at the right time. His sagacity did not fail him in this emergency. He offered to pay the expenses of the English and a round sum to Edward, and he supplied the famished soldiers with

* *Cronique Scandaleuse*.

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provisions. The result was that Edward agreed to a nine years' truce, and returned to England. Henceforward every thing prospered with Louis. His ambitious rival, Charles the Bold, ruined himself in his wars with the Swiss, who routed him at Granson and Morat, and he perished at the siege of Nancy, January 5, 1477.

Once rid of this antagonist Louis made himself master of Hainault, Lorraine, Anjou, and Provence, and, with the exception of Brittany, France then comprised nearly the same extent of territory which it does now. But the king was sinking, owing to his incessant labors and anxiety, and his triumphs came too late for him to enjoy them. He withdrew into solitude at Plessis-les-Tours, kept his son at Amboise, where he never saw him, and sent his wife to Dauphinè. He took little care of himself, though his vigilance over the affairs of the nation and of the world was unceasing. His chief occupation was hunting. He would hunt all day through wind and rain, dining where he could, and chatting with the peasants. Suddenly he was seized with a passion for executing what he called justice upon offenders, and ceasing to be a hunter, he became a judge, and sat incessantly trying criminals. And, not satisfied with this, he appointed commissioners to conduct the trials, and as he gave them beforehand the property of the accused; these men were directly interested in finding the parties guilty, and thus enriched themselves. In this manner Louis crushed the great nobles, especially the duke of Bourbon and the Count du Perche, both of whom were stripped of their possessions. It may well be imagined that these high-handed outrages created many enemies. The king was well aware of this, and took precautions against any attempts on his life. Commines says: "That many were anxious to enter Plessis and *finish matters*. Therefore the king caused his castle of Plessis-les-Tours to be encompassed with great bars of iron in the form of thick grating, and at the four corners of the house four sparrow-nests of iron, strong, massy, and thick, were built. . . . . He placed ten bowmen in the ditches to shoot at any man that durst approach the castle before the opening of the gates, after which these men mounted into the sparrow-nests.

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. . . . The gate was never opened, nor the drawbridge let down before eight in the morning . . . . nor was any person admitted except by the wicket, and with the king's knowledge."*

Two attacks of paralysis, which neither guards nor bars could keep away, warned him in the summer of 1481 that his end was approaching. He recovered from them to concoct more projects with his friend Commines, whom he made his bedfellow, and with his vile sycophants, Du Lude, De Saint Pierre, his physician Jacques Coctier, Doyet, and Olivier le Dain. But fortune was on his side. The sudden death of Mary of Burgundy, the wife of Maximilian, March 27, 1483, opened up the question of the lordship of Flanders. Mary left two children; the Flemings would not give them up to Maximilian, who was poor and without influence. But Louis, by dint of bribery and fair promises, persuaded them to affiance one of the children, the little Margaret, to his son, the dauphin. They, according to Commines, would have granted him much more. But of what avail was it? He was dying! When he ratified the treaty with them his right arm was paralyzed, and he was compelled to lay his left hand on the gospel. He clung to life, and sought aid from the holy Francisco Paulo to prolong his days. But with all his dread of death, he gave sage advice to the dauphin, his successor, and to others, and he displayed his characteristic hostility to the priesthood by rejecting their services, and dictating a severe reproof to the bishop of Tours, who had exhorted him to lighten the taxes and repent of his offences against the church. He died on the 24th of August, 1483, invoking our lady of Embrun. He desired to be interred in the church of Notre Dame at Cléry, not in the abbey of St. Denis, with his ancestors, and requested to be represented on his tomb, not advanced in years, but in the prime of life, with his dog and hunting-horn, and in his hunter's dress.†

A different estimate of this monarch's character has been formed by modern historians. Michelet represents him as resembling "a damned spirit regretfully haunting its old

* *Memoires*, l. vi., c. 7. † Michelet, l. xvii., c. 5.

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abode; regretfully, since, far from being one who had come back from the other world, he seemed rather possessed by the demon of the future. If ever he went out it was, owl-like, at night, in his sorry gray cloak."* "Hardly was he king before he assumed the pilgrim's dress, the cloak of thick gray cloth, and travelling gaiters, and he retained it to the day of his death. Encamping rather than dwelling in the vast Hôtel des Tournelles, ever restless, his brain ever at work, 'refining day and night on men's thoughts,' no one would have taken him for the heir in the house of his fathers."† The judgment of Michelet upon him is severe and unfavorable. This writer has diligently consulted the contemporary historians Chastellain, Lisieux, Commines, and others. But Commines, who was the king's most intimate friend, is much less severe,‡ and in some respects laudatory.

That Louis was not the wholly diabolical tyrant which novelists have delighted in representing him to be, has, we think, been proved by Duclos.§ According to him, Louis was liberal and friendly towards the "plebeian" classes, although suspicious and treacherous against the nobles. He would sometimes go from house to house to dine and sup with the citizens, and would invite to his own table any tradesman or foreigner from whom he could gain useful knowledge. He would inquire into their affairs, interpose in their marriages, and be godfather to their children. He was fond of jokes, and would take a smart repartee in good part. He was a lover and protector of learning, and compared an ignorant man who has a library to a man who sees not the load he has on his back. But with all this desire for knowledge he had always some astrologers in his pay, and believed in their power to foretell events. This, however, was the error of the age. He did many acts of charity to the poor, but withal he was a cruel prince towards those who sought

* "Il avait plutôt l'air d'une âme en peine, qui à regret hantait le vieux logis; à regret, loin d'être un revenant, il semblait bien plutôt possédé du démon de l'avenir. S'il sortit des Tournelles, c'etait la soir, en hibon, dans sa triste cape grise."—l. xiii., c. 1.

† "Personne ne l'eût pris pour l'héritier dans la maison de ses pères."—*Ibid.*

‡ See his summary of the character of Louis XI., book vi., c. 12.

§ t. ii., pp. 350–9.

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to thwart his schemes; and he was a bad son. There is difference of opinion as to his political wisdom. He certainly was adroit at extricating himself from difficulties, but not so at preventing them. He made a great oversight on his accession to the throne in turning out all the old ministers of his father. It made them his enemies and brought on the war for the public good. He ran needless risk at Peronne, and he overlooked the desirable match with Anne of Brittany for his son to run after Mary of Burgundy. He was very fond of the dauphin, and treated him with too great indulgence.

The results of his reign have been thus summed up by Duclos. He "kept up necessary armies, fortified or rebuilt towns, settled manufactures, made rivers navigable, built edifices, and gained his enemies by money, to spare the blood of his subjects. He gained more conquests by his policy than other kings do by arms. He enlarged the kingdom by adding to it the county of Roussillon, the two Burgundies, Artois, Picardy, Provence, Anjou, and Maine. He reduced the house of Armagnac, divided that of Foix, humbled the great men, restrained their outrages, and concluded with making a glorious peace, leaving at his death an army of sixty thousand men in good condition; a train of artillery complete, and all the strong places fortified and furnished with provisions."*

To this we may add that, in an age which produced rulers like Charles the Bold, Pius II., Edward IV., Ferdinand and Isabella, Matthias Corvinus, Sforza, Cosmo de' Medici, George Podiebrad, Scanderbeg, Ivan III., Casimir IV., Sten Sture, and Mahomet II., Louis was able to hold his ground against the best of them. In contemporary history the name of Louis XI. stands out prominently. All the neighboring potentates feared him, and he left France to his son and successor Charles VIII., the most powerful nation in western Europe. The encouragement he gave to learning bore fruit in the next generation, with Rabelais and the wits, poets and historians of the court of Francis I., who was mainly indebted to him for the means of carrying on his great contest with Charles V.

* Vol. ii., p. 360.

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ART. IV.—1. *Stimulants and Narcotics, their mutual relations, with special researches on the action of Alcohol, Ether, and Chloroform, on the Vital Organism.* By FRANCIS E. ANSTIE, M. D., M. R. C. P. London.

2. *Twelve Years in China. The People, the Rebels, and the Mandarins.* By a BRITISH RESIDENT. With Illustrations. Edinburgh.

3. *The Opium Trade.* By NATHAN ALLEN, M. D. Lowell.

4. *The Opium Habit, with suggestions as to its remedy.* New York. 1868.

FEW are aware of the magnitude of the evil of opium eating, or of the extent to which it is carried, not merely in China, which is, *par excellence*, the opium-consuming country, but in Europe, Asia and on this continent. Opium, pure and simple, or in the form of laudanum or morphine, is consumed in the United States habitually by thousands of persons. The number of confirmed opium eaters in this country is not less, judging from the testimony of druggists in all parts of the land, as well as from other sources, than from eighty to one hundred thousand. The classes who are the chief consumers are professional and literary men, persons suffering from protracted nervous disorders, women obliged by their necessities to work beyond their strength, and, in brief, all whose business, or vices make special demands upon the nervous system. Maimed and shattered survivors from a hundred battle-fields, diseased and disabled soldiers released from hostile prisons, grieved and hopeless wives and mothers made wretched by the slaughter of those who were dearest to them, have also resorted to opium for relief.

It is probable, therefore, that the number of consumers has been underrated. But in treating the subject, the physician or statistician labors under the disadvantage of the want of proper and sufficient statistics. The habit of taking opium is frequently, perhaps mostly, practised in secret, and ordinarily it is not until it has produced some fearful effects upon the system that the physician is called in. As opium,

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laudanum and morphine are prescribed for a variety of complaints, the reports of druggists as to the quantity sold must be taken with an allowance. Thus it will be seen that until some plan shall be organized whereby the statistics of opium eating shall be ascertained, no certain statement can be made respecting the number of consumers in this country. Dr. Nathan Allen, of Massachusetts, who devoted great attention to the subject, twenty years ago, estimated the number of persons who habitually consumed opium in China at four millions. But since he wrote, the Chinese government has been compelled by England to throw open its ports and legalize the traffic in the pernicious drug, so that the number of consumers in that country has indefinitely increased. There has been an increase of them in India and Turkey, and, in fact, throughout Asia, but no reliable statistics can be procured beyond such as may be made out from the quantity of land under cultivation of the poppy, and the number of chests exported. The opium-producing countries are Turkey and India. Most of that used for medicinal purposes in Europe and America is imported from the former country, but the latter produces the greatest quantity.

It has been estimated that more than one hundred thousand acres of the richest plains of central India are occupied in the production of the poppy, giving employment to many thousands of men, women and children. The plant is also extensively cultivated in Malna, a province of Western India about four hundred miles from Bombay, which is its principal market. From the official report of the chief articles of trade exported from that city (with the exception of cotton) the capital invested in the opium traffic is greater than that invested in any other article. Some idea of the quantity sold may be formed from the statement of the returns furnished to the Indian government. The value of the opium exported from Bombay in 1850–1 was £2,304,060; in 1853–4 it amounted to £2,748,135; in 1860–1 it ran up to £6,609,599, and decreased in 1863–4 to £5,348,158. The total value of the exports of all articles of commerce in those years was respectively £6,760,464; £8,138,542; £17,564,881; £38,568,-

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725.* The value of the opium exported from Calcutta during the same years respectively was £3,155,075; £3,688,963; £3,575,114; £5,207,236; and the total value of all articles exported was, respectively, £10,273,857; £10,571,217; £13,654,509; £19,328,766.

The immense increase in the exports during 1863 was owing to the demand for cotton, in consequence of the cessation of the supply from our southern states, owing to the war. Formerly the price paid to the cultivator of opium was about 240 rupees ($120) a chest, and the government revenue from opium amounted to one-seventh of the total income of the Indian empire. Of this, about £1,000,000 in round numbers was produced by the duties levied in Bombay, and £3,000,000 by the monthly sale of opium in Calcutta: in all £4,000,000.†

This will account for the haste with which England entered into a war with China when the government of that country seized the opium in the Canton merchants' storehouses, and prohibited its further importation. Prior to 1855 the average production of the drug in Bengal was 36,000 chests, and the average price of each chest was 1050 rupees. But in that year the government removed certain restrictions on the cultivation of the poppy. Any one was thereupon allowed to raise it to any extent he pleased, though he was bound to sell it at a fixed price, settled beforehand, and never altered, to the opium agent. The profit on this price is so great that the peasants will cultivate it wherever it will grow. The result of this government measure was an increase of production which raised the sales to about 50,000 chests. The price of the article fell. The chests which formerly brought 1050 rupees now sold for 600, and the difference in quantity no longer compensates for the difference in price.‡

For the successful cultivation of the poppy, a mild climate, rich soil, plentiful irrigation, and diligent husbandry are ab-

* McCulloch, *Dictionary of Commerce*, art. "Bombay." 1869.

† *Ibid*, art. "Calcutta."

‡ *Cyclopedia of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, by J. Smith Homans, art. "India."

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solutely necessary. The seed is sown in November, and the juice is collected during February and March. The falling of the flowers from the plant is the signal for making incisions, which is done by the cultivators in the cool of the evening, with hooked knives, in a circular direction, around the capsules. From these incisions a white, milky juice exudes, which is concreted into a dark brown mass by the heat of the next day's sun, and this, scraped off every morning, as the plant continues to exude, constitutes opium in its crude state. It is then converted into balls or cakes, covered with dry poppy leaves, and packed in chests of mango wood, made expressly for the purpose, each chest containing from 125 to 150 pounds.

Formerly the manufacture of opium was a monopoly of the East India Company, and, being owners of the poppy districts, they contrived to keep the poor laborers and native landowners constantly in debt. Having them thus in their power, they compelled the Hindoos to raise the poppy and deliver the opium to their agents at a fixed price. But, as we have seen, this system of tyranny was abrogated by the British government when the company's charter expired, and any one may now cultivate opium.

The history of the opium trade with China is not devoid of interest. The plan of sending opium from Bengal to that country was first suggested by a Mr. Watson, in the year 1764, to a council of representatives of the East India Company, held at Calcutta. Mr. Wheeler, at that time an officer and an influential member of the company, advocated the plan, and after being favorably entertained, it was adopted as a happy expedient towards raising a revenue for supporting the government. Previously to this time a small trade in opium, rarely exceeding two hundred chests a year, had been carried on with the Chinese by some Portuguese merchants, who brought their opium from Turkey. From 1767 to 1774 the East India Company made several adventures of opium to China, which, for various causes, were not very successful. In 1794 the English succeeded in stationing one of their ships, laden exclusively with opium, at Whampoa, where she lay unmolested for more than a year, selling out

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her cargo. This city continued about twenty-five years to be the principal market for the sale of the drug, though the trade encountered considerable opposition on the part of the Chinese. Macao also furnished somewhat of a market, but in 1821 the opium merchants, on account of the difficulties attending the sale at these places, withdrew entirely from the harbor of Whampoa and Macao, and stationed their vessels under the shelter of Lin-tin island, in the bay, at the entrance of Canton river. Henceforth this place became the seat of extensive traffic, and the trade increased rapidly. Eligible places on the east and north-east coast of China were selected to station receiving vessels, to which the Chinese might have access, and become participators in the trade.

It may with propriety be said that the English were sedulously training the Chinese to become consumers of opium, and their efforts were ultimately crowned with success. The beginning was small. In 1794 the amount of opium sent to China was 3,000 chests. In 1824 it had increased to 12,639 chests, and in 1834 to 21,785 chests, valued at $14,454,193. In 1837 it amounted to between 30,000 and 40,000 chests, valued at $25,000,000. The demoralization produced by opium smoking had now attained to such a pitch that the Chinese government resolved to take decided measures to suppress the traffic. Commissioner Lin was sent to Canton with full powers. He seized all the opium he could lay his hands on, and he compelled the British merchants to give up 20,000 chests which they had in store. They resisted his orders, but upon the government superintendent giving them an undertaking that they should be indemnified, they gave up their property. Lin destroyed the whole of it. The British government demanded satisfaction of the Chinese emperor, and this being refused, war was declared. The British commenced a series of naval and military operations, which resulted in the destruction of the Chinese navy, and the capture of Canton, Nankin, Shanghai, Foochow, Amoy, and other important sea-ports, together with the island of Chusan. The Chinese sued for peace, and in 1842 a treaty was concluded whereby they

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were bound to pay for the opium they had destroyed, all the expenses of the war, and $5,000,000 as ransom for Canton. Five of the principal sea-ports were thrown open to foreign commerce, and the island of Chusan was exchanged for that of Hong-Kong, which was ceded to England in perpetuity.

On the conclusion of the war the trade in opium went on more briskly than ever. There was now no hindrance to it; for though, by the laws of China, it had been made illegal, the Chinese government did not dare to provoke her powerful antagonist to a second trial of strength.

The whole history of this opium traffic, and the war by which it was established, is a stain upon the fame of England which can never be effaced. It is painful to contrast the conduct of the emperor of China with that of the British governor of Hong-Kong, Mr. Davis. The latter licensed the public sale of the drug by retail in Hong-Kong, and twenty "saloons" were at once opened for smoking it. The emperor, when urged to derive a revenue from the importation of opium, replied, "It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will, for profit and sensuality, defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." A reply worthy of a christian. But Taakwang was a heathen in the estimation of the civilized world. He saw not only the demoralization of his people, but the injurious effect which the expenditure of their money upon opium occasioned. They were notoriously anxious to trade with foreign nations—at least, so the English envoys testified—and when Mr. Martin inquired of one of the chief officers of Shanghai how trade could be best promoted, the officer immediately, and with great sternness, replied: "Cease sending us millions' worth of opium, and the people will have more money to purchase your manufactures." But the English are not the only people engaged in the opium trade. Vessels devoted exclusively to this traffic are owned by American merchants, and sail under the American flag.

There has lately sprung up among medical men a desire to exalt the virtues of opium, notwithstanding the fearful accounts received of its fatal effects when freely indulged in.

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They assert that it is the practice of *smoking* it which is so injurious, and this is the favorite mode of taking it among the Chinese. In Turkey and Persia, where opium *eating* has prevailed for more than a century, travellers represent the evil as being very much less than it is in China. The change produced upon the system by the former practice is not characterized by so rapid or marked a progress. Its victims, too, retain a better control, as well as a longer use of their mental faculties, and are known oftener to reform. It should also be observed that there are two classes of temperament in respect to this drug. It violently constricts or excites nausea in some persons, and with them there is but little fear that the use of it will degenerate into a habit. But there are others over whose nerves it spreads a delightful calm, whose feelings it tranquilizes, and in whom it produces a habitual state of reverie. These persons should be on their guard, lest it should become to them the direst of curses. The particular effects of opium differ according to the constitutions of those who use it. In De Quincy it exhibited its power in gorgeous dreams, in consequence of some special tendency in that direction in his temperament, and not because dreaming is an invariable concomitant of opium eating. Different races, also, seem to be differently affected by its use. It seldom, perhaps never, intoxicates the European, but it seems habitually to intoxicate the Oriental. It does not generally distort the person of the English or American opium-eater, but it is represented as frequently producing this effect in the last.

Dr. Anstie, in his elaborate work on "Stimulants and Narcotics," discusses very fully the properties of opium, so far as they are known, and he seems to have difficulty in coming to a decision for or against the use of it.* He says, "It is doubtful whether a sufficient number of cases of excess in opium eating, or of recovery from the habit, have yet been recorded, or whether such as have been recorded have been so collated as to warrant a positive statement as

* *Stimulants and Narcotics*, p. 79.

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to all the phenomena attendant upon its use or its abandonment."*

One difficulty encountered by physicians in the investigation of the phenomena of opium-eating in America and Europe is, that they are seldom called in by the patient until his system has been vitiated by the abuse of the drug. Hence its incipient and premonitory symptoms are less familiarly known. Dr. Anstie asserts that, with the great majority of European constitutions, opium produces nothing resembling mental excitement. He tried it on himself in a large dose, and found that it produced mere depression and misery.† With most orientals and with some Europeans, whose constitutions, or whose habits of life are peculiar, a condition is produced by the taking of a large but not fatal dose, which is very remarkable and very difficult to analyze. These persons are able, sometimes without any previous practice, to take large quantities of opium without suffering stupefaction. On the contrary, they appear much exhilarated in spirits, and their minds work with much freedom. In some cases muscular power and the desire for exertion seem to be increased, but more frequently there is great indisposition to locomotion or hard work of any kind. These effects last from eighteen to forty-eight hours, and are succeeded, in some cases, by a heavy, semi-comatose sleep of long duration. In other instances no particular effects are noted.‡

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" Dr. Anstie says that there has been much premature speculation as to the properties of opium, and that it is to this that we must ascribe the extremely incorrect descriptions of its action upon the organism which have appeared even in scientific works of good repute.§ It is generally supposed that the principal value of opium consists in its soporific or narcotic powers; but these are, in fact, the least valuable. In those countries where the poppy is indigenous, opium is an article in daily use with the great majority of the people. By them it is employed as a powerful and rapidly acting stimulant,

* *Ibid*, p. 8. † *Stimulants and Narcotics*, p. 79. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid*, p. 147.

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and it enables the taker to undergo severe and continuous physical exertion without the assistance of ordinary food, or when on short rations. This fact is related by numerous eastern travellers. Dr. Barnes relates a striking instance of it. He says: "On one occasion I made a very fatiguing night-march with a Cutchie horseman. In the morning, after having traveled thirty miles, I was obliged to assent to his proposal of halting for a few minutes, which he employed in sharing a quantity of about two drachms of opium between himself and his jaded horse. The effect of the dose was soon evident in both, for the horse finished a journey of forty miles with great apparent facility, and the rider absolutely became more active and intelligent."* Dr. Barnes declares that moderate opium-eating does not appear to shorten life, or to decrease vigor, an opinion in which he is supported by numerous competent authorities on the customs of the East.

Dr. Anstie also cites the authority of Dr. Eatwell in support of the value of opium as a stimulant. The latter states that the health of the workmen in the opium factories of India is quite up to the average standard, and that the effect of the habitual use of the drug on the mass of the people in China is not visibly injurious.† The doctor must mean the moderate use of it in eating, for the testimony as to the fearful effects of smoking it is overpowering. There can be no two opinions on that head. It will be sufficient to quote that of Lord Jocelyn, who was engaged as military secretary in the British army during the campaign of 1840 in China. He gives the following description of what he witnessed at Singapore:

"One of the streets in the centre of the town is wholly devoted to shops for the sale of this poison, and here, in the evening, may be seen after the labors of the day are over, crowds of Chinese, who seek these places to satisfy their depraved appetites. The rooms where they sit and smoke are surrounded by wooden couches, with places for the head to rest upon, and generally a side room is devoted to gambling. The pipe is a reed of about an inch in diameter, and the aperture in the bowl, for the admixture of opium, is not larger than a pin's head. The drug is prepared with some kind of conserve, and a very small portion is suffi-

* *A Visit to Scinde*, p. 230. † *Stimulants and Narcotics*, p. 148.

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cient to charge the pipe, one or two whiffs being the utmost that can be inhaled from a single pipe, and the smoke is taken into the lungs as from the hookah in India. On a beginner one or two pipes will have an effect, but an old stager will continue smoking for hours. At the head of each couch is placed a small lamp, as fire must be held to the drug during the process of smoking, and, from the difficulty of filling and properly lighting the pipe, there is generally a person who waits upon the smoker to perform that office. A few days of this fearful luxury, when taken to excess, will give a pale and haggard look to the face, and a few months, or even weeks, will change the strong and healthy man into little better than an idiot skeleton. The pains they suffer when deprived of the drug, after long habit, no language can describe; and it is only when to a certain degree under its influence that their faculties are alive. In these houses, devoted to their ruin, these infatuated people may be seen at nine o'clock in the evening in all the different stages, some entering, half distracted, to feed the craving appetite they have been obliged to subdue during the day; others laughing and talking wildly under the effects of a first pipe, while the couches around are filled with their different occupants, who lie languid, with an idiot smile upon their countenances, too much under the influence of the drug to care for passing events, and fast emerging to the wished-for consummation. The last scene in this tragic play is generally a room in the rear of the building, a species of dead-house, where lie stretched those who have passed into the state of bliss which the opium-eater madly seeks—an emblem of the long sleep to which he is blindly hurrying."

It should be noticed that Lord Jocelyn attributes these results to *excessive smoking*, an unnatural use of the drug. The effects are deplorable enough, but not worse than those produced by excessive drinking. Intoxicating liquors, taken in large quantities, will produce raving fury, rendering the person who has imbibed them dangerous to those near him. His frenzy may end in *delirium tremens* and *mania à potu*, which are certainly more horrible than the entranced sleep of the opium-smoker. And while the inebriate is becoming sober, after a heavy debauch, his feelings are akin to those of the opium-smoker in want of his daily stimulus. And as for the shortening of life, there is not so great a disparity between the two demons as one would think; if there be any it is in favor of opium. A drunkard often runs his career in two or three years, and is consigned to the Potter's field; sometimes he requires a longer time, sometimes less. An opium-eater who begins his career of excess at

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twenty may expect to die at thirty;* that is to say, he has a ten years' lease of life; he dies of marasmus or atrophy, slowly becoming a ghastly spectacle who has ceased to live before he has ceased to exist.†

The same evils attend drunkenness which attend opium. The confirmed sot will spend the greater part of his daily earnings in the gratification of his habits, leaving his family to starve; so will an opium-smoker. But in the case of the latter he is compelled to increase the dose in order that the same delirious effects may be produced, and from three grains daily, he will go on to three hundred. Mr. Smith, of the Church missionary societies, while visiting the opium-smoking saloons at Amoy, questioned ten persons, mostly laborers, as he met them indiscriminately, as to the expense of the habit. Five of them consumed a mace, or sixty grains daily, and it cost them, on an average, two-thirds of their daily earnings to purchase the article. It has been estimated by those who have visited China, especially the cities where opium is imported, that not fewer than four hundred thousand persons die annually from opium smoking.

Yet opium is not all evil. In this country and Europe it is taken as a stimulant beneficially, and used as a narcotic to produce sleep in certain disorders of the brain. It is also an anæsthetic, and it enables persons to bear fatigue; but the doses taken are, as a rule, much smaller than in the East. De Quincy mentions the fact, that many poor, over-worked people in towns like Manchester, consume regularly a moderate amount of opium, not using it as the means of a luxurious debauch, but simply to remove the traces of fatigue and depression;‡ and the experience of physicians who know the poor of London would testify to the considerable prevalence of the custom among that class.

It has been asserted that the use of opium is increasing in this country, especially in those states where prohibitory liquor laws prevail. This is not unlikely;

* *China*, by R. M. Martin, vol. ii., p. 176. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.* Edit. 1854. Original preface 1821, p. 7.

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but in the absence of data sufficiently accurate, we cannot affirm it as a fact. The returns of imports from abroad prove that there has been a very great increase in the quantity imported. In 1864, we imported from England alone 49,064 pounds; in 1865, 82,217 pounds; in 1866, 70,065 pounds, and in 1867, 67,428 pounds. The immense increase in 1865 was probably owing to the demand for the drug for military medical uses. The decrease in the following years is mainly due to the circumstance of our importing it direct from India and Turkey; for the total amount actually imported in 1867 was 273,522 pounds.* By far the largest portion of our supply comes from Turkey. How much of it is used for medicinal, and how much for sensual purposes, we have no means of ascertaining. The Turkey opium is much more valuable as a narcotic than the East India. The latter has a strong empyreumatic smell, but not much of the peculiar heavy odor of the Turkey opium. It resembles its rival in other qualities, except that its color is darker, its texture less plastic though quite as tenacious, its taste more bitter and equally nauseous. But the Turkey opium has been found to yield nearly three times the quantity of morphia, or of the peculiar principle of the drug, that is yielded by the East India opium.† The whole of the latter does not go to China. That, indeed, is the destination of by far the largest portion of the exports from India; but about one-seventh of the total goes to Singapore and the settlements on the Straits of Malaca and Sundy.

To recur to the medicinal qualities of the drug. "It is certain," says Dr. Anstie, "that the stimulant action of small doses of opium or of alcohol, often puts an end to a process of ulceration in which tissue is rapidly melting away, and enables the part to heal. It is customary to ascribe the extremely beneficial influence of opium in sloughing phagedena to its narcotic influence, but this is certainly incorrect. When the opium acts efficiently, not a trace of narcosis can be perceived; on the contrary, the vital powers are distinctly raised, and the cessation of the pain ought to be

* McCulloch, *Dictionary of Commerce*, Art. "Opium" and "New York."
† *Ibid.*

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considered as a part of this general improvement of power, and not as an indication that nervous action has been quieted. And the same remark may be applied to the beneficial action of alcohol in such cases; for it is certain that there is no advantage in producing even the earliest symptoms of intoxication in patients who are to be rescued from the danger of rapid destruction of tissue; on the contrary, such a practice is directly injurious."* We may here mention the fact that Dr. Anstie's doctrine is that stimulus is *not* followed by a recoil, nor does any such result attend moderate tobacco smoking or small doses of opium.† This is confirmed to some extent by observations made by the author of "Twelve Years in China," he says:

"Doubtless there are evils attending the excessive use or abuse of opium; but I have known many Chinese who smoked opium for years, and never seemed to be the worse for it. It is taken more as a sedative than as a narcotic, and its general effects among the Chinese may be classed as very similar to those of either wine or spirits in England. I think, however, that much harm has resulted from the manner in which opium has been introduced, by the piracy it engendered by armed boats conveying it, by the opportunity it gave the mandarians to make illegal exactions, and especially by the difficulties and troubles arising from people smoking the drug who were not able to afford it."‡

An intimate friend of our own, a chaplain in the United States navy, who has served three years and a-half in China, assures us that though he frequently visited Canton, Shanghai, Amoy, Hong Kong, Nankin, Pekin, and other large cities, he never saw any one drunk with opium, nor presenting the ghastly appearance which Lord Jocelyn, Mr. Martin, and others have depicted in such painful colors. Our friend visited the smoking saloons, and witnessed the whole process, from the first lighting of the pipe to the first stage of beatific rhapsody. He describes it as singularly neat and cleanly; there was nothing at all offensive about it; but, on the contrary, it was rather attractive, for the smoker, whose movements he observed, went off gradually into an entranced state, without distortion of body or countenance, leaning placidly back in his chair. It is, how-

* *Stimulants and Narcotics*, p. 150. † *Ibid.* ‡ p. 296.

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ever, very probable that our respected informant did not visit any of the lower saloons, where excess in smoking is practised, and saw none of the scenes which Lord Jocelyn witnessed at Singapore—aphrodisiac scenes wherein women took part.

We do not intend attempting to reconcile the conflicting evidence. That there is a very potent demon in opium is evident from the hold it takes on those who once begin to use it, and the almost insurmountable difficulty of leaving it off. The cases of De Quincy, Coleridge, and Blair are most interesting studies, morally and psychologically. The phenomena of exaltation of the senses under the influence of opium have been but imperfectly investigated. What causes this exaltation, this brilliancy of the imagination, this feeling of confidence in and satisfaction with one's self and our surroundings, and this freedom from care for the present and from anxiety as to the future? It is impossible without far more precise *data* than are at present accessible to determine the true meaning of these facts. We are bound, in the first instance, to take the simplest explanation possible, and to see how far this can be applied to the phenomena in question. This may be found in the supposition that, in the absence of any extraordinary circumstances, the apparent exaltation of certain faculties should be ascribed rather to the removal of controlling influences than to positive stimulation of the faculties themselves, or of the physical machinery by which they work. It remains to be proved (and a rigorous proof ought to be required) that in circumstances of ordinary health and nutrition large doses of opium (proportionably to the idiosyncrasy of the person taking them) can cause general exaltation of the mental activity. Indeed, the details of every such case, when closely scrutinized, have seemed to give evidence of a really poisonous and depressing influence operating upon some portion of the brain simultaneously with the apparent stimulation. Something of the nature of paralysis, though it might be partial, has always appeared to characterize the action of large doses of opium from the moment they have completely entered into the circulation, supposing the state of health and nutrition to be normal at

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the time, and the circumstances of climate, fortune and position in society to be favorable. And it would seem reasonable to account for the apparent increase of intelligent force and emotion on the supposition that other activities are suspended and their interference removed. For that theory would be violent and impeachable, which should suggest that one portion of the nervous system was excited and another paralyzed at the same time and by the same agent.*

The difference of the effects of alcohol, and of opium, has been tersely described by a clergyman who was for a time the victim of his appetite for the former, and then for the latter. Three times did he, with great and heroic efforts, emancipate himself from his tyrant, opium, only to relapse into slavery and become a patient in the New York Hospital. He remarks that the difference between opium and alcohol in their effects on body and mind is very great. Alcohol, pushed to a certain extent, overthrows the balance of the faculties, and brings out some one or more into undue prominence and activity, and these are most commonly our inferior and, perhaps, lowest faculties. A man who, when sober, is a demigod, is, when drunk, a beast. With opium it is the reverse. Opium takes a man's mind where it finds it, and lifts it on to a far higher platform of existence, the faculties all retaining their former relative positions—that is, taking the mind as it is, it intensifies and exalts all its capacities of thought and susceptibilities of emotion. Not even this, however, extravagant as it may sound, conveys the whole truth. Opium weakens or utterly paralyzes the lower propensities, while it invigorates and elevates the superior faculties, both intellectual and affectional. This, however, is the case only with the European races, for with Orientals, and especially the Chinese, the case is directly the reverse. The Caucasian opium-eater is without sensual appetite. Anger, envy, malice, with their kindred vices, seem dead within him, or, at least, asleep; while gentleness, kindness, benevolence, together with a sort of sentimental religionism, constitute his habitual frame of mind. If a man has a poetical gift, opium

* Anstie, *Stimulants and Narcotics*, p. 81.

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almost irresistibly stirs it into utterance, as was remarkably the case with Coleridge. If his vocation be to write, it matters not how profound, how difficult, how knotty the theme to be handled, opium imparts a power before unknown of dealing with such a theme; and after completing his task a man reads his own composition with utter amazement at its depth, its grasp, its beauty and force of expression, and wonders whence came the thoughts that stand on the page before him. If called to speak in public, opium gives him a copiousness of thought, a fluency of utterance, a fruitfulness of illustration, and a penetrating, thrilling eloquence which often astounds and overmasters himself, not less than it kindles, melts and sways the audience he addresses. This was notably the case with the celebrated Wilberforce and Robert Hall, and with John Randolph and other opium consumers. Alas! that the continual resort to the drug which is capable of producing such splendid enjoyment should give it the mastery over the will, rendering a man almost powerless to emancipate himself from its fatal thrall!

Some victims speak with affectionate remembrance of the unspeakable pleasure they once enjoyed under the influence of opium. The sweet dissolving views at midnight, the great executive achievements at noon-day, the heavenly sense of a self-reliance which dare go anywhere, say anything, attempt anything; the nonchalance under slight, the serenity in pain, the apathy to sorrow, the perfect peace which seemed to blend all the assuaged passion and confirmed dignity of old age with that energy of high emprise which thrills the nerves of manhood; these were the gifts of opium, in comparison with which all the ecstasies of form and color, wine, Eros, music, perfume, and all the luxuries which wealth can procure, were as nothing.

If we study the cases of De Quincy, Coleridge, Blair, the Rev. Robert Hall, John Randolph, Brush, etc., we shall find that the predisposing cause was, in all, some kind of nervous or neuralgic affection of the intestines. "In the twenty-eighth year of my age," De Quincy says, "*a most painful affection of the stomach*, which I had at first experienced about ten years before, attacked me in great strength. This affection

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had originally been caused by the extremities of hunger suffered in my boyish days."

Dr. Gilman, in his life of Coleridge, says: "From his (Coleridge's) own account, as well as from Lamb and others who knew him at school, he must have been a delicate and suffering boy. *His principal ailments he owed much to the state of his stomach*, which was at that time so delicate that, when compelled to go to a large closet containing shoes, to pick out a pair easy to his feet, which were always tender, the smell from the number in this place used to make him so sick, that I have often seen him shudder, even in late life, when he gave an account of it. . . . Full half the time, from seventeen to eighteen, was passed in the sick ward of Christ's Hospital, afflicted with jaundice and rheumatic fever. . . . . While a soldier he frequently complained of *a pain at the pit of his stomach*, accompanied with sickness, which totally prevented his stooping, and, in consequence, he could never arrive at the power of bending his body to rub the heels of his horse."

The case of this highly gifted, but most unhappy man is full of warning and instruction. He indulged his passion for reading to such an extent as to neglect all exercise and food. His stomach became disordered and his digestion impaired. Thereupon followed jaundice, rheumatism, and acute neuralgia in the head and eyes. To sooth his sufferings he tried the usual remedies, but in vain, and finally had recourse to opium, which soon prostrated one of the finest intellects God has given to man. Doubtless he was sickly by nature, but not so much so as many others have been; and had he been properly advised as to his mode of living, he might have passed through life with far less suffering than he did. As it was, his systematic violation of the laws of nature brought with it the most severe punishment. Opium alone gave him relief, and enabled him to write that poetry, philosophy, and "table talk," which will ever charm his readers.

Then, again, there is the case of William Blair, who, entirely ignoring the laws of physiology, gave his brain no rest from exhausting study. For fifteen months he never

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allowed himself more than four hours sleep, and frequently spent the whole night, twice a week, in the pursuit of learning. Had he devoted half the time to the study of the laws of his own being, he would have saved himself from years of agony.

We will cite one more case;* it is that of a friend of an eminent physician of Philadelphia, who had labored hard to cure him of his habits. This victim of both alcohol and opium, began drinking stimulants in his boyhood; when in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, he took to *smoking tobacco and chewing it*, and continued this practice without intermission for eleven years, carrying it to such excess as to produce physical languor and great depression of spirits. To rid himself of the horrible visions he was troubled with, he took to drinking, and soon broke down with dyspepsia. He was a clerygman, and was induced to drink freely of brandy to enable him to get through his duties. In time, however, he resigned his charge from inability, owing to drink, to discharge his office. He then took to opium in the form of laudanum, and soon became a slave to it.

Now, in all these cases, it will be observed, the sufferer had become broken down in constitution, either through mental disease, or through his excesses. He was in an entirely different state from the ordinary opium-consumer. His normal condition rendered him unable to resist, as he should have done, the effects of the drug. Hence, we contend, that neither De Quincy, Coleridge, Blair, nor the anonymous sufferers should be cited as examples of the pernicious effects of opium upon the human system. They were ruined men before they began to take opium—ruined, we mean, in their constitutions, and in their own self-respect. Hence, their will was enfeebled, and rendered liable to be swayed by sinister or accidental impulses. In addition to this, they grossly abused the employment of opium. The quantities they respectively took were enormous—indeed, almost incredible. De Quincy took one hundred and eighty drops

* *Opium and Alcohol compared. Ibid*, pp. 198-223.

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of laudanum daily, for many months. Occasionally he ran up to five hundred, and once nearly to seven hundred. We believe it is not known how much Coleridge was in the habit of taking daily, but, according to all the accounts we have of him, it was "inordinate." De Quincy took it medicinally as well as pleasurably, but Colderidge seemed wholly enamoured of it, though troubled and shocked by the occasional glimpses he got of how he was degrading and destroying his intellect. He was continually sipping laudanum, and he saturated his system with it. Blair took forty grains of opium daily. The anonymous Philadelphia patient does not give, in so many words, the quantity he took, but from certain expressions he lets fall, it may be inferred that he consumed from half an ounce to an ounce daily; in addition to which he habitually smoked tobacco, and drank alcohol, strong tea, and coffee. He must have had a constitution of iron, since he ultimately recovered.

The unfortunate G. W. Brush, a clergyman of Delaware, who committed suicide on the 25th of January, 1868, fell a victim to the worst and most potent form of opium—morphine—of which he at one time took nine grains daily. He originally fell into the habit of taking it about seventeen years previously, when it was prescribed for him as a remedy for occasional disorder in the bowels and for a dormant cancer of the tongue. He made strenuous efforts to overcome the habit, but it proved to be too strong for him, and in despair he put an end to himself. Here, again, is a case in which the constitution was originally in fault, the cancerous taint probably pervaded his entire system, affecting the brain. The whole of the evil results must, therefore, not be attributed to the morphine. Another case is recorded where the sufferer first took laudanum for ten years, and then resorted to morphia, beginning with two grains and a half every two days for the first year, and increasing the dose ultimately to sixty grains a day, which he continued for six months, until in desperation he made a frantic effort to abandon the use of it, and succeeded. But in this case the patient had a naturally sound and preternaturally vigorous constitution, and he was induced to resort to morphia merely to

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cure insomnia, brought on by overwork at a European university, and, not like the Rev. Robert Hall, who took it to relieve racking pain in the back, with which he had been troubled from childhood. The quantity of laudanum taken by this celebrated divine throws that taken by De Quincy into the shade. In 1812 he took from fifty to one hundred drops every night; but before 1826 the quantity had increased to one thousand drops! Yet he was never overcome by the soporific quality of the medicine, but once, on which occasion, during an uncommonly severe attack of pain in the back, which lasted the whole night, he took, while it was troubling him, no less a quantity than 125 grains of solid opium, equal to more than 3,000 drops, or nearly four ounces of laudanum. "And even then," adds his biographer, Mr. Addington, "it was hard to determine whether the effect was owing so much to the quantity administered as to the unusual circumstance of its not having proved, even for a short time, an effectual antagonist to the pain it was expected to relieve." Mr. Hall was a great smoker, and resorted to other remedies besides laudanum; he freely used brandy, ether, and ammonia in his paroxysms of suffering.

John Randolph was diseased from his birth. Possessing a temperament of the most excitable kind, he seems to have lived, during the greater part of his life, only just outside of the bounds of confirmed insanity. He was a great sufferer from various maladies, and resorted to opium for relief. He acknowledged that when he took it moderately he was relieved from pain; but he acquired the taste for it, and took it in such quantities that it produced temporary aberrations of the mind and shortened his life. On the other hand, we have the case of the celebrated Wilberforce to show that the moderate use of opium may be beneficial. He used it for many years without any apparent injury to his health. His son says: "His returning health was in a great measure the effect of a proper use of opium, a remedy to which even Dr. Pitcairn's judgment could scarcely make him have recourse; yet it was to this medicine that he now owed his life as well as the comparative vigor of his later years. So sparing was he always of its use, that as a stimulant he never knew its

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power, and as a remedy for his specific sickness he had not to increase its quantity during the last twenty years he lived. 'If I take,' he would often say, 'but a single glass of wine I can feel its effect, but I never know when I have taken my dose of opium by my feelings?' Its intermission was too soon perceived by the recurrence of the disorder."* Now, in this case the sufferer was a man of moral and temperate habits, with exalted views of philanthropy. He exercised his brain naturally and without excitement, and the opium demon acquired no power over him, though it never relinquished its hold.

There is yet another case to be referred to, besides that of the great British philanthropist. It is that of an Englishman 103 years old, an officer in the British army,* who has served in all parts of the world. Many years ago he took up his residence in New York, and ever since the year 1816, when he first began to use opium as a relief from a severe attack of rheumatism, he had been in the habit of taking large quantities of the drug, varying from forty grains daily to many times that amount. When last seen by the writer of the brief notice of him from which we quote, he was in full possession of a physical and mental vigor which would have been surprising in a man of eighty. The enormous quantity of opium which he had taken had been beneficial to him! The writer of the notice in question well remarks that "the case remains as a striking illustration of the weakness of that physiological reasoning which would deduce certain phenomena as the invariable consequences of a violation of the fundamental laws of health. Until the chemistry of the living body is better understood, medical science seems obliged to accept many anomalies which it cannot explain."

What, then, is the best mode of curing this habit? Must opium, laudanum, and morphine, be struck out of the pharmacopeia? If they are to be discarded on account of the pernicious use which may be made of them, then brandy, ether, alcohol, wine, and stimulants of all kinds ought to be

* *Life of William Wilberforce*, p. 255.

† Cited in *The Opium Habit*, pp. 247-9.

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discarded, also. This would be not only a very difficult thing to do, but it might be very injurious. Emergencies frequently arise wherein the prompt application of a strong stimulant is the means of saving life. The subject, however, is one which may be left to physicians and physiologists; it is not our intention to enter upon it here. Confining our attention to opium, it may be observed that the habit of relying upon large doses is easily established; and, once formed, the daily quantity is not easily reduced. All who have long been accustomed to opium, are aware that there is a *maximum* beyond which no increase in quantity does much in the further alleviation of pain, or in promoting pleasurable excitement. Here, then, is a stopping point, if the patient can be made to understand it thoroughly. He need not increase his dose, for that will be useless. Can he decrease it steadily? We have always doubted this, just as we have done in the case of an inebriate. Many thousands have tried to reform themselves of the habit of drinking, by diminishing gradually the quantity they take daily. When successful, this process is generally slow and painful; but we believe it seldom is successful. The most striking instances of reform have been those wherein the patient has abruptly and totally discontinued the use of intoxicating liquors, and resorted at once to abstinence. Why, then, should not the same success attend the experiment of abruptly and totally discontinuing the use of opium? We are not speaking, now, of extreme cases, any more than of extreme cases of inebriates, whose brain has become so alcoholized as to be insensible to any remedy but death.

The truth is, that the opium habit is a disease *sui generis*, and cannot be treated on general rules or in analogy with other diseases. It must be dealt with on its own symptoms, and in reference to the peculiar temperament and constitution of the patient. Moreover, the hearty coöperation of the latter with his physician is absolutely necessary to successful treatment.

The grasp with which liquor holds a man when it turns on him, even after he has abused it for a lifetime, is feeble compared with that which the use of opium but for a single

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year acquires over the unfortunate one who resorts to it. And even when, after unimagined sufferings, the patient overcomes the habit, he is liable to suffer from the *disuse* of opium and to have some very painful consequences permanently engrafted upon his constitution. Among them are: 1. Pressure upon the muscles of the limbs and in the extremities, sometimes as of electricity, apparently accumulated there under a strong mechanical force. 2. A disordered condition of the liver, exhibiting itself in the variety of uncomfortable modes in which that organ, when acting irregularly, is accustomed to assert its grievances. 3. A sensitive condition of the stomach, rejecting many kinds of food which are regarded by medical men as simple and easy of digestion. Of this De Quincy's is a remarkable case. He found roast pork, mince pies, and cheese, comparatively easy of digestion, while poultry, milk, oysters, fish, vegetables, and dry toast, caused him serious inconvenience. 4. Acute shooting pains, confined to no one part of the body. 5. An unnatural sensitiveness to cold. 6. Frequent cold perspiration in parts of the body. 7. A tendency to impatience and irritability of temper, paroxysms of excitement wholly foreign to the natural disposition. 8. Deficiency and irregularity of sleep. 9. Occasional prostration of strength. 10. Inaptitude for steady exertion.

Such are the calamities which are likely to attend the disuse of opium, according to the experience of one who has gone through the fiery ordeal of giving up the habit of using it. And if this be the case with others, it becomes a serious question whether it is desirable to do more with a voracious opium-eater than bring him back to temperance and not total abstinence. These intense sufferings are occasioned by decomposition of the tissues and disorganization of the nerves, followed sometimes by paralysis of the nervous fibres of the stomach. In some cases this fearful demoralization had gone on to such an extent that the patient must either go on taking opium or die. The only way left to preserve his intellectual faculties intact is to keep his future daily dose at a tolerable minimum.

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ART. V.—1. *Colloquiorum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Familiarium. Opus Aureum.* (*The Familiar Colloquies of Erasmus*, &c.) By DES. ERASMUS. London, 1740.

2. *Epitome Adagiorum.* (*Epitome of Adages*, &c.) By D. ERAS. *Vita Des. Erasmi.* (*The Life of Erasmus.*) By MERULA. Leyden, 1607.

3. *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Epistolæ Familiares.* (*The Familiar Epistles of Erasmus*, &c.) London, 1542.

4. *Eloges Historiques des Hommes Illustres.* Par J. BULLART. Paris.

5. *The Life of Erasmus.* By JOHN FORTIN. London.

NO FACULTY is more neglected at the present day than the memory, although no faculty is better calculated to enable us to estimate our own talents and accomplishments at their proper value. There is nothing strange, then, in the fact that vanity and arrogance are the prevailing characteristics of modern civilization. The Persians and the Romans, as well as the Greeks, were so well aware of the tendency of self-love to cause every generation to regard itself as greatly superior to that which preceded it, that each of those nations adopted the custom of having portraits always before their eyes of those of their ancestors who had distinguished themselves in any honorable or useful pursuit.* It is with a similar view the greatest productions of the human mind have been written.

But at the present day all this is deemed superfluous; the past is nothing—all generations before our own time were in a benighted state; their chief characteristics were ignorance and superstition. There have been gleams of light at some periods; but those who knew most were mere gropers in the dark compared to the shining lights of the present day!

Who will deny that this is the general opinion among those who consider themselves intelligent? At first sight it may seem to be harmless; but it is productive of incalculable evil. Why should those who are conscious of their own superior intelligence and enlightenment trouble their heads

* *Vide* Sallust in *Jugurtha.*

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with tedious researches? Since the mind has all the cultivation it needs, and is abundantly stored with knowledge, all that remains to be done in the pursuit of happiness is to attend to the body! For this, money is the essential thing; accordingly money is the passport to power and distinction. To this it may be added, that if to prefer matter to mind, to value mere pretension more highly than intelligence, and to worship Mammon rather than God, be evidence of progress, then, indeed, the claims of the present generation may well be admitted: in other words, if well filled vessels sound more loudly than those that are empty, or, at least, but half filled, our superiority is beyond dispute.

Be this as it may, we admit that when we undertake to discuss the labors of those who lived in "benighted times," our chief object is to show that after all we have not much reason to boast. It is with this view we devote the present paper to the life and works of Erasmus of Rotterdam. If the unbiased reader will accompany us in a calm, thoughtful spirit, and occasionally pause to compare Erasmus to any of the great men of our own time, taking into account the influence exercised by each, we think he will admit before he reaches the conclusion of our article, brief as it must necessarily be, that the superior enlightenment claimed for the present generation is much more apparent than real.

Far be it from us to deny in any discussion that a larger number of people know how to read and write at the present day than were capable of doing so in the time of Erasmus; but there is far less scholarship now—far less real culture, notwithstanding our numerous colleges, universities, seminaries, and institutes. We are very well aware that many will differ with us on this point; but before refusing to be convinced, let such please to remember a fact or two. In every age and country, learning has been prized and honored in proportion as it has been thoroughly cultivated; and for the same reason, in proportion as it has dwindled to a mere smattering, it has fallen into disrepute, if not into utter contempt. We are constantly reminded by a certain class of writers and orators, of the wonderful influence of the Reformation on the devel-

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opment of the human mind; but there have been very few such thinkers since the time of Luther as there were before—few such thinkers as Luther himself and several of his associates, especially Melancthon, Hutten, Zwingle, and Calvin. It should be remembered that none of these were educated by protestants; the most learned of them, including Luther himself, and Melancthon, were educated by the monks; and so was Erasmus, who, it may be said, without any exaggeration, was more learned than all.

At this time learning was everywhere honored, but by none more than by archbishops and cardinals; nor were any more willing to make allowances for the foibles and faults of learned men, even when those foibles and faults had reference chiefly to the teachings of religion. It was not alone when men attained distinction they were thus favored by the princes of the church. We do not remember a single illustrious man of those times who was not more or less aided in his earlier struggles by a bishop, archbishop or cardinal; nor does either Erasmus or Luther form an exception. One, as well as the other, had to struggle against poverty, and might have remained for ever in obscurity had he not been assisted by a churchman.* Our being protestants should not close our eyes against these facts; in order to be just to ourselves, as well as to those who differ with us, we are bound to remember them. We should also remember that Leo X., one of the most liberal patrons of learning, science and the arts that ever wielded a sceptre of any kind, belonged to this period.

Our chief object in alluding to the princes of the church is to show, in passing, that they, too, have very much degenerated in modern times as patrons of learning. We could, indeed, point out some noble exceptions, but they are exceedingly few—not half a dozen out of as many hundred. In general, they retain very little, if any, of the ancient spirit of their order. They have no disposition to imitate the noble examples of those who so generously curtailed their personal expenses in order to aid men like Erasmus, Copernicus, Luther, &c. We do not pretend, however, that the catholic divines of the pres-

* See *N. Q. Review*, No. xxxi; art., "Martin Luther and the Old Church."

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ent day are less friendly to learning than the protestant divines. Indeed, we cannot say that, in general, there is much difference between them in this respect. As Luther, Melancthon and Calvin might well reproach their successors of the present day for having so sadly degenerated in knowledge, so might Leo X. and his archbishops, cardinals, and monks, throughout christendom reproach their successors for having degenerated as the friends and patrons of learned men. The divines on both sides may be as pious as ever; but whether they are or not is not the question with us. We refer to either only so far as their conduct seems calculated to aid us in showing that, if there is a degeneracy, instead of the vast improvement boasted of, in the culture and ethics of the present day, as compared with those of former generations, there is ample reason for it—a fact which we think will become more and more evident as we proceed.

Desiderius Erasmus was born at Rotterdam, October 28, 1467—more than four centuries ago—twenty years earlier than Luther. His father, Gerard Praet,* had been educated for the church, but contrary to his own inclination. His unwillingness to become a priest arose from his having been enamored, at an early age, of the daughter of a neighboring physician. His parents refused to accept this as an excuse, but insisted on his preparing for holy orders. As usual in such cases, the young people became more and more attached to each other, and sought each other's company in proportion as efforts were made to prevent their getting married; and the result was that the lady had an illegitimate child, who was destined to be one of the greatest christian philosophers, and the most illustrious of the restorers of letters. Although much scandal was thus produced, all whose opinion was of any value made allowance for the circumstances in which the lovers were placed, and the subsequent conduct of both, especially of the young lady, was such as to prove that the public judgment was as correct and just as it

* In these times it was the habit of learned men to assume classical names, especially if their ancestral names were not euphonious. According to this usage *Gerard*, which in German, means *amiable, lovely*, was turned into the Latin *Desiderius*, and into the Greek *Ερασμιος*—both terms meaning exactly the same.

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was charitable and humane.* Seeing that his beloved Margaret was *enciente*, Gerard thought it best to leave his native country.

At this time educated men from all parts of the world were employed at Rome in copying the ancient classics and other valuable works, and Gerard resolved to earn a livelihood by this means. But soon after the birth of the child he received a letter from his parents, informing him that Margaret was dead. This overwhelmed him with grief, and he no longer hesitated to become a priest; hence it is that among the many accusations made against Erasmus by his detractors was that of his being the son of a priest. Returning to Gouda a few years afterwards, he learned to his great surprise that both Margaret and her child were alive and well, the lady living almost as much secluded from the world as if she were in a nunnery, and devoting her whole attention and tenderest care to the education of her child. Scrupulously true to his vows, Gerard denied himself even the pleasure of visiting one who, were it not that he was now a priest, might justly be considered as his wife. At the same time, he did all in his power to aid the lady in carrying out her noble resolution of having Erasmus so thoroughly educated that none but the unworthy and censorious would reproach him with a misfortune over which he had had no control.

But, as both parents were poor, they could not do much for him without the assistance of friends. Erasmus was first sent to the parish school of Gouda; but his teachers observing that he had a musical voice, had him sent to Utrecht to sing at the cathedral, and be educated among the children under training for the choir. It soon became sufficiently evident, however, that the future philosopher had no taste for this sort of study. The bishop of Utrecht saw that his aspirations had a different tendency, and gave his advice accordingly.

* There is little doubt that they were betrothed to each other. "Il est vrai," says Bayle, on the authority of Merula, "qu'il dit que sa mere n'accorda la derniere faveur que sous espérance de marriage, and que quelques-uns même prétendent que la promesse lui en fut donnée: Clam habuit rem cum dicta Margareta, spe conjugii, et sunt qui dicant intercessisse verba.—*Dict. Phil.*, art., "Erasme."

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The Augustinian monks had then a school at Deventer, which had become quite celebrated, and as they were not very exacting in their charges, Erasmus became one of their pupils at the age of nine years.* His mother accompanied him to Deventer, so that she might still continue her watchful care of him. She devoted herself wholly to him; she was delighted with the extraordinary progress he was making, but only lived four years to witness it, and his father only survived her a few months. Thus, at the tender age of thirteen, he was left an orphan. The death of his ill-fated parents made a deep impression on young Erasmus; probably no boy of his age ever wept more bitterly for a mother who had only lived for him. For some weeks he could study none; but then he became more studious than ever.† He tells us himself that, feeling not only that he was alone in the world, but also that a large portion of the world was prejudiced against him on account of his birth, he resolved to overcome those disadvantages, if possible, by the cultivation of his mind and the development of his faculties. It should be mentioned, to the honor of the monks, that the death of his parents deprived Erasmus of no advantage which he had possessed at the school in their lifetime; on the contrary, his being an orphan rendered his education an object of greater solicitude to them than ever. Accordingly he was placed under the care of a lay professor who owed his chair only to his superior scholarship, especially his thorough acquaintance with the classic languages. The reader who is acquainted with the writings of Erasmus need not be informed that we allude to Alexander Hegius, for in this, as in many other instances, the pupil has immortalized the teacher. At this time the system of Rodolphe Agricola, of teaching the ancient languages, had attracted attention throughout Germany, and it had been recently introduced at Deventer by Hegius.

We may remark in passing, that it consisted of teaching Latin and Greek like the modern languages—so far as requiring the students to speak as well as write and translate them; in

*De Ladibus Westphalæ. † Melchior Adam in *Vita Eras.*

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other words, it is the system, the adoption of which we have been urging in these pages for the last ten years, and which, we are glad to add, has been adopted accordingly by educators of the first rank, including the best of our modern monks.* Its influence on Erasmus was immediate and powerful; he had already made considerable proficiency both in Greek and Latin, especially in the latter. Alas! there are but few of our college professors, of any denomination, at the present day, who know either so well as Erasmus did when he was only thirteen years old; but so remarkable was the progress which he made in one year after the introduction of the new system, that when Agricola, its author, came to visit the academy, to see what success had been attained by his friend Hegius, the Latinity of the boy of fourteen attracted his attention at once. We are informed by Chytræus† that on being presented with the Latin essays of several students, he requested to be shown the author of one which he held up in his hand. Erasmus is directed by his teacher to come forward; full of modest blushes, the lad was about to retire to his class after making a low bow to Agricola, when the latter took him affectionately by the back of the head, and examining his features attentively, said, "You will, one day, be a great man."‡ So fond had he become of the Latin at this time, by the habit of using it orally, that, as we are assured by the most reliable of his biographers, he could repeat from memory almost every line of Terence and Horace.§

Soon after this the good nature, obedience, and gratitude of Erasmus were put to a severe test. He knew how much he owed the monks; he had sense enough to understand that they had proved parents and friends to him as well as instructors. They wished him to prepare himself for holy orders, but the fate of his father made him shudder. He could not permit himself to refuse, however; but in compliance with their earnest wishes he entered the theolo-

* The Christian Brothers. † *De Laudibus Westphalia.*

‡ "Enclytus homo eris uno die."—Milchior Adam *in Vita.*

§ Fuit memoria felicissima, nam puer totum Terentium et Horatium memoriter complexus est.—*Vita Erasmi*, Beautus Rhenanus.

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gical seminary of Herzogenbusch, though, he informs us, that it was with a heavy heart he did so. He also admits that the three years which he spent in this seminary were entirely lost to his education.*

He says he wished to avoid learning theology; but adds that his repugnance was not to the doctrines of the church, but to the possibility of being placed in circumstances similar to those which had brought his unhappy father to an early grave. Be this as it may, the theological seminary had no charms for Erasmus; he grieved and pined as if in captivity in a foreign land. Too proud to run away; having too much respect for the principles of order and obedience to violate either; he continued to hope for the best until seized with a violent fever which afforded him a pretext to ask permission to visit some of his friends at Gouda. His request was complied with, and he never returned to the seminary.

But the more intelligent ministers and servants of the church had too high an appreciation of his fine scholarship and brilliant talents to let him go without doing all in their power to secure his services; accordingly they not only renewed but redoubled their efforts to persuade him that he ought not to be deterred by the fate of his father.† While thus urged almost daily, he was visited by a former school-fellow to whom he had been much attached. This friend, having just returned from Italy, represented monastic life to him in the several convents he had visited in such fascinating colors—especially by his descriptions of the fine libraries of the monks, the ample opportunities they had of enjoying those libraries, and of indulging to the fullest extent their tastes for literature, science, or the arts—that he resisted no longer, but resolved, in 1486, to enter the convent of Emäus near Gouda.

* There is some doubt as to what religious order had charge of this seminary; but the general opinion is, that the rector and several of the professors, if not the whole, were Franciscans. This would partly explain the mystery, for the Franciscans, though often excellent preachers, have never been very successful as educators; and we believe they are less successful at the present day, at least in this country, than any other order. In their palmiest days they did not approach the Jesuits. Degenerate as the latter are at the present day, in learning, with some distinguished exceptions, they are still vastly superior to the Franciscans.

† Erasmus, *Epist.* v., lib. 4.

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Here he formed an intimacy with William Hermanni, who was as fond of learning as himself. Both devoted themselves with enthusiasm to the study of the classics. All their commentaries and essays were written in Latin; and each submitted his compositions daily to the other for criticism, with the understanding that the slightest defect in his latinity should be unhesitatingly pointed out and condemned. After they had subjected themselves to this rigid system of mutual training for about one year, Erasmus produced his celebrated treatise, entitled *De Contemtu Mundi*, in which he severely criticises certain abuses which, in his opinion, threatened to destroy the whole monastic system as an educational agency. That the monks were not very tyrannical or intolerant, however, is sufficiently evident from the fact that although their superiors read this treatise, they had no idea of expelling their satirist, or of doing him any injury whatever. The remark of the prior, on reading the manuscript, was: "There is no serious wrong in criticising the faults even of our dearest friends in a truthful and friendly spirit."* Nor did the bishop of Utrecht view the case in a different light; it only confirmed him in the opinion he had formed of Erasmus when he sent him to the monastery of Deventer.

The excitement created by *De Contemtu Mundi* had scarcely subsided when Henry de Bergen, bishop of Cambray, inquired of the bishop of Utrecht whether he knew a well-educated religious young man whom he could recommend to him as a travelling companion and secretary. An affirmative reply was given; Erasmus was recommended, and without making any secret of his recent satire. Far from rejecting him on account of the latter, the bishop of Cambray liked him all the better for his wit and manliness, while he was charmed with his pure and classic Latinity.† This liberality is all the more remarkable from the fact that the purpose for which he required a travelling companion was to accom-

* Bucholcher, *Ind Chron.*, p. 120.

† Et lors que la Providence lui suscita un liberateur que le retira de la cloture, je veux, dire un evêque de Cambrai qui le voulut avoir auprès de lui pour un voiage de Rome, il ne se contenta pas de la permission de son evêque, il y joignit aussi celle de son prieur—Bayle, *Dict. Philosop.*, art. "Erasme."

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pany him to Rome, where he expected to be elevated to the dignity of a cardinal; as a further proof of his confidence and esteem, Erasmus was only a few days in his service—long enough to enable him to see that his superior learning and talents where beyond dispute—when he ordained him a priest,—February 15, 1492.*

Although the bishop changed his mind in regard to visiting Rome, he retained Erasmus as a companion; but delighted as the latter was to obtain so pleasant a position he did not accept until he secured the permission of the prior of his convent. Even then he continued to wear the habit of his order. He remained five years with the bishop. During this time he never relaxed his studies; but availed himself to the fullest extent of the bishop's library, which was quite extensive, and particularly rich in ancient literature; yet, at the end of five years, he felt that, after all, his education was not completed; and he obtained permission and the means from his patron to go to Paris, and enter the college of Montaigu, which was then one of the most celebrated in Europe. Here he remained for a considerable time, during which he prosecuted his classical studies with undiminished ardor, and wrote several of his most remarkable treatises, but without publishing any. While preparing to print one, he learns that his patron has become sick and poor, so that he is no longer able to allow him sufficient for his support.

On this account Erasmus is obliged to offer his services to such as might employ him as a private tutor. Among those who responded was a young English nobleman, Lord William Mountjoy, who soon became so much attached to his teacher that he insisted on his sharing his own lodgings, at the same time giving him every other aid in his power.† For this generosity Mountjoy was amply rewarded by Erasmus, who, in addition to communicating to him more knowledge than, perhaps, any other living teacher could, wrote for his especial benefit his famous treatise on "Letter Writing."‡

* Eras., *in Vita, Epist.* v. † *Nouv. Biog. Gen.*, t. xvi., p. 184.

‡ *De Ratione Conscribendi Epistolas*, published at Bâle, in 1522, and now to be found in every edition of the author's works.

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But the greatest honor to Lord Mountjoy was that he had the perception to appreciate that learning and genius which subsequently excited the admiration of the cultivated and enlightened of all nations and of all ranks and conditions, for it was not long after when colleges and universities, archbishops and cardinals, philosophers and statesmen, and kings and emperors, began to vie with each other—the great Leo X. vieing with all—in doing him honor. This may well seem an exaggeration at the present day, when the extent of a man's coffers, and not the extent of his learning, is his passport to honor and distinction, especially in our own country; but it will be seen, as we proceed, that public opinion was somewhat different four centuries ago from what it is at present, particularly as to the distinction which ought to be made between mind and matter; although we are told by well meaning people that there was nothing to be met with then but ignorance, stupidity and superstition, whereas now everybody is "enlightened, intelligent, progressive," &c.!

It is worthy of remark, although it does not at all surprise us, that the first lay patron of Erasmus, if we except his pupil, Lord Mountjoy, who can hardly be regarded in that light, was a lady, the Marchioness Anna de Vera.* This lady, whom he had the good fortune to meet in the south of France, while travelling on slender means, for the benefit of his health, perceived at once that he was a man of genius. After conversing with him on two or three occasions, and reading one of his Latin treatises, she settled a pension on him of one hundred gold florins, which was then quite a large sum.† As a token of his gratitude for this generosity, he wrote a treatise for the instruction of her son—who had been chiefly educated by herself—entitled, *Oratio de virtute*

* Antoine Péricaut, *Erasmus dans ses Rapports avec Lyon.*

† This was not the only lady who appreciated and patronized Erasmus. When Maria, queen of Hungary, was governor of the Netherlands, she sent several messengers to Paris and Basle to beg that he would take up his abode in Brabant, at the same time making him valuable presents. Although he was so circumstanced at this time that he could not reside at her capital, he determined to visit her majesty, but he got ill on the way, and had to return. He did not forget, however, to evince his gratitude for her kindness, as may be seen by his essay on a Christian Widow, entitled: *Vidua christiana ad serenam pridem Hungariæ Boemiæque reginam Mariam.*—Eras., *Epist.* L xxvi., p. 1991.

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conplectenda—a work which compares favorably, both in its matter and latinity, with the best similar efforts of Seneca. To those unacquainted with it in its original form, this may seem exaggerated praise; but some of the most eminent scholars and critics that modern Europe has produced—including Bentley and Hobbes—have pronounced it worthy of comparison with the *De Amicitia* of Cicero.

In 1498, Erasmus visited England, where every possible honor was rendered him by the greatest of the nation. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford were so anxious to avail themselves of his learning, that in order to avoid offending either, he agreed to reside alternately at each, although he spent more of his time at Oxford than at Cambridge, excusing himself to the latter, by representing that the former agreed better with his health. All writers of the time agree that his connection with those celebrated institutions had the effect of considerably raising the standard of education at each, especially in Greek, which had hitherto received but little attention in England. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that the learning of either Oxford or Cambridge was at a low ebb at this time; we should be glad that the best of our American colleges could afford as thorough culture at the present day.* Be it remembered that it was because there were so many thorough scholars in England that Erasmus was so well received in that country, and the philosopher himself bears emphatic and interesting testimony to the superior culture of the upper classes, informing his learned correspondents on the Continent that a prominent feature in English society was the habit of discussing literary and scientific subjects at table, rather than indulging in wine, as was the common practice almost everywhere else.†

* "Apud Anglos," writes Erasmus, "*triumphant boncæ literæ.*" *Epist.* xxvii., lib. xvi.

† He also makes some interesting remarks about the English ladies. He is quite charmed with their beauty, but still more charmed, he says, by their custom of kissing their male as well as female visitors. They welcomed one with a kiss, dismissed him with a kiss; and if they met him in any discreet place, they saluted him in a similar manner. One of Erasmus' English biographers (Bayley), in commenting on this, makes the following naive remark: "And though he seems to talk very *feelingly* on the subject, yet he makes no reflections upon the virtue

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Among the particular friends of Erasmus at this time were Sir Thomas Moore, John Colet, dean of St. Paul's, William Latimer, bishop of Winchester, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Fisher, rector of Cambridge University, Cardinal Woolsey, Henry VII. and his son Prince Henry, James III., of Scotland, and his son Prince Alexander. All these illustrious personages did not merely honor Erasmus; all did him more or less service.* In those days it was not considered a crime for scholars or literary men to wish to have some of the comforts of life like other people; on the contrary, it was thought that even when they had grave faults they deserved to be made comfortable. This was particularly the opinion of the dignitaries of the church; accordingly the bishop, the archbishop and the cardinal, vied with each other in contributing to the substantial comforts of Erasmus. Although he derived a handsome annuity from his two chairs at Oxford and Cambridge, the archbishop of Canterbury gave him the curacy of Addington, exempting him from its duties, which were performed by a vicar. The archbishop also introduced him to the king of Scotland, who engaged him to give private lessons to his son Prince Alexander, who was twenty years of age, and who, in consideration of learning and piety "far beyond his years," had recently been appointed bishop of St. Andrew's.

Thus we see a royal and ecclesiastical prince that had been carefully educated in one of the best universities of his time,† Padua, placing himself under the tuition of one who, did he live at the present day, would be regarded as "a mere adventurer," and treated with far less consideration

of English women." For the benefit of those acquainted with the original, we extract a passage, which, though brief, embraces not a little that is curious:

"Sunt hic nymphae divinis vultibus, blandae, faciles, et quas tu tuis camoenis facile anteponas. Est praeterea *môs nunquam satis laudatus.* Sive quò venias omnium osculis, excipieris: sive discedas aliquò, osculis demitteris: redis redduntur suavia; disceditur abs te, dividuntur basia; occurritur alicubi, basiatur affatim; denique quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quae si tu, Fauste, gustases semel quàm sint mollicula, quàm fragrantia, pro profectò cuperes non decennium solùm, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari."—Epist. X., sec. v., p. 315.

* *Vide* Eras., *Epist.* xix., xx., xxvii. etc.

† *Nouv. Biog. Cen., Art. Eras.*

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than any of our shopkeepers, speculators, or even tailors, who succeed, no matter how, in amassing millions.

But it was not alone in England that Erasmus was honored by all whose opinion was of any value; although, as he tells us himself, learning had made more progress in England at this time than in any other country in Europe, not excepting Italy. Accordingly he visited it three times, remaining each time for two or more years; he went the third time with the intention of remaining for ever, but his health having failed, his physician advised him to seek a milder climate. Even then the most illustrious men in the kingdom continued to correspond with him as intimate friends; and among those who did so for many years were Sir Thomas Moore, Bishop Fisher, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry VIII. In an edition of the "Familiar Letters" (*Epistolae Familiores*) of Erasmus, now before us, printed in 1542, there are several of Henry's letters, written in good Latin, and which are addressed "*Des. Erasmo undicunque doctissimo*," "To Des. Erasmus, a man in every respect most learned."*

On returning to the Continent all the principal cities through which he passed received him with princely ovations, the institutions of learning and dignitaries of the church setting the example in every instance. Learned societies and corporations sent deputies to present him addresses, or give him valuable presents, while the principal citizens got up banquets in his honor. His first literary labor, on his recovery, was a Latin address, which the states of Brabant requested him to draw up, in their name, to their new governor, the Archduke Philip of Austria, which was entitled, *Panegyricus ad Phillipum Burgundiæ Principem*. In this instance, also, it was borne in mind that something more substantial than mere compliments, however flattering they may be, is needed by learned and literary men, as well as others; for on the delivery of the address, Erasmus was presented with fifty pieces of gold, together with the hearty congratulations of the

* *Vide* last Epist. in the edition of 1542, given at the head of this article, and entitled "*Eras. Epist. Familiares.*" It may be seen at the N. Y. Society Library, to whose polite and intelligent librarian we are indebted, *de more*, for the loan of it, with several other of the works of Erasmus.

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audience, including the prince, who continued his friend for ever after.

The question was not now, who would be his patron? but whose patronage would he accept? At this time, (1516,) the king of Spain, who was also sovereign of the Netherlands, and who subsequently became so famous as Charles V., kept his court at Brussels, wishing to draw around him the most learned men of his time, directed his chancellor, Silvagius, to invite Erasmus to his court. He was not one week at Brussels when a pension of four hundred florins was settled upon him for life, and the first quarterly instalment paid to him. He also received the title of royal counsellor, with the privilege of travelling as much as he wished, and residing at Brussels only as long each year as he found it convenient and agreeable to do so. It does not appear that he was ever required to perform any duties in consideration of this pension, which was as considerable a sum then as three thousand dollars would be at the present day, under similar circumstances. But in order to make some return for the munificent generosity of the king, he wrote—in Latin, as usual—his "Mirror of a Christian Prince."* Erasmus had now an abundant revenue; but he cared for no more money than was sufficient to make him comfortable. Having bought a neat but modest house, and furnished it to his liking, bestowing most care on his library, he devoted all he had to spare to the encouragement of needy young men who evinced a taste for study.

Erasmus visited Italy three times, and was welcomed with acclamation by all the great literary and learned institutions, as well as by all individuals who were distinguished by their learning, their talents, or their ecclesiastical or political power. On his arrival in Turin, in 1506, the celebrated university of that city solemnly conferred on him the degree of Doctor of theology. The universities of Padua and Bologna evinced an equal willingness to render homage to his learning and genius. When he reached Rome for the first time, such was the excitement which his presence created

* *Institutio principis christiani.*

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that he found it impossible to reply to half the invitations which he received from men who had attained eminence in learning, literature, science, painting, etc. Pope Julius II., who then occupied the papal throne, showed him all the kindness in his power. As a special favor, the pontiff authorized him to live and dress according to the manners and customs of every country through which he desired to travel. At the same time he was a daily guest of the Cardinal de Medicis, who placed at his disposal his private library. Such was the friendship of the cardinal to him, in every way, that as soon as he was elected to the papal throne, as Leo X., he went all the way to Rome, from Brussels, to congratulate him. The new pope received him with the utmost cordiality and kindness, and when leaving, his holiness made him several presents, including a pencil case set with diamonds, and gave him an autograph letter to Henry VIII. Leo X. wished to retain him about himself. According to Moreri and other biographers, his holiness offered him a cardinal's hat as an inducement to remain, although he had already as his Latin secretary the celebrated Cardinal Bembo, whose Latin poems are still read by the learned, and are regarded by many as superior, at least in their pure Ciceronian latinity, to the Latin lyrics of Petrarch. But Erasmus preferred the English to the Italians; and, in addition to the other inducements and emoluments already alluded to, Henry VIII. settled on him a handsome pension.*

Such was the condition of things when Luther first began to attract attention as a reformer, or heretic. Before he had uttered a word, orally or in writing, against the church, Erasmus had made severe criticisms on monks, bishops, archbishops and cardinals. Nor had he spared the popes themselves; and notwithstanding the gross ignorance and superstition which we are told prevailed at this time, his satires, written, as they were, in elegant classical Latin, had an immense sale.† But it was the discipline of the church, not its dogmas, which was assailed by Erasmus. Besides, what Eras-

* *Erasmus Epist.* xxviii., lib. 4.

† "In the single year, 1527," says Hallam, "Colineus printed 24,000 copies of the Colloquies, *all of which were sold.*"—*Literature of Europe, &c.*, vol. 1, p. 189.

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mus indulged in was legitimate criticism, not abuse or ribaldry. Those whom his admirable dialogues pointed at most directly compared them to those of Lucian, a comparison the justice of which has been acknowledged by the most eminent critics of modern times, but with this distinction in favor of Erasmus, that the dialogues of the latter have more genuine humor in them than those of the Greek satirist. That they are excellent, and very severe on the church, every intelligent person may see for himself, although more than half the numerous works of Erasmus cannot be found in this country.

It is no wonder, then, that it was generally supposed that Erasmus would join Luther; and, to a certain extent, the supposition was a correct one, for as long as the latter confined himself to the language of moderation, he enjoyed the sympathy and friendship of the former. When Luther became abusive, however, and seemed bent on destroying, rather than repairing, Erasmus disclaimed all connection with him. Excited and rather boisterous, as Luther was, he had understanding enough to appreciate the value of the adherence of a man like Erasmus. Accordingly he wrote to him in the most flattering terms, introducing himself, and addressing him, "My very dear brother in Christ," "May the Lord Jesus Christ preserve you for eternity, excellent Erasmus," etc.* Erasmus replies in terms equally kind and friendly; but advises him to avoid violence—tells him that its tendency, in its influence on the common people, is to bring ruin on the cause of literature, science and the arts, as well as religion.† Finally, Luther hears that his former master and friend is about to write against him, seeing that his advices and expostulations are in vain, and he writes a long letter to him in 1524, which closes as follows: "Finally, I request of you, in the meantime, that if you render us no other service, you will, at least, content yourself with being a mere spectator of our tragedy, and not increase the number of our adversaries—but above all that *you will write no books against me, as I pledge myself to do nothing against you.* . . . Be generous to my inexperience in writing, and in the name of the Lord, adieu!"‡

* See letter dated Wittemburg, March 28, 1519, *Luther's Works.*
† *Eras. Epist.*, April 30, 1519. ‡ *Luther's Works*, Leipsic ed., vol. x.

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The friends of Erasmus inform us that had he received this letter in time he would most probably have waited longer before publishing anything against his former disciple; but his *De Libero arbitrio* was already printed. Luther anxiously procured a copy, but was astonished that, instead of scurrility and invective against himself, as he had expected, judging from his own style of argument, it contained nothing but calm and philosophical reasoning. However, it seems no opponent could correspond long with Luther and continue to write agreeable letters. Disappointed, as he was, at not being abused, he was not the less abusive in writing to Erasmus, soon after, a private letter, which is now lost, but the character of which may be inferred from the reply of Erasmus: "What bearing, I ask you," says the philosopher, "on the question at issue, have so many buffoon abuses, so many calumnious misstatements; that I am an atheist, an epicurean, a skeptic on the dogmas of the christian faith, a blasphemer, and I know not what?"* etc. It may be said that, perhaps, if Luther's letter could be found, it would be seen that it contains nothing to justify this; but his *Colloquia Mensalia* (Table Talk) contains the worst charges, against which Erasmus here protests, and many others. Indeed there is scarcely an opprobrious epithet in the very rich vocabulary of the great reformer which he does not apply to Erasmus. As specimens it will be sufficient to mention such phrases as "accursed wretch," "the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the earth," "epicure and ungodly creature."† Nay, Luther enjoins on his followers as a religious duty, by no means to love Erasmus. "I charge you," he says, "*in my will and testament*, that you *hate and loathe Erasmus, that viper.*"‡

We quote these expressions simply to show how powerful was the cool, witty, brilliant reasoning of Erasmus. Clothed, as it was, in a "dead language," it was full of life and energy. Never did any reasoning more fully illustrate the adage that "the razor cuts keenest when dipped in oil," than *De libero arbitrio*; but it was not the only fine piece of Erasmian logic and humor

* *Epist.* dated Basle, April 11, 1526.

† *Vide Table Talk, passim*, especially chap. vii. ‡ *Table Talk*, c. xliv.

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that provoked Luther. Erasmus was far too fond of comparing the present to the past, and asking what the boasted reform consisted in after it reached the destructive stage. In alluding to this, Hallam tells his readers that there are certain things which those who charge Erasmus with inconsistency ought to remember; "that he was disgusted at the violent language too common among the reformers, and at *the outrages committed by the populace;* that he anticipated great evils from *the presumptiousness of ignorant men* in judging for themselves in religion; that he probably was sincere in what he always maintained, as to the necessity of preserving the communion of the catholic church, which he thought consistent with *much latitude of private faith*, and that if he had gone among the reformers he must either have *concealed his real opinions more than he had hitherto done*, or lived as *Melancthon did afterwards*, the victim of calumny and oppression. He had also to allege that the fruits of the reformation had, by no means, shown themselves in a more virtuous conduct; and that many heated enthusiasts were depreciating both *all profane studies, and all assistance of learning in theology.*"*

This may serve to aid any who are willing to be convinced in determining how it is that we have made such wonderful progress in "enlightenment" within the last three or four centuries, and how it is that the most inestimable treasures which antiquity has bequeathed to us are becoming more and more "dead letters." It is admitted by every unbiased, intelligent thinker, whatever sect he may belong to, that let Erasmus err as he may as to religious dogmas, the modern world has produced no higher authority on all that appertains to learning and the development of the intellect; and this is the question with which we are concerned, not that of religion. But take away the former and what remains of the latter? Never yet did learning degenerate without causing religion to degenerate also. This is illustrated but too strikingly in the histories of the Hindoos, the Egyptians, and the Jews.

* *Literature of Europe in the middle ages*, by Henry Hallam; Harper's edition, vol. 1., p. 189.

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But no religion requires so thorough a culture in order to be understood in its purity as the christian religion, for the reason that the sacred Scriptures upon which it is founded are all written in what are called but too appropriately at the present day "the dead languages." Erasmus tell us that one of the first results of the reformation was to prevent those who had previously been studious and fond of learning from taking the trouble either to teach or to learn.*

Why should they do so since in future the opinions of the most ignorant were to have as much weight as those of the most learned; nay, more weight, since all inspiration came as a free gift from God without any trouble in the way of study or research, whereas whatever opinions were acquired by the latter means were to be regarded as doubtful at best—most probably the wiles of Satan!

After the Reformation had made some progress the extremists on both sides became the enemies of Erasmus, and seemed to vie with each other in abusing him. "Il s'est attire," says Bayle, "mille injures tant de le part des catholiques, que de la part des protestants.† The narrow-minded among the catholics were incensed against him, because it was admitted on all hands that it was his writings that had prepared the way for Luther and his associates. It became an adage with the latter that Erasmus had laid the egg, but that Luther had hatched it; to which the philosopher made the characteristic reply, that he had laid a hen's egg, but that Luther had hatched a crow's.‡

But although he was abused on both sides, as we have said, the more moderate and cultivated of each party remained friends to him to the last. This is true, for example, of Melancthon, Hutten, and Decolampadius, by far the most learned of the reformers; upon the other hand, not one of his learned catholic friends deserted him, with the sole exception of Cardinal Bembo, whose Latin poems he had criticised before Luther had written a line, and for which sin he would hardly have forgiven him had Luther or Melancthon never been born!

* Nec aliud quam saltatur, editur, bibitur ac subatur; *nec docent nec discunt; nulla vitæ sobrietas, nulla sinceritas.* Ubicunque sunt, ibi jacent omnes *bonæ disciplinæ* cum piatate.—(1527) Epist. dcccii.

† *Dict. Hist. et Crit., art.* "Erasme." ‡ Epist. dccxix., Dec., 1524.

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For a similar reason even Luther did not hate him more cordially than several Franciscan fathers connected with the University of Paris. After Erasmus had visited the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Padua, and Bologna, he instituted some comparisons between the faculties of those institutions and that of the University of Paris, which were by no means flattering to the latter. Precisely because they deserved the ridicule to which he exposed them, they could never forgive him. Like certain paternal rectors of the present day who are still more incompetent, the Paris professors pretended that to mock them was to mock the church, be a heretic, and altogether an unprincipled fellow!

It is worthy of remark that none of the catholic sovereigns, male or female, withdrew from him on account of his satires on monks, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes, the pensions they had bestowed upon him; whereas one of the first orders of Henry VIII., after he had declared himself pope of England, was to strike the name of Erasmus from the pension list.*

But the indignation of Henry was somewhat like that of the Franciscans. Erasmus had not sufficiently appreciated either the learning or the piety of the royal *Defensor Fidei*, whereas Luther had lauded both to the skies; styling his majesty, "most serene king! most illustrious prince!" and for having formerly offended him, "under the influence of bad advice," begging pardon like a whipped child, as follows: "I blush now, and scarcely dare to raise my eyes to you, etc. . . . If your majesty thinks proper that in another work I should recall my words, and *glorify your name*, vouchsafe," etc. †

Erasmus had too refined a mind to descend to adulation like this for any consideration; yet his traducers represent him as "avaricious and crafty,"‡ for no better reason than that, instead of attacking his friends he was always grateful for their kindness. We call particular attention to these

* Vide Patin, *Relation Historique*, p. 120; also Seckendorf, l. iii., p. 80.

† *Luther's Complete Works:* Leipsic edition, vol. ix., p. 234.

‡ See Dr. Cox's *Life of Melancthon*, p. 35.

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facts, because we know from our own experience and observation, how liable the student of English literature is to form a very erroneous and unjust estimate of the character of Erasmus. Not that English authors are more disposed than others to do injustice to the illustrious dead; but in sectarian discussions their zeal often gets the better of their judgment, and to a certain extent neutralizes their characteristic generosity and love of fair play. Hallam will bear us testimony that we do no injustice to his countrymen in regard to their conduct with respect to Erasmus. "It *has become*," says that honest and generally faithful historian, "*very much the practice* with our English writers to censure Erasmus for his conduct at this time. Milner rarely does justice to any one who *did not servilely follow Luther*," etc.*

The estimate of Hallam may be regarded as representing that of all the higher class of protestant historians of the present day without regard to nationality; nor does the enlightened catholic estimate differ from it very much. Nowhere do we find the latter more faithfully represented than in an able and learned American work, which we have commended on former occasions for similar fidelity. After Dr. Spalding has quoted some passages from Erasmus in his History, illustrative of the deterioration of morals caused by the Reformation, he makes the following comments: "The testimony of Erasmus is above suspicion. Though he continued in the catholic church, yet he was the early friend of Luther, Melancthon, and several others among the principal reformers; and he had himself contributed not a little, perhaps, however, only indirectly and unintentionally, to the success of the pretended reformation. He was a mild, peaceable man, who liked his ease more than anything else in the world, and who sought to please both sides, but succeeded in pleasing neither. He had joined in the outcry against the catholic priesthood and monks, and had thereby no doubt greatly aided in heightening the excitement against the catholic church." †

* *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i., note, p. 191. Harper's ed.

† *Hist. of the Protestant Reformation in Germany and Switzerland*," etc., in 2 vols. By M. J. Spalding, D. D., archbishop of Baltimore. Vol. i, p. 269.

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Next to Luther the one who assailed Erasmus with the greatest bitterness, and in the most scurrilous and indecent language, was Julius Cæsar Scaliger. Indeed it may be said that the latter surpassed the great reformer if possible in this particular. His abuse is justly styled by Bayle, "*les injures les plus choquantes.*" Different reasons are assigned for this strange conduct on the part of Scaliger, who, it must be admitted, was also a very profound scholar. Many think for this reason that he was actuated by jealousy on account of the world-wide fame of Erasmus. Scaliger belonged to the party among the learned that were opposed to every style in Latin which was not modelled after that of Cicero; a party which had the honor of numbering among its most zealous members Cardinal Bembo and even Leo X. himself. But whatever Erasmus deemed absurd or wrong, he did not hesitate to ridicule, no matter how illustrious and formidable were the opponents against whom he had to contend. Accordingly he wrote and published, in 1528, his famous *Ciceronianus*, in which he gives full vent to that irresistible, trenchant humor and scathing, refined irony that were always his most powerful weapons, although not a discourteous or ungentlemanly expression appears from one end of the work to the other. Though written in the purest Latin the *Ciceronianus* derives its chief power from the sound common sense with which its lively and pungent wit is combined. When the reader bears in mind that the party criticised held that no expression or even term which was not found in Cicero could be regarded as classical, he will be the better able to appreciate such remarks as the following:

"We no longer possess all the writings of Cicero; we do not know, therefore, that we are acquainted with all the expressions which that great writer has employed. Besides, Cicero has not treated on all human knowledge; he has not, then, exhausted in his vocabularly all the terms of his language. Finally, it is absurd to designate in Latin things with which Cicero could not have been acquainted; and since he permitted himself to forge new words in order to express new ideas, I cannot see why those who have come after him should not have the same privilege. . . . Besides, true imitation does not consist in identity of terms and phrases, but in the harmonious disposition of details and in the profundity of thought."

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No competent judge will deny the force and truth of this; but it was all the more provoking to the Ciceronians on this account. It did not, however, cause Erasmus to forfeit the friendship either of the great Leo or of Cardinal Bembo. But while Scaliger attacked him in Germany, Pierre Curtius attacked him in Italy, the latter pretending that he had insulted, on more than one occasion, not only the learned men of Italy, but also the nation at large; accordingly he gave his pamphlet the comprehensive title: *Defensio pro Italia ad Erasmum Reterodamum.* Erasmus deigned to reply to this, although he took no public notice of the article of Scaliger. He proceeds to demonstrate in his usual bland, but sarcastic style, that he had had no intention of calling into question the bravery and military genius of the Italians. In reply to the charge of ingratitude to the country of the fine arts, he says:

"I am constantly reminded that it was in Italy I learned Latin. I regret that such is not the fact. I was nearly forty years when I went to Italy. I did not, therefore, go thither to learn—I was too old for that; but went to see the country. I brought into Italy more knowledge of Greek and Latin than I brought out of it. . . . Besides, if the Italians are going to write better works in future than mine, as Curtius threatens me, I shall, *for my part, be very glad,* for all will gain by it."*

In this quiet way Erasmus entirely silenced the Italian, and both Leo X. and Bembo had the candor to admit that, after all, Cicero alone should not be regarded as the soul, life, and body of the Latin tongue. But this great triumph, on the part of Erasmus, seemed to increase the rage of Scaliger all the more. It is true that several biographers and historians allege that the only reason why Scaliger made his second scurrilous attack on Erasmus was that the latter called him a soldier by way of contempt, intimating that on that account he was beneath his notice, and that, in short, he was incapable, for the same reason, of writing the attack attributed to him. Whether this be the fact or not, the statement is of some importance as showing that the business of human slaughter was not quite so respectable at this time as it subsequently became. It should be remembered

* *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem nullo adversario villacem.*

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that one of the principal reasons assigned by Erasmus for his opposition to the reformation was that it would lead to war; that from words the contestants would come to blows, *à verbis ad verbera;* and that the invariable tendency of war was to demoralize all who had a hand in it.* He has written one of his best essays to prove the fact, that entitled *Bellum.* Those who have the curiosity to read this will understand that, in the opinion of Erasmus, it does not require much genius or intellectual ability to attain even the highest distinction as a soldier. But whatever was the cause of the second attack, full of venom and vituperation as it was, it did not satisfy the author, who, becoming more and more enraged at the contemptuous silence of the philosopher, proceeded to write a third; but Erasmus had died before it was published.†

Thus it was that protestants and catholics, and those who were equally opposed to both, attacked Erasmus in turn. One party hated him for being a catholic; another party hated him because, if he was not really a protestant, he was, at least, a heretic, while the third party hated him because he labored to restore the unity of the christian religion. But, as already remarked, for one who disliked him, five hundred esteemed and admired him for the incalculable benfit he had rendered to civilization by his profound learning and his incessant and prodigious literary labors performed for the instruction and enlightenment of mankind. Notwithstanding his unsparing ridicule of the ministers and servants of the church, of all grades, including, even, the pontiffs, he enjoyed the friendship and esteem of four successive popes, namely, Julius II., Leo X., Adrian IV. and Paul III., besides those of numerous archbishops and cardinals. Adrian had been his intimate friend long before he had any idea of succeeding to the papal throne. While professor of theology at Louvain, he invited Erasmus to take up his abode in that famous institution, and he was on his way to do so when he became so violently ill that he had to return to the care of his

* Alios occultum odium, alios ambitio, alios animi feritas in bellum impellit.—Eras., *Adag.*, Chil. iv.

† Scaliger aiant sçu cela écrivait une troisieme haranque dont la mort de Erasme interrompit l'edition.—Bayle's *Dict. Hist. et Crit.*

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friends. By a somewhat similar fatality, when the professor became pope, he was prevented by an early death from serving and honoring him as his holiness had intended.

On the election of Paul III., Erasmus wrote to congratulate him. The pontiff immediately sent him an autograph letter in reply, complimenting him very highly on the service he had rendered learning, literature, religion and morals; and this letter, so honorable to both, was soon followed by a brief, appointing Erasmus prior of Deventer, the convent in which he first began to distinguish himself by his learning, with a revenue of 1,500 ducats. The next year the pope proposed to invest him with the purple, and on its being remarked to his holiness that it was necessary a cardinal should have an annual income of 3,000 ducats, he immediately offered to confer several presents on him, which would secure him that amount, altogether independently of his pensions.*

These, it must be admitted, were magnificent offers, but Erasmus did not avail himself of either. Nothing was known of the brief for the priorship until after his death, when it was found in the pocket of his cossack. As to the purple, while deeply grateful for the offer of it, his reply was, "I have never sought dignities; now they would be no use; my life will soon be at an end." †

When Erasmus felt his end approaching he wished to return to Holland, his native country, to die. Accordingly he directed one of his friends to sell his house and furniture at Friburgh; as several of his works were in course of publication at Basle he visited that city for the purpose of correcting some of the proof sheets; but he was suddenly taken ill, and after lingering some months he died.

A great change had taken place in Basle during the absence of Erasmus. He had liked the city much, and therefore remained in it amid all the disturbances caused by the reformation, until he saw the cathedral broken open by the mob; its fine sculptures and paintings dragged into

* Nisard, *Etude sur la Rénaissance*, p. 120, *et seq.*—Patin, *Relation Historique*, p. 129.

† *Etudes sur la Rénaissance.* Par M. D. Nisard, p. 90, *et seq.*

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the street, and burned, or otherwise destroyed, amid the jeers and scoffs of the multitude. This was on the 12th of February, 1529. Next morning a proclamation was issued declaring the abolition of the mass and the suppression of popery. On witnessing these scenes, Erasmus resolved to withdraw as quickly as possible, although the principal citizens implored him to remain. When he returned, on his way, as he thought, to Holland, the sectarian excitement had died away, and all classes were rejoiced to see him back. Several of his former antagonists visited him during his illness; he cordially welcomed them, and became reconciled to all.

When he died every honor was done his remains, the faculty and students of the university bearing his coffin on their shoulders in turn. On his will being opened, it was found that he had bequeathed nearly all he had for the benefit of poor students who had not the means of finishing their education, the remainder to be devoted to the relief of poor, infirm old men and of poor orphan children. Even those who hated priests and popery most, readily agreed to have his remains interred in the cathedral. Every scholar and lover of learning and genius who happens to travel within reach of Basle, no matter whence he comes, or what sect he may belong to, still visits his tomb within the church, and takes a melancholy pride in deciphering the several inscriptions in Greek and Latin, partly effaced, as they are, on the marble, by the hand of time.

On the front of the tomb is a beautiful Latin inscription, which very happily describes the chief merits and characteristics of Erasmus; but it is too long to transcribe here, especially as the Latin is not very popular at the present day. There is a quadrangular base on the top of the tomb, on the front of which is another inscription, in which the reader is merely told that "*Friends* have buried Erasmus of Rotterdam beneath this stone."*

In Rotterdam he has been similarly honored, but justly proud as his native city was of him it could not have honored him more than Basle, which was equally proud of

* "Des. Erasmum Rotterdamum *Amici* sub hoc saxo condebant."

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affording a resting place to his remains. A wooden statue was erected in the principal square in Rotterdam, in 1549, in honor of so illustrious a citizen. This was replaced a few years after by a marble statue, which, having been destroyed by the Spaniards, was in turn replaced by a fine bronze statue. This may still be seen on the bridge of Rotterdam, and is almost covered with inscriptions. The most pathetic, elegant, and graphic—that which compresses most thought into an equal amount of space—is the following stanza, by Heinsius, of which we give a free rendering below, only asking those unacquainted with the Latin to bear in mind that our hurried version gives but a faint idea of the beauty, force, and pathos of the original:

"Barbariæ talem se debellator Erasmus,
Maxima laus Batavi nominis, ore tulit.
Reddidit, en fatis, Ars obluctata sinistris,
De tanto spolium nacta quod urna viro est,
Ingenii cæleste jubar, majusque caduco
Tempore qui reddat, solus Erasmus erit."*

The house in which the philosopher was born, though a very poor one, has been similarly distinguished. For more than a century it bore on its humble front the inscription:

"Hæc est parva Domus, magnus quâ natus Erasmus."†

The "Parva Domus" was preserved as long as possible in honor of the philosopher; finally, on its being rebuilt with the same view, it was decorated by another inscription, in which are enumerated his noble efforts for the revival of learning, the liberal arts, &c.‡

In Basle his cabinet was regarded as a sacred treasure. The principal, if not the only articles it contained were his ring, his seal, his sword, his penknife, his bodkin, and his will, written with his own hand, and his portrait by Holbein. In 1661, these articles were purchased by

* Erasmus, the conqueror of barbarism, has so ennobled himself by the power of his intellect, as to be the glory of the name of Batavia. Behold how struggling Art has been delivered by him from the sinister fates! The celestial splendor of his superior genius, in a vascillating age, may well leave Erasmus without an equal.

† "This is the little house in which the great Erasmus was born."

‡ "Æ libus his ortus Mundum decoravit Erasmus
Artibus ingenuis, Religione, Fide."

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the authorities for 9,000 crowns; and they were subsequently purchased by the French Academy for tenfold that amount.

Such was the glory which learning and literature conferred on their votary four centuries ago. How different would have been the experience of Erasmus had he lived in the nineteenth century, that epoch which is said to surpass in intelligence and enlightenment all previous ages back to the creation! In our own country, especially, and we claim to occupy no secondary rank in "enlightenment," he could have secured far more honor and distinction by selling drygoods, or even fish, whiskey, tobacco, or quack medicines; or by setting up, on an extensive scale, as a tailor, and employing women to do three-fourths of his work, at one-fourth the price of their labor; by speculating in railroads, or in the mortgaged houses of poor widows and orphans; in short, by any trade, plan, handicraft, or contrivance, that enabled him to make the largest pile of money!

ART. VI.—1. *Budget de l'Empire*, 1869. Horn. Paris.

2. *Revue de la Bourse.* Paris. 1870.

3. *L'Opinion Nationale, Le Moniteur, La Lanterne, Le Rappel, and other French and English Periodicals.* 1869–70.

A RALLYING cry of M. Rochefort, during the political campaign in Paris last autumn, was his epitomized constitution: "*There is no longer anything; nobody is charged with the execution of the present decree,*" which, with its ominous meaning beneath its absurdity of phrase, smacks of the grim comedy of the convention, and recalls chaotic France from 1789 to 1795, and the fearful antics of Robespierre, Danton, and Saint-Just.

Ennui in the existing order of things, and a craving for something fresh, quite independent of specific grievances, is an unfortunate feature of French politics; and this *ennui*, artfully accounted for and slyly pricked by French dema-

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gogues, develops into that intermittent fever which has periodically beset France, ever since 1789 demonstrated the strength of the masses if dexterously brought to bear against any principle of authority which has a failing hold on popular love. So soon as this periodical disgust with things as they are arrives, there comes also the palpitating conviction of those impatient that the stupid present can be changed into a glorious future; for the French invest their politics with a mingled frenzy of hope and alarm alien entirely to the saner English or American idea, in which political contention may co-exist with real personal regard. The well-disciplined warmth of party strife and indignation in England, in France is a reckless and a bitter, if not always a frightened hate; and what is harmless political enthusiasm in the former country may easily conduct to the opening acts of an insurrectionary spectacle more or less sanguinary in the latter.

The Count Henri de Rochefort de Luçay—or, as he has always signed, "Rochefort, *tout simple*," is a conspicuous representative of that Parisian clique of politicians known as the *irréconciliables*—so christened by M. Gambetta, one of them, during the elections of May, and forming an important but little fraction of his majesty's opposition in the legislature. Nor are the *irréconciliables* absolutely the only ones who have hankered or labored with exulting trust for the extirpation of the Bonapartes, trunk and branch, from the council-halls of the nation. But of these—M. Rochefort and others akin—we shall give outline portraits in the course of this paper, as actors who played so considerable a part in a miscarried effort made a few months ago to suscitate the French revolution.

The revolutionary party since 1860 has multiplied, and in May, 1869, the opposition polled 3,248,555 votes to the 4,053,056 for official candidates, showing that freedom of press and speech and the emperor's auspicious letter of the 19th January, 1867, had gained his government few partisans to the theory of personal rule. Imperialism, which was sanctioned as such by the votes of 1851–'52,* had become

* Out of about 8,000,000 inscribed voters in France, 6,000,000 approved of the *coup-de-état*, and 7,000,000 voted for "*Napoléon III. Empereur.*"

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almost uncurrent in our day, as proved by the figures above quoted; its old friends were many of them dead and gone, and of those who remained some had even enunciated their belief that the existing situation could not long endure. M. Latour du Moulin, formerly a director of the libraries and the press under Maupas,* in the preface to a publication of his called "Questions Constitutionnelles," predicted in France, and as not far distant, a parliamentary majority hostile to Napoleon III. Nor do we think that such a result will have been brought about altogether by violent agitation, for from 1851 to 1868 domestic peace was untroubled; the Bonaparte *régime* was reproached with the rigors of its re-installation only, and political exiles were fewer during all those years than in the time of the republic of 1848. But by its quirks, and shifts, and oppressive detail in organization; by its centralization and persistency to place itself above discussion, little by little the empire has contrived to prejudice itself in popular estimation. Frenchmen who saw constantly at their elbows papa government, or mamma administration, and whose sense of revolutionary danger was blunted by years of quiet which had passed from being annoyed, were finally vexed and irritated by the ever-recurring notion that they were kept in leading-strings.

The increasing age and the vacillations of the emperor; certain outside failures; enormous domestic taxations, and the consideration just referred to, combined to render republicanism, which had so affrighted all honest folk from 1848 to 1851, less redoubtable to the common mind, if not positively craved by the younger and more ardent generation. At least, thought the voters, under the republic the popular will could decide for or against a foreign war; the civil expenses could be diminished; and one man alone need not be responsible for the entire glory nor for every misfortune attending the career of a great state. In short, faith in the necessity or thrift of autocratic institutions disappeared piece by piece; and in 1868–'9 it required official figure-cooking to obtain from the chamber the needful vote author-

* Maupas was the first *Préfect de Police* of the second empire.

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izing the city of Paris to make a loan. Some even among prudent citizens then had slowly drifted to the contemplation of a gradual revolution as not only expedient but practicable, if hardly prepared for its precipitate consummation in the general elections of 1869.

Between the *irréconciliables*, who, as their name declares, would be content with no mere reforms, but who demanded complete abolition of the empire, and its chief, and the imperialists, was a third party, whose guiding spirits had not disputed the supremacy of imperial doctrines as founded upon, and five times ratified by universal suffrage, but had battled along back for liberal progress under the constitution. This party latterly had been claimed by both the others; for, as an intact opposition, it was virtually lost in the spring of 1869, when so many of its candidates were defeated. Its dispersion or absorption had looked temporarily like a master stroke of the emperor to rid himself of MM. Thiers, Favre, Ollivier, and others, who, set in their purpose, large in their experience and sagacity, and fair and peaceable in their course, were men fitted to lead, and who at one time led the very band of deputies calculated to win the public confidence and respect, whilst by their earnest scrutiny they had served as an effective moral check to mere personal will and arbitrary sway. But more recently the *left*, or this third party, it was repeatedly affirmed, had acquiesced in an amalgamation with the *irréconciliables;* and in Paris these, in order to make the fusion appear heartier and less circumscribed than it really was, threw over their special candidates, Gambetta, Baucel, etc., in pretending to search for others congenial to the whole opposition as now combined. Certainly, at the very last, the original left here alluded to, seemed to have flowered from sharp yet lawful critics of his majesty's policy into malcontents adverse to his reign, and from a junction of the future votes of the *irréconciliables* with their own, to have achieved what, in the *Corps Legislatif* of November, 1869, might prove to be a formidable reinforcement of the opposing 116 of the previous session and an openly rebellious chamber. This ultimate presumption, coupled with the ceaseless threatening and abuse of the

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powers that were, which had prevailed with the radical journals since the licensing of the press, presaged for not a few, a rising in Paris, an extinction of the imperial throne, and quite possibly a return of the reign of terror.

The second empire has been for the nation an epoch of prosperity. Up to December, 1851, France for years had been pulled by four different factions in four different directions. These factions were nearly matched—equally disinterested assuredly, as each coveted simply the supreme power and a disposal of the public funds. The Bonapartists were uppermost at the time stated, though badgered and trammelled by the jealous watchfulness of the other three, the legitimists, the republicans, and the Orleanists, or the white, the red, and the blue. Each, by revolutionary aid, had had its turn in office; each had swollen the taxes; farmed out the state patronage; shut up its rivals in prison; and called upon the people to rejoice. Not that Louis Napoleon was the nephew of his uncle, was he made emperor from prince-president, but because he seemed to be the strong man of a series and of the hour, who could lift his country from these repeated wrangles for the spoils, and put down anarchy and communism. He promised to establish a solid sovereign power, able to check conspiracy and competition, and to assert and enforce the law.

The most salient objection to the imperial *régime* at its inception, the *coup d' état* of the 2d of December, 1851—that episode which Victor Hugo, a red republican, has depicted in his florid style, of blood and treachery, which Prévost Paradol, an Orleanist democrat, is astounded at for its uselessness, when he looks back to it, and which Mr. Kingslake, M. P., has recounted in interminable and tragic pages—was, nevertheless, for a French revolution, and one so big with event, the least damaging, measured by precedent, since 1789. Without pausing in the narrow limits of this paper, to show the discrepancies in these different accounts of the birthday of the second empire, or to point out how the rage of disappointed ambition, or a proneness to cater to the English hate of arbitrary power, may have tinctured the facts, and urged the acceptance of many a

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doubtful incident, we will simply say, that few of the records extant can be implicitly relied upon. Representatives of the business classes and of the *bourgeoisie* who had been more and more reminded by shadowing events of the horrid triumphs of the mob in 1848, congratulated one another about the bulletins at the corners of the streets, when such informed them that Napoleon was their emperor. Protection, police, and confidence were the first requirements; and, always remembering that it was in France, there were native and foreign citizens who deemed it surprising that such pressing wants were supplied in Paris at a relatively small though yet a shocking cost. All that, however, took place in another generation—eighteen years ago.

Having undertaken to restore tranquility, Napoleon III. restored it promptly as he usurped supreme power. *Parvenue*, which he was proud to be, he yet raised the drooping prestige of his country in Europe by his wars with Russia and Austria and the Anglo-French expedition to China; and while he and his eagles were helping the Italians to their freedom, his diplomatists drew closer the puissant alliance with Great Britain. Let him who may, recall the times and terrors of 1848, or even 1851, and then glance at Paris and France as they are now, with the best of police and detailed systems of municipal administration. Justice in France is swift and simple; national credit and mercantile integrity are no higher in Europe or America; and trade and commerce have succeeded with the rest. Externally and internally those of Marseilles, Bordeaux, Havre, and of Lyons, Mulhouse, and St. Etienne, have trebled. The Bréton peasant who, before 1852, only dreamed of a large city as a far-off fairy region, and who, like a savage, hid his gold in the earth, by railway communication and that quick and general education manifest in the land, has learned his advantage in journeying with his hoard to Paris to subscribe to government loans. Banking-houses, factories, canals, docks, roads, steamship-lines, etc., have been everywhere called into existence, and Paris, as a financial centre, is rivalled to-day but by one on the continent. The metropolis of crooked and uncomely

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streets and obscure passages which Napoleon found it, is now the capital of noble vistas and palatial boulevards decked with splendid edifices, and stands at the head of European cities for health and beauty, and within its walls the arts and sciences have been fostered with an equal spirit to the palmy days of the *roi soleil*. And not the great cities alone, but the smaller towns have likewise, in a certain ratio, shared in the improvement, intellectual and material, of the seat of government, instigated and sustained by enterprise and security at home, and consideration and prowess abroad, from which conditions also sprang the Cobden treaty and the Suez canal, projects of the statesman and enlightened prince.

But for all that, while civilization and science have ameliorated most countries on the face of the globe during fifty years past, as well as France under Napoleon III., his general domestic policy has been that of the founder of his dynasty in its centralization and political morals. The *espionnage* and military preponderance of the consulate, after an absence of nearly forty years, have returned, and the *dossier* of the secret police, or the *bonnet à poil* of the guard, are as significant and as conspicuous now as in the time of Fouquier, Tinville, or of Austerlitz. The imperial government, although it admitted the constitution to be susceptible of purification, at the same time held it to lie beyond the field of parliamentary treatment; and as the chief of the state seemed fixed in his determination to reserve for himself the initiative of all betterment among his subjects, dislike and repudiation of tutelary half measures naturally grew apace. An absolute ruler schemed foreign expeditions without consulting his own ministers; the chamber, packed by dependent friends, voted the subsidies required; and though the revenue of the country was doubling itself, the public debt rapidly increased. The really little political renovation apparent had been forced from government by a very necessity of its existence. Paris was, indeed, magnificent—but at what a cost! For fifteen years the emperor spent $160,000,000 a year more than the governments which preceded it, and with a continued swelling of increase in expenditure from $115,000,000 during 1852–'6 up to

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$300,000,000 during 1862–'9.* We do not assert that the budget income has not been kept on a par with the budget outlay, nor that the resources of the whole country have been strained beyond their capacity,† but such prodigious expenses imply heavy taxes, the burden of which has been especially felt in the farming districts, where wealth, as a whole, has not enhanced in proportion to the assessment. Such being the case, and culculating to profit thereby, the discontented of the towns scattered emissaries through the provinces; and albeit, the agricultural class is one of the most faithful to the empire, still some village seers became persuaded that France and its imperial chief were fast going down in the world; Mexico and Sadowa were surely great disasters; and the profound thinkers of the country press solemnly disclosed that Napoleon of late never knew his own mind; that the heir to the throne was silly and weak; that the empress was jesuitical; and Prince Napoleon a cousinly impossibility. So things looked sombre for the Bonapartes and France. Paris seemed to find a savage glee in trumpetting their misfortunes to the uttermost parts of the earth.

The empire has done, or tried to do, much for the laboring classes. Universal suffrage has been restored and preserved; the right of public meeting, of remonstrance and strikes, has been accorded; imprisonment for debt has been done away with; and trade restrictions have been raised for the bakers, the butchers, etc., to a degree unknown under monarchical or republican systems. In Paris, house-rent less than 400 francs is free from government tax; the smaller industries pay no license; and hospitals, lodging-houses, schools, soup-kitchens, and other charitable institutions in numbers have been founded. Yet these workingmen in the large towns are easily estranged from government support, which is not simply ingratitude, nor solely resulting from

* Horn's *Budget de l'Empire*, 1869.

† Stated generally, France appears to have been spending in 1868–'9 about £71,000,000, with an income of from £69,000,000 to £70,000,000. In 1867 the deficit was £7,000,000, but that was the year of the Luxembourg difficulty. The empire has added fully £130,000,000 to the consolidated debt of the country, which now stands at nearly £500,000,000, besides a floating debt of £32,720,000.—*London Economist*, criticising French finance minister's report for Nov., 1869.

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the fact, that by the side of what was bequeathed it to do in the way of relieving them, the empire has done so little for the *bas peuple*. The conscription and military laws remain in full force, and are execrated alike by the active mechanic and the idle proletary; and in creating a caste from which to draw exclusively its functionaries and deputies, the government had partly alienated the plebeian section of the *bourgeoisie*.

The nation is imperfectly organized; owing to its repeated shakings society lacks the coherency which results from a more steady combination of its elementary strata. The city laborer takes his stand on a low basis with strong native prejudices and an irritability, spite of his every-day good humor, which is nurtured by his sense of subjection and his want of power to rise. He is separated from the nobles and the wealthy by as great a gulf as ever, into the depths of which he and his equals, it is true, have frequently succeeded in precipitating their aristocracy, yet have never been able to plant their own standard on the upper side; and although the military-glory worship which once possessed France has been tamed and its dominion impaired, the metropolitan people are perceptibly more amenable to warlike influences than to those of peace and that dull, plodding toil indispensable to social stability and advancement. The spirit of rebellion catches hold of and allies itself to the best instinct of French character—fraternity; and that spirit, if not indigenous, being readily awakened, the propensity to revolt is almost a constant one; whether the powers that be are despotic or constitutional, insurrection is a fancied relief, a change, and for too many by far, a pastime. In these popular orgies—for such they are in Paris—the best of the insurgents are less calculating than fanatic. Demagogues of the press and wine-shop pretending to expound to, and sympathize with, aim only to provoke the lower orders; the students—those uncurbed geniuses, who have, perhaps, less direct interest in the prosperity of the country than the *traders*, *rentiers* and others, incite to treason and outbreak by word and act; the *ouvriers* resist in the street the armed police; blows are followed by bloodshed; passion, error and

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turbulence gain the undermost of the *bourgeoisie;* the *Marseillaise* is sung by a predatory mob who collect with weapons from different quarters; the military is called out; and the insurrection is in full blast.

As an instructive parenthesis, a computation from reliable sources of a part of the cost of a night and day of revolutionary high carnival in 1848, when the Tuilleries, Palais Royal, and the palace at Neuilly were sacked, gives as an amount of irreparable damages within the time mentioned, *seven millions of francs*, at those three places alone. It was thirsty patriotism, too, this smashing of furniture and porcelain and cutting up of tapestries and pictures, for the pilagers consumed 79,000 bottles of wine while about it!

It does, indeed, sometimes appear as though the *bas peuple* of the French hated social restriction less for what its imperfection may be than that it existed at all as an obstacle to the petulant temper and that love of plunder and destruction which have so often cursed a Parisian *émeute*. "What do you think of imperial policy?" was the question asked at the May and November elections by man and neighbor. The imperialists, who had seen their chief sick and nigh to death, and, as they thought, perplexed in a course beset on every side, had nothing to say. The moderate opposition called imperial policy detestable, and the *irréconciliables*, after lampooning the emperor and his family in the most disgraceful fashion, shouted the downfall of the empire, the rise of *their* republic—whatever that might be—and the return of the banished "reds" to lead them.

On the 5th of November M. Rochefort entered France from Belgium, and is thus painted: a sallow complexion, pert, intrusive nose, a prominent forehead, bright eyes, and a dark moustache, with no expression of candor nor of firmness upon his face—the *beau idéal* of a conspirator. With *citoyen* Rochefort as a distinguished brave of the *irréconciliables*, must be named *citoyens* Ledru Rollin, Louis Blanc, Felix Pyat, Armoud Barbès, and Gambetta, Paul Meurice, Jules Simon, and Baucel of inferior calibre to the others, except Rochefort; and if last, not least, the *citoyen* Victor Hugo. Of these men, several of whom have passed eighteen years in

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exile, none seemed to have learned another lesson than that of animosity to the empire, which had deepened as the emperor proved himself apt and strong in his sovereignty. None, assuredly, has announced his belief that the secret of good government lies in the maintenance of authority in the presence of liberty. Many of them have acknowledged a measure of freedom in England with which they were delighted; yet, in the very face of a spontaneous homage to the English constitution, they have scornfully deprecated the steps which have been taken in their own country towards the principle and essence of a limited monarchy. Revolution *pure et simple* has ever been their cry. So far they all agree, but beyond that little leaks out of their wishes or intentions. Victor Hugo, if not yet returned, has his journal, the *Rappel*,* in Paris, which screams its jeremiades and the subversive tactics of '48; Ledru Rollin, who has often turned his coat, now ventilates the tenets of an agrarian socialist, and Barbès, the favorite leader of the *blouses* in 1848, is almost alone of these celebrities, in not praising law and peace in England at the same time that he preached sedition and perpetual convulsion for France.

So much for consistency; but Ledru Rollin, Pyat, and Berbès, represent less hostility to the empire than inveterate enmity to civilized security and order—France was still a republic when they sought liberty in flight. The first, for years a London wine-merchant, become old and business-like, is, it may be, less insurgent than of yore, and, as a socialist idol, was pitched from his pedestal for his timorous conduct in the proceedings of November. He declined to go to Paris, alleging an indefinite risk to the party in his presence, and sneered at Rochefort, who had been named to fetch him, as *ce gamin de Paris*, which estimate, though simple truth, quickened disfavor for the speaker. Felix Pyat is ultra like Barbès, and if both are no longer chickens, their threescore or more of years have not quenched their fire. Barbès, a

* Besides the *Rappel*, the *Réforme*, the *Réveil*, the *Cloche*, and the *Marseillaise*, (Rochefort's), represent *irrèconciliable* doctrines, and publicly exalt in their columns the personages of the "terror," Robespierre, and acolytes. Vituperative, demagogical and unprincipled, all these sheets seem fitted for their work.

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conspirator of 1839, was condemned to death for the murder of the president of a revolution club, and has been a fomenter of *émeutes* since the revolution of July. Three times during the reign of Louis Philippe was he imprisoned for insubordination or incitement thereto, and for plotting against the republic of 1849, he was eventually incarcerated at Belle-Isle until liberated by the emperor in 1854. Pyat, a journalist and a dramatist before 1848, joined Ledru Rollin in the insurrection of 1849, in which year he fled from Paris, whither he returned only in October or November last. During his absence he had signalized himself as the apologist of Orsini, the would-be assassin of Napoleon III.; and brilliant and clever, he has kept himself in favor with the socialists of France by his devotion to their kindred in London and Geneva. He made a speech or two in Paris during the autumn campaign, which was as remarkable for eloquence and rhetoric as for abominable precept and brittle logic. A model whom M. Rochefort strives to copy, but he stands in the clouds by comparison; for the editor of the "Lanterne" miserably failed in his electoral fulminations. But in point of real damage to the government, M. Thiers or M. Favre could do more in one speech than M. Pyat or M. Rochefort in a hundred.

We cannot perceive where the French revolutionary party of to-day have improved upon the political and social maxims of their forefathers of the convention; their demigods are still those heroes of the mountain who sent one another to the guillotine in the name of liberty and fraternity. Averse to parliamentary government, their "sovereignty of the people," means, as before, a few Jacobin clubs sitting at Paris to prescribe the rights and duties of the whole French people. The very *naïveté* of their nonsense is pathetic, and has ever been harsh, theatrical, and impracticable. All of the above-cited *citoyens*, as they designated themselves, appealed a few months ago, as was done again and again in years gone by, to the passions of the populace—and here we mean the workingmen as the middle-piece, with that indescribable, under-ground brute,

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who emerges to join him at the first scramble for loot,* on one side, and on the other the sincere but impassioned sub-commoner; or, in order, the *blouse*, the *canaille*, and the *bas bourgeoise*—a populace which destroyed the first and second republics, and which would inevitably destroy the third after a few days of rioting and excess in Paris. The *citoyens*, we say, appealed to the passions of a populace which, once excited, outstrips at times the cunning of the Chinese in vagaries of cruelty, or the blacks of Hayti in its thirst for blood. For the brains of the French *émeutier*, like those of the butcher-boy, fire until he maddens with the slaughter; and then, unconscious alike of the victory, defeat or reason, he clubs, and stabs, and fights, as long as his eyesight and his muscles last, or he dies with the pluck and the screech of the non-sentient maniac that he is. The whole tendency of the late anti-government movement was to substitute the sway, not of a body politic, but of the *sans culottes*, who, even if the preliminary of tumult and massacre were avoided, at best could introduce but a series of experiments, for the existing absolutism, which, all despotic as its censors made it out to be, had notoriously studied the need and given an earnest of measures of reform.

Among the Paris journalists are some of the illustrations and greatest wits of the literature of the epoch. The meanest of them it would hardly be advisable to despise, and there were skilled and caustic veterans, who charged at the empire with glittering sarcasm and effective might. There were men who hated, as well as men who laughed, and who were bent on dire mischief if they could inoculate their readers, and make a fickle people adopt their way of thinking. How fitting here is Voltaire's criticism of his countrymen, and of this very class of writers, whether upon the arts, literature or politics, the press contributors of his era! In a letter, dated May, 1771, the great philosopher says: "Notre nation a tonjours été légère, qelquefois très cruelle.

* "*Je ne dis pas que tous les républicains* (in France) *soient des voleurs*," said the marquis de Larochejaquelin (legitimist), from his seat in the chamber of 1858. *Oh non! mais assurément tous les voleurs sont pour le bonnet rouge. Rassemblez les, questionnez les et vous les trouverez sans exception, républicains.*

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Elle n'a jamais su gouverner par elle-meme et elle n'est pas trop digne d'être libre. . . . . J'ajouterai encore, que j'aimerais mieux, malgré mon gout extrême pour la liberté, vivre sous la patte d'un lion, que d'être continuellement exposé aux dents d'un millier de rats, mes confrères."

In the days of '89 and '48, Paris was France; but it is so no longer. The city, in the first place, has been *Haussmannized* out of the hands of those whose pet remonstrance was a barricade. Now that 100,000 troops can be concentrated on the capital within a few hours, and that broad thoroughfares and avenues leading to the Faubourg St. Antoine and other dangerous quarters are commanded by parks of artillery from the roofs of the arsenals, street fighting has become next to impossible so long as the army remains loyal and devoted. The army is a fellowship, bucklered and apart, which sees advancement its gain, and a traditional glory in the empire, and the Paris *pionpion* jeers equally at the *pékin* and democracy. Then, as M. Prévost-Paradol told his Edinburgh audiences, the law of universal suffrage has made, not the *ouvrier* of the city, but the *paysan* of the provinces the real political arm. Relatively ignorant, but keen and thriving, many of them, they are fearful above all things of socialism and revolution; and the glib talk of the Parisian workman about agrarianism and equality only awakens their distrust. Their interest, and centuries of obedience to their old feudal lords, have trained them to a deference and well wishing for the state; and their affection for the village *curè* would, in any case, have prompted them to follow his teachings, dictated in turn by the catholic church, as friendly ever towards her "eldest son" as she is denunciatory of the red republicans, who, when reverent for any faith, are generally mockers at catholicism or the anathema of Rome.*

*The following speaks for itself: "Citizens—If religions of whatever nature they may be, and whencesoever they may come, did not constitute a permanent outrage on all liberty and progress, tyrants would be less eager to restore these auxiliaries of absolutism as soon as they seize on power. We have sufficient shackles and chains on our feet in private and political life without forging others for our minds and ideas. The first duty of a nation which desires to be free—and when shall we obtain liberty if not at present?—is to cast off that restraint

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The peasant makes no mystery of his abhorrence of the tax-collector and the recruiting sergeant or conscription; but the socialists only attack the empire *en gros*, without pretending to aim at a reduction of the imposts or the army. Even if they have no work planned in the future for the latter to do, they express no general policy; their device is vaguely "liberty," or the overthrow of the established dynasty. But in the empire, which is the state, the farmers of Normandy and Brittany, and the wine grower of Gascony and Guyenne see the guarantee of their investment in the funds, or protection for their little property in land, and the revolutionary ringleaders, knowing that they could not count upon the rural populations, have, to a great extent, neglected them. These last, far from heeding the invitations of their own class in the towns and cities, by their apathy, if not a real attachment to the empire, reflect back a sullen indifference upon their urban relatives and friends, and more distinctly with each new attempt, of late years, at violent administrative change.

That famous body, the original Five* of the Assembly of 1857, which constituted for so long a period the entire legislative opposition to the government, had, up to 1869, waxed greater in number, if somewhat erratic in its parliamentary career, and, save an exception or two among its founders, had gradually merged into the so-called moderate party, heretofore adverted to. The idol of its principal spokesmen—after pretending to abandon certain schemes for the restitution of fallen dynasties—was constitutional monarchy, and they had furthermore professed, and as distinctly as men could do it, that if the emperor meant liberty they would support the empire. Subsequently, however, oblivious of Napoleon's new and more liberal attitude, they, with better or worse grace, had submitted to the embraces of the *irréconciliables*, as set forth in our commencing pages;

called a religion, and which leads fatally to slavery when it does not conduct to madness. I congratulate you, therefore, with all my heart, etc," (upon having opposed certain religious celebrations connected with a church anniversary.)—Extract from a letter, dated Paris, December 7, 1869, written by M. Rochefort, to Independent Thinkers at Lyons. *Vide* Paris *Galignani*, December 11, 1869.

* Jules Favre, Emile Ollivier, Eugéne Pellaton, Jules Simon and Darimon.

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and if guilty of no overt act, they had been quietly looking on, through October and part of November, at the different moves of the revolutionists, chuckling at every affront offered to the sovereign, and at every fresh peril to the Bonaparte line. But the imperious *pronunciamentos* of Victor Hugo, in the "Rappel," the harangues and communications of Ledru Rollin, Barbès and Pyat, the menaces and contumely launched by Rochefort at everything and everybody not of them nor theirs, and in general, the wild folly and reactionary proclivities of their new confederates, showed these placid patriots ere long, that the torrent, if it did break loose, though it might sweep away the empire first, would infallibly swamp them in its rushing course; and they were finally alarmed for their own safety, if undisturbed about their country.

The crisis was not only eminently dangerous, but was nearing fast, when these loyal deputies suddenly recollected their oath of office, and realised that they had little time to lose if they would make a show to keep it.

From the residence of M. Jules Favre, the 14-15th November, emanated what was termed the Manifesto of the Left, signed by prominent individuals of the moderate party, as well as by some of the least turbulent of those who had been identified with the *irréconciliables*; in all, twenty-nine members of the chamber. This notable document, contrary to the language of the ultras, declared the purpose of its authors to be, to obtain by legal means alone, certain specified reforms—the revolutionary tendency was expressly disavowed, as, of course, was M. Rochefort's constitution. It bore the names of Baucel and Gambetta side by side with those of Favre and Picard, and the news of its publication, so unexpected was the movement, caused no slight commotion, as one may well suppose, for it betokened a revival of common sense on the part of some who had gone astray, and with others who had abetted a vicious course by their pretended silence. M. Rochefort (not yet a deputy) could not, and M. Raspail did not sign, nor did those who believed in them—a forlorn few, who merely shut themselves out in the cold to knock their heads together with Hugo, Ledru Rollin, Pyat, Louis Blanc and Barbès as congenial company.

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Not only was a fatal and unlooked-for blow struck at the insurrectionists by the manifesto, but a temperate and feasible policy of the opposition was at last prescribed. Personal rule had undoubtedly irreparably fallen in French public opinion, and if parliamentary government, as a living power, had not yet succeeded to the empire, it may have been, in part, at least, because freedom was often indirectly tampered with at electoral sources. The manifesto denounced personal rule, and insisted upon a cessation of electoral and municipal interference, and a remedy for the abuses of a centralised administration, which two last grievances, by the way, had being long before the emperor scaled the throne.

The culminating point of the crisis was attained on the 21st and 22d of November, days of the elections. Of the principal socialists and *irréconciliables*, M. Rochefort, definitively, was the only regular candidate for the chamber, which he reached by means of 18,000 out of the 34,000 suffrages polled, of the 47,000 inscribed voters in the 1st Paris district,* where, in May preceding, M. Gambetta, likewise a socialist, obtained 22,000 votes; and with 900 ballots less than he had now received, M. Rochefort had failed of an election. To leave a clear field, that seditionary doctrines might work with full force, no administration candidates were put forward in this district, and the abstentions there amounted to some 13,000. A few votes in the city were thrown for M. Ledru Rollin, and a few for M. Pyat; but, unfortunately for that gentry, the revolutionary tide had touched high-water mark, and was, ere this, so decidedly on the ebb that, possibly, had the elections been a fortnight later, M. Rochefort would not have run as deputy.

The return of this personage is noteworthy, nevertheless. The noisy, implacable foe to the emperor sent to the assembly, was a smack in the face given by the Parisians to Napoleon III., said some; a deduction warranted when it was borne in mind that M. Carnot, the moderate candidate in M. Rochefort's district, of popular name and high character, was beaten by the vaudevillist of no particular princi-

* Paris is divided into 21 voting districts.

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ples nor opinions, but whose chosen arm had been scurrility cast at the reigning family. In other districts, too, MM. Arago and Crémieux, (a friend of Ledru Rollin,) and men like them, owed their success, it was pretended, to their known hatred of the tyrant of the *coup d' etat*, who, in 1851, had shut them up in prison, so that, even with the moral discomfiture of the extremists, the sovereign could find small consolation in the mean result at the polls of his capital. The contrary-minded pointed out that, by the withdrawal of official competitors to M. Rochefort, some anti-Bonapartist was to prevail, of course; that insurrection, after being preached and adopted, having been seen to foil itself, was, as a principle, irretrievably lost in the elections, and there, according to such reasoners, the reaction had just set in. Ledru Rollin, Pyat, and the spirits of '48, if again come to the surface, had gone under for the last time, and after their endless hue-and-cry by the *irréconciliable* high priests and press, the solitary victory in M. Rochefort's district was a simple irony upon his clan, who, from fighters at the head of masses, had dwindled down to railers backed by a majority of 1,800 votes!

The real triumph, it strikes us, was for the conservative left—men, undoubtedly, of republican convictions, yet believed to be such as in the legislature would unite with the deputies who had signed the manifesto, chiefly composed the new accession to the chamber. But M. Rochefort's election also signified, we think, that the insurgent workmen of the city, whose paradise is socialism, had not only never been weaned from the republic—or, too often, from the preludes to it, which they have scored as license and plunder—but had discovered, at last, that the emperor, by shifting the balance of power from town to country, had spoiled their revolutionary dreams and removed their paradise out of sight. The demagogical roaring of the *ouvrier* and his trust that his class were born dictators, not only of the capital, but of France, whenever they chose to appeal to force, were falsified and dashed forever; and despairing of doing more than to vent their wrath upon him who had accomplished this, the Paris revolutionists bent their backs to raise Roche-

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fort to the chamber—knowing why but not for what—and then returned to their quotidian tasks in a daze of exultation which was a sham and vain delight.

The new deputy, with or without his "Lanterne," can hardly be mated with Cobbett as a compeer, in or out of two-penny literature. The Englishman was dubbed a "blackguard" by his countrymen, yet was allowed a fair share of brains. Rochefort, if he has thus far contrived to hide his brains, has profusely displayed, in taunt and insult, that wanton lack of delicacy or scruple which must condemn a man for nicer people, and render him odious to them in ratio as he prospers with the rank and file. The citizen count is a *faiseur d' embarras* as well—one who spreads his table-cloth to pick a nut; and who entertained his constituents with his pother, his palaver, or his crudest jokes, for festivals of reason, where the refuse of politics was served with a sauce.

His sole theme during the canvass was personality of the emperor, or scandal about his wife and son, cutting and quaint, forsooth, but as often immodest and far-fetched. He spent his talents upon what, in another light, was trivial beside the momentous interests of the nation, which earnest men discussed. At the meetings, if he attacked some major question, like *decentralisation*, or a suppression of the prefects, all he brought to bear was imperial abuse. With his gesture, and passion, and wash of words, he seemed to have much to say; and, never at loss for point or pun, his tickled audiences he rarely disappointed. Like many of that stamp among French *griffoneurs*, where he was bred, he has the wit to know himself, and counts upon his skill at flinging dust into the eyes of such as heed him—a system, we suspect, which, however well devised for his admirers of the caucus or *café*, might prove less felicitous tested at the Palais Bourbon. There scrutinizing big-wigs will still regard him as a curiosity, though positively interesting but a few, since his "red" constituents cannot furnish him with the gifts of the orator nor the experience of the legislator wherein his mark is *minus*. Yet, calculated, as his electors set him forth to be, to emblazon the persuasion—admitting that the

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electors had conquered the revolution for the government only to place the latter face to face with a confident and extreme democracy, and Rochefort for its exponent—his presence in the chamber,* as evidence how infection may gain the noblest creed when left in certain hands, could be no grievous consternation to the emperor, should that monarch, after all he has said, turn out weak or Machiavelian.

On the 29th of November, his majesty, as customary, opened the legislative session, or rather, formally resumed an interrupted session, and in his speech said: "La France veut la liberté, mais avec l'ordre. L'ordre j'en reponds. Aidez moi, messieurs, à sauver la liberté." This phrase, and all the address, for that matter, may be commonplace, or laden with meaning, according to the bias or judgment of the reader. By a non-political listener to the discourse, it was remarked that in the above passage, and after the word *ordre*, the speaker suspended his voice an instant, not with an inflection of menace, but with a pause and a look pointedly expressive of his confidence. He had been received with uncommon enthusiasm upon his entrance to the Salle des Etats at the Louvre. He looked bright and well, continued the same informant, and a reiteration of applause followed the enunciation of the words in question. The orator left his hearers to infer that by delaying a liberty which had been promised from the throne, he had thwarted revolution, and that disarmed, no other obstacle loomed in sight, for he ridiculed those who would be blindly conservative, while he deplored the infatuation of revolt—remaining, meanwhile, the sovereign, and aloof from the reaction he alluded to (which might turn once more against him in six months' time), as he had been calmly superior to the excitement and the tumult of a few weeks before.

Napoleon's message of July, 1869, and the promulgation of the *Senatus consultum* in September, as understood by the world, were intended to mean an abdication, part by part, of

* By his violence M. Rochefort has contrived thus early to interrupt, with more or less scandal, his parliamentary career. His words provoked the ministers to demand leave to arrest him from the chamber, which accorded an overwhelming consent, and the unruly deputy was seized the 8th of February.

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his personal sway, if they had any signification whatsoever. By the *Senatus consultum*, the ruler spontaneously accorded to the country all the attributes of parliamentary government, and each of these imperial proceedings was hailed as it was published, with a general outburst of content and joy. But certain itching Frenchmen, exacting more than cure, grew impatient again, and, safe under the new order of things, clamored for a Bohemian theory of freedom, until their clamor reached and won the fretful and ignorant of the masses, when it took the mien of, and created that obstruction which are violence and sedition. Rivarol, a celebrated journalist of eighty years back, distinguished liberty from independence, thus: "La liberté consiste à n'obéir qu' aux lois. . . . . L'independence consiste a vivre dans les forêts sans obéir aux lois." The distempered Parisians went madly about, forcing a continuance of their thraldom by demanding an independence of the forest in the heart of their great city. The writer quoted, criticised with keen force and intelligence passing events in the great upheaving of 1789, and measured his strength with Mirabeau, with Chamfort, and Camille Desmoulins—not that he conquered them, but he did not believe in their philosophy, and he presumed to warn them in pungent terms: "Malheur à ceux qui remuent le fond d'une nation!" cried Rivarol, and men laughed who had gained, and yet held the supreme power by that very means — men whose finale was to be the block. "La peuple croit aller mieux à la liberté quand elle atteint à celle des autres," spoke the journalist of '89, and could the Paris journalist of '48, or of 1869, say otherwise and be veracious?

Liberty has never truly existed in France. No people have talked more about it, or done worse in its name, or have less understood it than the French. Under each *régime* which sought to practice it, it has been crushed to a deformed shape between the door and the wall, revolution and despotism. And the fault has not always been on the part of the government. "Dire que tous les hommes naissent et demeurent libres, c'est dire en effet, qu'ils naissent et demeurent nus. Mais les hommes naissent nus et vivent habillés, comme ils naissent indépendants, et vivent sous les lois,

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Les habits gênent un peu les mouvemens du corps, mais ils le protegent contre les accidens du dehors, les lois gênent les passions mais elles défendent l'honneur, la vie et les fortunes," wrote Rivarol again, whose fellow citizens of that and the present day, born independent, would live without clothes, if we may thus apply the figure. Knowing this, as it is better known by no man, Napoleon yet intended for his subjects a real parliament—a legislature springing from the mass, and a responsible ministry springing from the Chamber. Messrs. Rochefort, Pyat, Barbès, etc., by justifying the evident faith of the executive in their selfish blindness, not only discredited armed revolution, but did more to temper the moral sense of the community with patience for, and belief in the sovereign's plans of gradual amelioration, than any repressive policy he could have adopted. All of the political virtue under the empire has not constantly abided with the Republicans, or with the left side of the French chamber; nor has all the turpitude been confined to the administration any more than the workingmen of Paris and Lyons represent entire France and its provincial population.

The emperor's decree of November 24, 1860, directing a freer publication of legislative proceedings since the inauguration of the second empire, was what first awakened the French people to an interest in state affairs. An apathy, resulting from the toil and trouble of years of bootless revolution, had set in with the general conviction that Napoleon's was a competent, as well as an iron hand, and that the government, for purposes of peace and protection, was sufficient unto itself. This decree, then, was conceived and carried out in the midst of profound quiet and manifest prosperity, and its effect partly revealed itself in the elections of 1863. In 1866, as popular politics slowly developed, forty-five deputies, under the form of an amendment to the imperial address at the convocation of the two chambers, demanded the realization of great reforms. The demand was supported by M. Latour du Moulin, formerly an imperialist of the first water, as well as by M. Emile Ollivier, and others previously cited for their antagonism to Bonaparte adn his dynasty. By his letter of the 19th January, 1867,

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Napoleon acknowledged the opportuneness of a certain portion of the amendment, the balance of which, after the elections of May, 1869, was likewise admitted in principle by the sovereign's message of the 12th of last July, and in response to an interpellation by the 116 opposition members. Thus, step by step, and without coercion, but by yielding to the popular desire, which Cæsar himself had prompted at the start, in measure as that desire was lawfully expressed, has Cæsarism in France been transformed into parliamentary imperialism, with its exponent in the Ollivier cabinet of the 2d of January, 1870. Three of the five deputies who led the discusion of the amendment of the forty-five, just spoken of, are in that cabinet, where is M. Daru, who was imprisoned by the officers of Louis Napoleon in the time of the *coup d'état*, and where Odilon Barrot, the noted chief of the opposition to the monarchy of July, was tendered a portfolio. Four years ago, the only breach made in the dictatorial *régime* of 1852, was the publicity following the emperor's order, which was given to the sittings of the legislature, at present, without disaster, and in spite of threatening convulsion the country is possessed of all the liberties of a constitutional state.

Among the first doings of the incoming cabinet was to hew with an axe a flourishing tree, which represented, in fostered strength and magnificent reach of limb, the care and pride of imperial favor. Baron Haussmann, the great architect of modern Paris, the grand vizier of the metropolis, and the faithful servant of an approving master, was dismissed.* A trying test, indeed, of the sincerity of the emperor in his avowed determination to replace personal power by parliamentary will and popular sway.

Constitutionalism really exists in France, where Napoleon

* Notwithstanding the abuse levelled at him, Baron Haussmann retires with no considerable private fortune, after handling hundreds of millions spent in embellishing Paris. His income, independent of his pay as senator, is stated to be not over twenty thousand francs. M. Emile de Girardin, in the democratic *Liberté* newspaper, declares the late prefect to have been sacrificed to a silly prejudice, and in consequence of a great error on the part of the new ministry. Placing M. Haussmann at the head of capable and successful municipal administrators, the *Liberté* prophesies that Paris and the new government will regret his departure from office.

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III. reigns, but governs not. The second empire is virtually of the past, and yet it was a marvel of moderation compared with the first. If it indulged, as it was accused of doing, in fancy maps of Europe, it abstained from conquest and aggression. Instead of annexing Italy, it fought, for eight weeks, a war to liberate the Peninsula; instead of overwhelming Germany, it encouraged Count Bismarck to found a new German empire; instead of menacing England, as the latter periodically believed, it sought a British alliance; instead of subjugating Spain, it has treated Spanish politics with great indifference; instead of advancing upon Moscow, it withdrew from Mexico; instead of bringing the pope a prisoner to Paris, it has sent an army to Rome to save the temporal power of the holy father. The last year of the second empire, financially an agitated, and every way a momentous one, shows as evidence of the material success of the country, and for the twelvemonth from 31st December, 1868, to 31st December, 1869, a considerable rise in government funds. The three per cent. *rentes* are, at the time we write, within a fraction of seventy-five, the highest quotation during the imperial *régime;* and the augmentation of property, by enhancement of prices of different domestic values at the Paris *bourse*, reaches an aggregate of nearly eight hundred millions of francs for 1869 alone, in which augmentation the *rentes* are for upwards of one quarter, or nearly two hundred and fifty millions.*

Wonderfully, with all his faults, has Napoleon reigned; and if the general principles of that reign find little sympathy in America, certainly the late revolutionary demonstration in its aims and means or men, showed nothing to attract our fellow-feeling, nor to trap our admiration. Wonderfully, as few foreigners can appreciate, has the "tyrant" guaged his own countrymen, and combated their historical vices and their rash mistakes.

If he has deceived the world quite often, it was oftener for the better than the worse, as history and his record must assert at some future day; and, now, if the French nation

* *Revue de la Bourse.* Paris, 1870.

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accept and cheerfully aid the Ollivier* ministry, we have every ground to believe he will even go beyond his word, in the faithful practice of a constitutional system, though no new experiment for France.† The chief of the state is he who can best adapt it to the mercurial nature of his people, who must yet require years of a severe and steady education to merit and enjoy our American theory of democracy.

ART. VII.—1. *Astronomie Populaire.* By F. ARAGO. 4 vols. 12mo.

2. *Descriptive Astronomy.* By G. F. CHAMBERS, F. R. A. S. 8vo. 1867.

3. *The Solar System.* By J. R. HIND. 12mo.

ALL the bodies of the solar system are bound together by immutable laws, the planets obeying the dictates of the parent sun, as a dutiful child respects the wishes of his father. There is only one of the planetary worlds, however, which observation is able to show us is nearly or quite as well fitted to be the abode of sentient and intelligent beings, as the Earth.

Mars is the nearest to us of all the superior planets, and, except Venus, our morning and evening star, it is the nearest of all the primary bodies of the solar system. It is easily recognized by its ruddy appearance, which distinguishes it from all the other planets. The comparative nearness of Mars enables the modern astronomer, with his powerful telescope, to discover many of the geographical features, so to speak, of this neighboring world.

The discovery of Mars, like that of Jupiter and Saturn, was made so far back in the world's history, that no record of it

* The present chamber, as reconstructed, has within one or two of two hundred and ninety members. The Ollivier party, in full strength, numbers one hundred and seventy-five deputies, consisting of one hundred and thirty-one Bonapartists of different shades., (Arcadians, or extremists, and Right Centre, or moderate ones,) and 42–44 constutionalists, (moderate republicans, called Left Centre,) or a working majority from 55 to 60.

† Under different auspices constitutional government was essayed in 1789, in 1815 and in 1830.

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has descended to us. Mars was probably known as a wandering body long before the invention of ideographic writing. In fact, man growing up from the ignorance of infancy, both as an individual and as a race, gained, during the immense ages of his early existence, by almost insensible gradations, a very limited knowledge of the more obvious phenomena of nature, among which was probably the discovery of the brighter planets. The earliest recorded observation of Mars of which we have any account, is one mentioned by Ptolemy in his Almegist.* It is dated in the 52d year after the death of Alexander the Great, when the planet was above, but very near the star *Beta*, Scorpii. The date corresponds to 272 B. C., January 17th, 18 h., on the meridian of Alexandria.

The mean distance of Mars from the sun, is, according to the recent determination of the solar parallax by Professor Newcomb, of Washington, 140,758,000 miles, the earth's mean distance being 92,380,000 miles.† The mean sidereal period of Mars, or the time that elapses in revolving from a star to the same star again, is 686 days, 23½ hours, or about one year, ten months and a half.

The mean orbit of this planet is an ellipse of considerable eccentricity; so that when it is nearest to the sun, or in perihelion, its distance from that luminary is 127,626,000 miles; and when farthest from him, or in aphelion, its distance is 153,890,000 miles, giving a difference of 26,264,000 miles, making nine times the similar difference in the case of the Earth. The position of the perihelion of Mars is in longitude about 333°, and it is subject to a small annual variation, produced by the attraction of the other planets. Should this motion continue at its present rate, the perihelion will complete a revolution in about eighty-four thousand years. The inclination of the plane of its orbit to the plane of the ecliptic, is at present about 1° 51′. It is diminishing very slowly from the action of the planets. The longitude of the

* Book X., Chap. E.

† *Wash. Astron. Observations* for 1865, p. 29. It is necessary to add, that several other investigators have found values of the solar parallax differing slightly from Prof. Newcomb's. Hansen finds 8″.916; Leverrier finds 8″.950; Winnecke, 8″.964; Stone, 8″.943. These give a distance of 91,430,000 miles. Newcomb's value of the parallax is 8″.848. See Monthly Notices of R. A. S., vol. xxv., p. 77.

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ascending node, or the point where Mars passes to the north side of the plane of the earth's orbit, is 48° 12′, and this is also diminishing very slowly, so as to complete a revolution in fifty-one thousand years.

The planet Mars is memorable in the history of astronomy as being the celestial body whose motions enabled the celebrated Kepler to discover two of the three laws of physical astronomy, which bear his name. The first law is, that the planets move in ellipses around the sun, which occupies one of the foci; the second, the radius-vector passes over equal areas in equal times.

The same planet has also furnished us the means of ascertaining the mean distance of the earth from the sun, and thence the dimensions of the solar system, the magnitude of its members, and the distance of the fixed stars. When Mars is in opposition, or the earth is between that planet and the sun, its mean distance from us is about 48,000,000 miles. Owing, however, to the great eccentricity of the orbit of Mars, the actual distance is subject to great variations. When greatest, its distance in opposition is 63,000,000 miles; and when least this distance is only 34,000,000. The distance of the sun is found by first finding the distance of Mars, by means of its parallax when in opposition, and then the sun's distance results at once by means of Kepler's third law, that the squares of the periodic times are as the cubes of the mean distance. The parallax being less the greater the distance of the object, it follows that Mars is sometimes much more favorably situated for finding its distance than at others. The oppositions of 1860, 1862, and 1864 were favorable, as respects distance, for finding the martial parallax, though the last one less so than the other two. From the opposition of 1862, Mr. E. J. Stone, first assistant at the Greenwich observatory, Eng., deduced the value 8″.943 for the equatorial horizontal parallax of the sun; Dr. Winnecke, of the Pulkewa observatory, Russia, finds the value 8″.964;* and Professor Newcomb, of Washton, finds the value 8″.855. From all the methods used Prof. Newcomb finds† the value 8″.848; and this gives the sun's

* *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxv., p. 77. † *Wash. Ast. Obs.* for 1865, pp. 1–29.

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distance as stated above. The probable error of this concluded value is thought not to exceed the 680th part of its value, or 135,000 miles. In 1860, the distance of Mars in opposition was 35,000,000 miles; in 1862 it was 36,000,000; and in 1877 it will be only 34,000,000 miles.

At these oppositions, the brilliancy of Mars is so great as to attract the attention of the common observer. In the autumn of 1719, when this planet arrived in opposition, it was only two and a half degrees from its perihelion; and it shone with such uncommon splendor, that many supposed it to be a comet or a new star. The time required for Mars to pass from one opposition to the next succeeding one (called a synodical revolution) is about 780 days, or nearly two years.

The first observations on Mars, for the purpose of determining the distance of the sun, were made by M. Richer, in 1672, at Cayenne, South America, whither he was sent for the purpose by the French academy of sciences, and by M. Cassini at the same time in Paris. They deduced a value of the solar parallax equal to 9″.50.

Notwithstanding the fact that Mars has been closely scrutinized with excellent telescopes, no satellite has yet been discovered. For this reason the mass of the planet, or the relative amount of matter which it contains, has never been very accurately determined. The value of the mass can be ascertained only by the effect which the planet has on the motion of the other members of the solar system. In this way the French calculator, Burckhardt, determined the mass of Mars to be about the 2,680,000th part of the sun's. The diameter of Mars is about 4,000 miles, and its density is a little less than that of the earth. Bodies on the surface of this planet will weigh not quite one-third of what they would on the surface of the earth.

Except the moon, we know the most about the surface configuration of Mars of any of the celestial bodies. In examining this planet with a telescope of sufficient power, the first thing that attracts our attention, however, are the *phases*. In opposition the disk is round, but as it recedes from that point the disk gradually diminishes, till it arrives at quadrature,

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when the phase is like that of the moon nine days old; so that Mars is generally seen gibbous, but never less than a semicircle. This fact proves that the orbit of this planet is exterior to that of the Earth. The phases of Mars were discovered by Galileo soon after the invention of the telescope.

It only requires a moderately powerful telescope to show spots on the surface of Mars. These appearances were first discovered by Fontana, a Neapolitan astronomer.* In the year 1636 he observed a spot on the disk of the planet, which reappeared in 1638. From changes which it apparently underwent, he inferred that the planet was endowed with a rotary motion about an axis. The celebrated Hooke, however, was one of the first astronomers that arrived at this conclusion from reasoning of a strictly legitimate character. In March, 1666, he communicated a paper to the Royal Society of London, in which he shows, from his own observations, that Mars has a rotation which is accomplished either in twelve or twenty-four hours, but in which period he could not decide.† Some observations made contemporaneously, by M. Cassini, in Italy, were more definite, giving twenty-four hours and forty minutes for the period of rotation. In 1704, Maraldi, the elder, concluded, from his own observations, that the period of rotation was twenty-four hours and thirty-nine minutes; but a more favorable opportunity being presented in 1719, he determined the period, and found it equal to twenty-four hours and forty minutes. In the years 1777 and 1779, Sir William Herschel carefully observed the changes which the spots presented, and concluded from them that the period of rotation is 24 hours 39 minutes and 22 seconds.‡ The more recent observations of Baer and Mädler (1830 to 1837) make the period of rotation 24 hours, 37 minutes and 20 seconds.§ More recently still, the rotation-period has been very accurately determined, by Mr. Richard A. Proctor, to be 24 hours, 37 minutes and 23 seconds.‖

Since Mars revolves around an axis, we should naturally

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* *Grant's Hist. Phys. Astron.*, p. 235. † *Phil. Trans.*, No. 14.
‡ *Phil. Trans.*, 1781, p. 134. § *Astron. Nachr.*, No. 349.
‖ *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxviii., p. 39.

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conclude from the theory of rotating bodies, that its polar diameter must be less than its equatorial, and observation *seems* to show such to be the case. If the density of Mars were homogeneous, or the same throughout, its equatorial diameter would exceed its polar by the 250th part; but observation gives a very different result from this. Sir William Herschel found these diameters in the ratio of 16 to 15,* and M. Arago (1847) as 32 to 31.† Professor Bessel doubted the existence of any observable ellipticity;‡ and Professor Hennessy, after examining the whole subject, comes to the conclusion that the form of Mars is nearly spherical.§ Considerable uncertainty yet remains to be cleared up.

As soon as telescopes of considerable power were turned upon the planet Mars, spots of various forms were seen upon its surface. Robert Hook made a drawing of the appearance of this planet on the 12th of March, 1666, which compares very favorably with our best modern representations of the surface of the martial world. He used a telescope 36 feet in length. We have already mentioned that Cassini saw spots so that he was able to determine roughly the period of rotation of the planet. This he did in the beginning of March, 1666, and used for the purpose a 16-foot telescope, though it was not equal in power to a modern telescope of a quarter that length. At the end of the same month some observers at Rome constructed a drawing of Mars, which aroused Cassini's indignation; "For," said he, "these observers represent the spots they saw as small, far apart, remote from the middle of the disk, and the eastern spot less than the western, whereas, by observations made at Bonomia on the same day, I know that there were two very large spots close to each other, in the midst of the disk, and the eastern larger than the western."

During the opposition of Mars in 1704, Maraldi observed the planet for the purpose, as we have already stated, of determining the period of rotation, and found upon its surface some spots that seemed to be permanent. The opposition of 1719 being much more favorable for that purpose, and also for find-

* *Phil. Trans.*, 1784, p. 273. † *Cosmos*, vol. iv., p. 503.
‡ *Ibid.* § *Silliman's Jour.*, vol. xxxviii., pp. 435–6, 1864.

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ing its period of rotation, because the planet was unusually near the earth at that time, he succeeded in making out some things, which, as shown in two of his drawings, are now easily recognizable when compared with the best representations of the martial surface. What is now called the *Hour-glass Sea* is a triangular or funnel-shaped spot running nearly north and south, as depicted in one of Maraldi's drawings. In the other there is an elbow-shaped spot since discovered by means of the more powerful modern telescopes (Maraldi's was thirty-four feet long, but not achromatic) to be two *seas*.*

Sir William Herschel was the first that attempted a systematic examination of the surface features of this planet, which he did during the years 1777 and 1779. The results of his labors are contained in a Memoir, published in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1781. His object was to decide whether the diurnal rotation of the earth remains always the same. He thought, by watching the rotation of some of the planets, he might find some trace, if any existed, of the variability of our day. He soon ascertained that Mars is the only planet available for this purpose. With this view he constructed a series of pictures of this planet; but owing to the defects in the figure of his telescopes, he was not very successful. His representations have been called caricatures of Mars. Herschel gave a truthful representation of what he saw, but he did not see the planet as it was.

Maraldi discovered, in 1716, near the poles of Mars, white spots, which Sir William Herschel was the first to show were dependent on climatic changes.† As winter returned to either pole the bright spot at that pole was found by him to increase in extent till it had reached its maximum, near spring, on the planet in that hemisphere when, soon after, as warm weather returned, the spot gradually diminished till it became quite small during the summer season of the martial year in that hemisphere. Thus, in the year 1781, the spot about the south pole was very large, as it should have been according to Herschel's explanation, since that pole had recently been involved

* See *Mém. Acad. des Sciences*, for 1720.
† See *Phil. Trans.* for 1784, vol. lxxiv.

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in darkness during a space of nearly twelve months. In 1783 it had become much smaller, and it continued to decrease from the 20th of May of that year till the middle of September. The south pole had now been enjoying the sunshine for more than eight months, and still continued to receive it, but in so oblique a direction as to be little benefitted by it. On the other hand, the north polar spot appeared small, since it had been enjoying the sunshine for a year, and was but lately returning to darkness.* Herschel's explanation, which refers the spots to the accumulation of snow and ice about the poles, is the one generally adopted by astronomers. The reader will at once perceive that it implies the existence of an atmosphere surrounding Mars, and water on the surface of the planet.

Afterward his father, Sir John Herschel, made a series of observations from this planet, from which he has supplied us with a drawing of our hemisphere of the martial world. He says that what may be the outlines of continents and seas can be seen with perfect distinctness. Of these the former are characterized by that ruddy appearance which the light of this planet presents. This red appearance arises, without doubt, from the color of the soil, being, it is thought, much like the red sandstone districts in some parts of the earth. The seas, on the other hand, appear greenish. "These spots, however, are not always to be seen equally distinct, but *when seen* they offer the appearance of forms considerably definite and highly characteristic."†

The next series of observations which deserves especial attention is that taken in the years 1830–1837, by Baer and Mädler, two German astronomers. Their telescope was not large—four inches aperture and a little more than five feet focal length; but the experience of the observers compensated in a great measure for the want of power in their instrument. Their observations furnish some forty views of hemispheres of this planet, formed by planes passing nearly through the poles of rotation of the planet. From these observations it was possible

* *Ibid.*, p. 261.

† *Outlines*, art. 510. See, also, art. *Nachr.*, No. 191, and in 349.

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to construct two views of the planet, one representing the northern hemisphere and the other its southern.

Within the last twenty years several distinguished European astronomers have given considerable attention to the surface features of this planet. Among them we may mention Kunowski, Phillips, De Larne, Lockyer, Nasmyth, Secchi, Joynson, and Dawes. We here add some of the deductions of these astronomers.

The various spots upon the surface of Mars are found to be of different degrees of darkness, but each individual spot always retains the same degree of intensity. The spots sketched by Baer and Mädler in 1830 were observed, in 1862 and 1864, to be of the same relative degree of darkness.* Prof. Phillips, of Oxford, constructed a map of Mars from his own observations and those of Mr. Lockyer, doing for the equatorial regions what Beer and Mädler did for the polar.

Mr. Joynson inferred from his observations that there is a belt of water extending completely around the planet; but Mr. Lockyer concluded, from his own telescopic investigations, that this *sea* is broken in several places by *land* running north and south." This conclusion is substantiated by the observations of Baer and Mädler made in 1830, and by those of Prof. Phillips made in 1862 and in 1864.† Two views of Mars taken by Mr. Lockyer, in 1862,‡ show the same region about the south pole very distinctly, as well as the outlines of continents and seas.

The amount of labor necessary to form a map or a globe of Mars (or any other celestial body that revolves on an axis so as to present different views to the observer at different times) is very great. A series of observations and sketches of different views of the planet is made, the times being noted, and then it is necessary to reduce these, which lap on to one another, by mathematical calculation, to the centre of the disk, so as to arrive at the exact configuration of the objects seen. Thus, a sea or any other object seen and represented near the margin of the disk, would be more or less foreshadowed in its

* *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxv., p. 168. † *Ibid.*
‡ *Elementary Lessons in Astronomy*, by J. N. Lockyer, p. 109.

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various parts. Now the reader will at once see that a severe test of the accuracy of any drawings of a planet is to reduce them to the centre of the disk, and see if the same object seen at various distances from the margin really presents the same appearance when thus brought to that position. This calculation and construction are made by the same general principles that we employ in projecting a map of any country upon the earth.

The late Rev. W. R. Dawes was known to be one of the most accurate observers of whom the science of astronomy could boast. In 1852, and also in 1864, he made a series of drawings of Mars, using for the purpose, in 1852, a $6\frac{1}{2}$ inch refractor from the celebrated Munich works; in 1862, an $8\frac{1}{4}$ inch refractor by Alvan Clark, of Mass.; and in 1864, an 8 inch glass by Cooke and Sons. "The first peculiarity which strikes one in examining Dawes' views of Mars is the multiplicity of the details which they contain." We see in them not only the large and well-marked objects seen in other drawings, but numerous smaller streaks and patches which seem to have been introduced to fill up the picture. We need only say that when the test above referred to is applied here, it is found that every object represented in the picture has its appropriate place on the surface of Mars.

During the opposition in 1864, Mr. Dawes says "that several curious and interesting features were brought out," which he had never before seen so distinctly. One of the most remarkable of these was a long, narrow strait, or body of water running northeast and southwest in the northern hemisphere, which may be seen depicted in his figures. He first saw it in 1852, but not so distinctly with the telescope which he then used. Another object was the forked shading (also seen in the same sketches to the right of the strait.) This object was repeatedly seen in 1852 as an oval bay with a regular coast, but he did not then suspect it to be divided or irregular in its outline. This object appeared to him like two very wide mouths of rivers, which, however, he could never trace.*

* *Elem. Lessons in Ast*, p. 103.

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Mr. Lockyer is of the opinion that the ruddy color of Mars is due to the absorption of his atmosphere. He says: "The land is generally reddish when the planet's atmosphere is clear; this is due to the absorption of the atmosphere, as is the color of the setting sun with us. The water appears of a greenish tinge."* But according to the spectroscopical observations of Mr. Huggins, the red color is not due to the absorptive power in the martial atmosphere. Indeed, if this were so, the snowy poles would lose their white color. Since we see them through the densest strata of his atmosphere, Mr. Huggins and Professor Miller find the lines in the spectrum of Mars to vary, depending, it seems, on the existence of clouds in the atmosphere. It was found in 1864, in August, that the spectrum of Mars diminished in a remarkable manner, owing to the existence of numerous dark lines in the more refrangible half of it, which, in November, were much fainter. The absence of these lines was, probably, owing to the existence of much fog and vapor in the atmosphere, which "would reflect from their surface a considerable portion of the incident light and so shade and conceal the lower strata of the planet's atmosphere and also its surface, where, probably, the ruddy color of the planet and the corresponding lines of absorption, enfeebling the blue and violet rays, have their origin. From a series of corresponding prismatic and telescopic observations of Mars, it might be possible to make out something of the meteorology of this planet."†

Professor Phillips thinks that the "enormous transfer of moisture from our hemisphere to the other, while the snows are melting round our pole and forming round the other, must generate over a great part of the planet heavy storms and great breadths of fluctuating clouds, which would not, as on the quickly rotating globe of Jupiter, gather into equatorial bands, but be more under the influence of prominent land and irregular tracts of ocean." We thus see the general resemblance between our atmosphere and that of our neighboring world, Mars. The resemblance between these two worlds extends

* See *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxv., p. 226, and the plates at the end of the volume.

† *Monthly Notices*, vol. xxv., p. 169.

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further than to their atmospheric envelops. They both have land and water on their surfaces, they both revolve on their axes and around the sun; the inclination of their axes to the planes of their respective orbits is nearly the same (the earth's, 23° 28′, Mars, 28° 51′); the change of seasons on both is the same;*

Spring lasts	191	days	8	hours.
Summer	181	"	0	"
Autumn	149	"	8	"
Winter	147	"	0	"

and, (shall we not add?) therefore, they both are, probably, inhabited.

Mr. Browning has prepared a globe representing Mars, on which are depicted the various bodies of land and water according to our present knowledge of the subject. Around each pole is a polar sea, the northern one being called Schröter sea, and the southern one Phillip's sea. The equatorial regions are mainly occupied by extensive continents. There are four: Dawes continent, Mädler continent, Secchi continent, and Herschel I. continent. The Hour-glass sea flows between Dawes continent and Herschel I. continent. Between Mädler continent and Dawes continent flows Dawes' strait, connecting a large southern ocean and a northern sea, named after Zyche. Hersohel continent and Secchi continent are separated by Huggins inlet, flowing from a large southern sea called Maraldi sea. Besides the continents there are islands, and lands that are either islands or peninsulas, as yet, uncertain. Some of Dawes' observations indicate mountains so high in the equatorial regions as to be covered with snow the year round. Such is the martial world.

ART. VIII.—1. *Reports of Criminal Trials in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia.*

2. *Articles in the Newspapers on the Prevalence of Crime in New York and other cities.*

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* On Mars, in the northern hemisphere,

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3. *Essay on Crimes and Punishments.* By M. BECCARIA.

4. *De L'Esprit des Lois.* MONTESQUIEU.

THE prevalence of crime is one of the worst calamities that can befall a nation; but it is as absurd to get into a fury at it, as at any other calamity. We should remember that the legislator and the moralist have no more right to be influenced by passion than the surgeon and the physician; the former, as well as the latter, are bound to consider the nature of the evil with which they have to deal. They must take into account its causes, as well as its consequences, if they would effect any permanent improvement.

It requires but little reflection to see that by pursuing the opposite course, either are more likely to do mischief than good; but it were better that both the legislator and the moralist should be rash and vindictive, than that the judge should be so. Many would dissent from this, we are aware; but it is not the less true that greater mischief has been done by cruel judges than by cruel laws. None will pretend that it was because the laws were worse in Nero's time, than at other periods, that Nero's reign was distinguished above all others for its atrocities.* The laws of England were not less friendly to women, than at any other period, when Henry VIII. put his wives to death, in order that he might indulge his lusts the more freely. Tyrants have never failed to find judges to suit their purposes; those who would not suit their purposes, they have not hesitated to treat, under one pretext or another, like the rest of their victims. Instance Seneca and Sir Thomas More, each of whom was put to death for no other real cause than that he was too honest and humane for the master whom fate had placed over him. When upright and thoughtful judges have not had tyrants of this relentless class to deal with, they have always done much to mitigate the undue severity of the laws; this is true, for example, of Chief-Justices Hale and Mansfield.

Upon the other hand, it were easy to point out judges, who, far from seeking to temper justice with mercy, have seemed to take a fiendish delight in shedding as much blood

* See *Tacitus Anal.*, b. xi. and xiii; also, *Hist.* b. v.

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as possible. As illustrations of this class, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to mention Lord Jeffreys and Lord Norbury. Now, which of the two classes would we have our judges imitate? It is certain that a Jeffreys or a Norbury would be much more likely to please us when we are in a sanguinary mood, than a Hale or a Mansfield; the latter would hardly be more willing to gratify us in that respect than those of our own judges whom we blame most for their unwillingness to hang all who are brought before them. It may be well to bear in mind that neither Hale* nor Mansfield† gave entire satisfaction in his time; both were often censured by the ruling power, on the ground that their conduct was calculated to encourage crime, rather than to suppress it; and many well-meaning people believed that the ruling power was right. Jeffreys and Norbury, especially the former, were, on the contrary, great favorites with the ruling power, because each rendered prompt and cheerful obedience, when told to hang as many as possible. Nor was it alone the ruling power that approved this; it was equally approved of by a large portion of that class who regard the halter as one of the most useful instruments of civilization.

Before we attempt to determine which was right or wrong, let us consider for a moment, how is crime to be suppressed, only premising that while the memory of Hale and Mansfield are held in veneration by succeeding ages, the memory of Jeffreys and Norbury, each of whom died a miserable death, is regarded with execration, as indellibly stamped with infamy. That crime should be suppressed in some way, no honest man denies; but the best and wisest men of all nations have denied, solemnly and indignantly, that the best

* It is related of Hale, that, having a young man brought before him once, on the charge of burglary, for having broken a window and obtained a loaf of bread when hungry, his lordship directed the jury to acquit the prisoner. A verdict of guilty was rendered, nevertheless; but the judge refused to act upon it. The jury resisted for days, but finally acquited the young man. Several years afterwards, the chief-justice was received with more than ordinary pomp by the high sheriff, while on circuit in a northern county. His lordship expostulated kindly against the excessive expense incurred on his account, when the sheriff replied, "Don't blame me for showing my gratitude to the judge who saved my life when I was an outcast."

* A person was once arraigned before Lord Mansfield for stealing a trinket, for which the penalty, at this time, was death, provided the price of the article was

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way to suppress it is to kill as many of the malefactors as possible, or to inflict on them as much suffering as possible.

Men of this class who have devoted most attention to the subject tell us that, on the contrary, as little suffering should be inflicted as would be likely to suppress any particular kind of crime. The jurisprudence of every modern nation is indebted to Italy; the principles of our best laws we derive from that country. No one understood the nature of law better than Cicero, and his opinion is, that there can be no real justice without beneficence.* In the same spirit, he calls justice the mistress and queen of all the virtues,† meaning in each case that, far from being vindictive to the prisoner brought before him, no matter what may be the nature of his crime, the judge should be as lenient to him as possible. Lest there might be any doubt of his views on this subject, he expressed the earnest hope that his consulship should be distinguished by the total abolishment of the death penalty.‡

Nor did Cæsar deliver a nobler or more eloquent speech than that in which he pleaded in the senate house for the lives of those already convicted of having taken a prominent part in the conspiracy of Cataline. The most eloquent and touching passages in his celebrated appeal are those in which he seeks to impress on his colleagues that they should divest their minds of all passion; that they should not permit themselves to entertain any vindictive feeling against the condemned, horrible as were the atrocities of which they had been guilty; that, in short, they should not allow the crimes of Lentulus and his accomplices to cause them to consult their anger rather than their own dignity and fame.§

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forty shillings. The judge directed the jury to find that the stolen jewel was worth less than this, when the prosecutor indignantly exclaimed, "What, my lord, my gold trinket not worth forty shillings? Why, the fashion alone cost me twice the money!" His lordship turned to the jury, without a moment's hesitation, and said, "Gentlemen, as we all stand in need of God's mercy, let us not hang a man *for fashion's sake.*"

* Justitiæ conjuncta est beneficitia.—*De Offic.* L. i., c. 7.

† Hæc una virtus omnium est domina et regina virtutum.—*De Offic*, L. iii., c. 6.

‡ *Pro Sexto Roscio.*

§ Hoc item vobis povidendum est, P. C., ne plus valeat apud vos P. Lentuli et cæterorum scelus quam vestra dignitas; neu magis iræ vestræ quam famæ consulatis.—*Sallust, Bel. Cat.*

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Beccaria is still more opposed to severity than his countryman of the classic times. The former fully agrees with Montesquieu that every punishment which does not arise from absolute necessity is tyrannical. "As for the death penalty," says Beccaria, "it is pernicious to society from the example of barbarity it affords. If the passions, or the necessity of war, have taught men to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures, the laws, which are intended to moderate the ferocity of mankind, should not increase it by examples of barbarity, the more horrible as this punishment is usually attended with formal pageantry."* We do not quote Beccaria because we agree with him, so far as to oppose capital punishment in all cases; but all will admit that the accused should get a fair, dispassionate trial†—the public as well as the judge and jury should remember that excellent principle of Roman jurisprudence, adopted, at least in theory, by the legislators and publicists of England, that it were better that a dozen murderers should escape punishment rather than that one person accused of murder should be condemned and executed while innocent. But who will deny that the obvious tendency of the excitement produced by every homicide more or less aggravated in its character, committed in any of our principle cities, but especially in the city of New York, is to cause the conviction of the accused, whether guilty or innocent? We are well aware that if the principle just alluded to has not been formally adopted into our jurisprudence, it is quite as fully carried out in practice, as it ever was in either Rome or Eng-England; in other words, it is quite certain that for every one who is condemned and executed in this country, while innocent of the crime laid to his charge, a hundred of whose guilt there can be little doubt are allowed to escape. It is fortunate that the really innocent rarely if ever suffer death in this country at the hands of the law; but it is very unfortunate that so large a portion of our worst criminals escape punishment at the present day, while crime is more prevalent among us than it has been at almost any other

* *Essay on Crimes and Punishments*, by the Marquis Beccaria.

† See Montesquieu *Esprit des Lois*, Liv., chs. iii., v., ix.

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time. It is, indeed, this deplorable condition of affairs that has prompted us to write the present paper.

But there are reasons both for the increase of crime and for the escape of so many criminals which are too generally overlooked. It should be borne in mind that there never was so great a war as our late rebellion, which did not cause a large increase of crime; a glance at the history of any of the great nations of Europe will serve to illustrate this. It appeared from a report presented to parliament by the English attorney-general, in 1820, that during the two years succeeding the restoration of peace in 1815, murders and assassinations had increased 500 per cent.; and it was shown in the same report that the number of those who escaped exhibited a percentage nearly equally large as compared to those who had been wont to escape before the war.*

In France the increase of crime was equally large; in short, life and property had become so insecure in both countries that each had to adopt special measures for their protection. The government of France found it necessary to make important alterations in its penal code,† while that of England had to make a large increase to its police force, as well as to "amend" some of its principal criminal laws, so as to increase their severity.

After the close of the Crimean war there was a considerable increase of crime. Our readers may remember that robberies, murders, and assassinations, became very common both in England and France, although the increase was by no means so great as it was after the close of the wars of Napoleon, for the reason, that the former did not continue as long as the latter, and that so large a number of the people were not engaged in it; yet it may be remembered that even at the close of the Crimean war all the governments engaged in it had to adopt measures more or less stringent for the protection of life and property.

No such precautions have yet been adopted in this country. Without waiting to inquire here whether such ought to be

* See the *Blue Book* for 1822; also *Peel's Digest Revising the Criminal Laws*, and *9th George* IV., 1828," &c., &c.

† Vide *Commentaire sur le Code pénal.* Par M. Carnot. Liv. 1, art. 7.

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adopted, we will remark that if the statistics of crime in the United States during the past three years be compared with the statistics of England and France for the years 1816, 1817, and 1818, it will be found that, after all, our condition is no worse in that respect than was that of either of those countries, especially England, under similar circumstances, if, indeed, it be quite so bad. But were the facts otherwise; did the comparison show that robberies, murders, and assassinations, have been more prevalent in this country since the close of the rebellion than they were in France or England between the years 1815 and 1820, the excess could be rationally accounted for, as we shall show before we close, without assuming that the American people have become so demoralized that there can be no hope for any permanent improvement in their moral condition until the republic is converted into a monarchy.

But incredible though it may seem to many, that assumption is very generally entertained at the present moment in several of the principal countries of Europe. It is true that our people are to blame themselves to a considerable extent for the prevalence of this impression in Europe; they are too ready to indulge in the gloomiest forebodings and to make the worst charges against our most important institutions whenever any crime of unusual atrocity is committed. In embodying those charges in startling denunciations, the newspapers merely act as the exponents of public sentiment. But their denunciations are reproduced throughout Europe as evidence, that, notwithstanding the suppression of the rebellion, the great republic is tottering to its fall. Lest the pictures drawn by our own journals—undoubtedly for the purpose of doing good—might not be accepted as true—lest they might be regarded only as illustrations of American exaggeration—they are corroborated by the journals in foreign languages published in our principal cities. We find such articles in our French, Spanish, and German papers.

As a specimen of what is done in this way, which, whatever may be the intention of the writers, has a tendency to bring discredit on our institutions, we turn to a

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recent article in the New York *Courrier des Etats-Unis*, which is generally regarded as the organ in this country of Napoleon III. Under the heading of "Banditism in the United States," the *Courrier* of February 21 devotes over two columns to what it would have its European readers regard as the hopelessly wretched condition of our country. "In despite," says the editor, "of the cry of alarm which is raised in all parts, and of the protestations of public opinion against the powerlessness or the connivance of the authorities charged with the administration of justice, crime flourishes more and more, and installs itself more or less cynically in open-day over the whole surface of the United States."*

Not content with giving as gloomy a picture of us himself as possible, the editor of the *Courrier* avails himself of the assistance of another French journal. He quotes an elaborate article from the *Abeille* of New Orleans to show what ridiculous illusions the liberal journalists of Europe labor under in speaking of the success of democratic institutions in the great republic of the west.†

The *Courrier* concludes its portrait by an alphabetical list of nineteen states, showing the number of murders committed in each during the month of January. Now, when it is borne in mind that much pains as the *Courrier* takes to show the discontented at home that they should not be discontented with monarchy or imperialism, there are journals printed in other languages that take still more pains, and are much more offensive in their comments on the manners, customs, and morals of the American people. Such a list as that alluded to undoubtedly looks bad; nor can it be denied that the crimes recorded in it have, in general, been committed as represented. But if a similar list were made of all the French departments, or of all the English shires or counties, the difference between it and ours would not be

* "En dépit du cri d'alarme qui s'élève de toutes parts et des protestations de l'opinion publique contre l'impuissance ou la connivance des autorités chargées de rendre la justice, le crime fleurit de plus en plus et s'étale de plus en plus cyniquement au grand jour sur toute la surface des Etats-Unis."

† "Tandis que la corruption et la vénalité, dit l'*Abeille*, s'étalent au grand jour avec un cynisme sans pareil, dans les sphères gouvernemen-

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so great as such journals as the *Courrier* would have the world believe. Had such lists been taken after Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, so that they could be compared with our list of the present day—bad and startling as the latter unquestionably is—it would have appeared common-place in comparison with either of the former.

Besides, if we were in a recriminative mood, we could point out some occurrences which took place in the streets of Paris not a quarter of a century ago, in which more were killed in *three days* than would be sufficient to form fifty such lists as that given by the *Courrier* for the whole United States! Unfortunate as New York is as to the uncertainty of life, it must be admitted that more blood has been shed in the French capital in one day, than has ever been shed in New York; and it must also be admitted that either the Paris judges were powerless to prevent that bloodshed, or to punish those who were guilty of it, or otherwise they themselves were guilty of just such "connivance" as that which the *Courrier* attributes to American judges. Yet far be it from us to say that France is badly governed at the present day, or that there is any serious danger of its losing its prestige as occupying the highest rank among the greatest and most enlightened nations. Our European friends should remember that it has long been the habit of several European governments to send many of their worst malefactors to this country, in order to get rid of them. We do not mean that they sentence or compel them to come, but that they pardon and liberate them on condition that they go to the United States; and as a further inducement, they frequently pay their passage. There is no intelligent observant person who has spent one year in any of the principal countries of Europe who is not aware of this. We have ourselves seen many instances of it; and how often

tales et administratives, aux Etats-Unis, le banditisme prend ses ébats dans toutes les grandes villes avec la hardiesse que donne l'impunité."

* * * * * * * * * *

"Ce tableau de la société Americaine donne, nous en sommes bien fâché, un démenti aux coups d'ensensoir que la presse européenne ne cesse de lancer à l'addresse de cette république d'outre-mer, que nos confrères du Vieux-Monde ne paraissent apecevoir qu'à travers le prisme décevant des plus flatteuses illusions."

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have our foreign consuls warned our authorities that such shipments were about to be made. There can be no question, then, that large numbers of criminals are sent to this country from time to time by European governments; and is it not equally unquestionable that a large number come of their own accord, in order to avoid detection and punishment? Nothing is more common in any of the maritime countries of Europe than to hear that a particular robber, murderer, or assassin has succeeded in evading the vigilance of the police, and got on board a vessel bound for the United States; and in nine cases out of ten the authorities come to the conclusion, without, of course, making the fact known to the public, that it is just as well they escaped, or at least that it would be hardly worth while to pursue them, etc.

The number of this class that reach our shores annually is greater than any European journalist would be likely to believe, however familiar he may be with the habit of his government in this respect; indeed there are very few of even the most intelligent of our own people that are prepared to believe that the number is one-tenth as great as it is. At least three-fourths of these various kinds of malefactors—the outcasts of several kingdoms and empires—land in New York, because the largest and most important of our cities. For the same reason the large majority remain in New York. The consequences of this are so obvious that it is almost superfluous to mention them.

Would it not be a wonder, under such circumstances, if the United States were free from crime? Would it not be almost miraculous if the prevalence of crime in New York were not such as to occasionally excite the most serious alarm among our citizens? The latter question we propose to the journalists of Boston, Philadelphia, and other large American cities, as well as to the organs of European governments at home and abroad; for the latter as well as the former are prone to judge New York, illogically and unjustly.

It is true that this sort of immigration of criminals is more or less incident to every new country, whose condition is flourishing. For nearly two centuries ancient Rome was the

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receptacle of the worst malefactors of all nations;* but much as crime prevailed in consequence, it did not prevent her from becoming the mistress of the world. For more than a century Carthage continued to offer an asylum to the criminals, not only of Tyre and Sidon, but also to those of Egypt and Nubia, and finally, when she succumbed, it was to a nation still more liberal and more cosmopolitan than herself.

It will be admitted that we never shrink from criticising whatever we think deserves to be criticised in our country; we think it will also be admitted that we never criticise any particular institution, individual, party, or sect, because it happens to be popular to do so. In other words, we do not assail a party, because they are assailed by a whole crowd; to do so when there is at least some doubt as to the party assailed being guilty of the offence laid to their charge, would be unmanly as well as unjust on our part.

This is our view of the hue-and-cry which is so popular at the present moment against our judiciary. Far be it from us to maintain that all our judges are immaculate; on the contrary, we hold that several of them are incompetent for the positions they occupy; but in our opinion the majority of the judges of our higher courts will compare favorably both in ability and intelligence with the judges of the corresponding courts in any of the great cities of Europe. Nor have we formed that opinion without having had opportunities of informing ourselves on the subject; we know at least as much of the European judges as we do of the American judges. Without having ever been before either, as defendant, plaintiff, or even witness, we have often witnessed the proceedings of both for days in succession. Altogether, independently of our duties as journalists, we have always taken a lively interest in the intellectual efforts of both the bar and the bench, and we have sought in the same spirit to make ourselves acquainted with the views of those who have written books on the jurisprudence of different nations. It is precisely because we

* Vide *Livy* and *Sallust*.

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have had these opportunities, and have availed ourselves of them to the best of our ability, that we have never taken part in any attack on the bench or the bar of this country, or of any of its states or cities.

It is true that we are opposed to the election of judges by the class of persons who chiefly vote in this country, especially in New York. We are decidedly opposed to the political influence brought to bear upon the election of our judges. At the same time, we cannot forget that a European barrister is rarely, if ever, raised to the bench except through his political influence. We have never known an instance of the appointment of a judge merely on account of his learning or ability as a jurist. No English barrister, for example, need expect ever to reach the bench, no matter how learned or eloquent he is, except he be a zealous supporter of the party in power. If, upon the other hand, he is sufficiently imbued with this partisan zeal, it is by no means essential that he should be either learned or eloquent. The only necessary condition of this kind is, that the candidate must be a lawyer at least by courtesy. The only exceptions we have known to this rule have occurred in one or two cases in which the government thought it would be advisable to place popular leaders on the bench, as a means of securing their influence.

Since this is undeniably the course pursued in England, it is almost needless to say that no appointments to the Irish bench are ever made through any higher motive than political influence. That, notwithstanding all this, great jurists, and honest and impartial men, find their way to the bench in both countries, far be it from us to deny. But if political influence does not corrupt all the European judges, why should it be held to corrupt all American judges? So far as our observation and careful inquiries enable us to form an opinion, it has a worse effect upon the former than on the latter. The principal ground upon which we make this statement is, that, whatever may be the fault of American judges, we have never known the worst of them to aid in packing juries; still less have we known them to give such charges as would be most likely to secure convictions, in order

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to please the party in power—either the party which placed them on the bench, or that from which they expect promotion. We have seen far too much of this species of law and justice in European countries not to take into account its total absence—so far as we have seen—in this country.

Another contrast which has contributed to restrain us from taking part in the fitful denunciations of our judiciary, to which we have alluded, is that between American judges and those of Great Britain and Ireland, in regard to sectarian and local prejudices. Before the supreme court, the superior court, and the court of common pleas, in the city of New York, protestant and catholic, orangeman and ribbonman, are all alike. What is perhaps still more worthy of consideration is, that before the same courts the German and the Frenchman, the Englishman and the Irishman, the Swiss and the Pole, the Spaniard and the Italian, are all alike, and whether they be naturalized citizens or still aliens, differ in nothing as to their chances of a fair trial from the Americans whose ancestors for generations have resided not half a mile off.

To this we can bear positive testimony from actual observation. But who can give the European judges credit for similar cosmopolitan liberality? Without any disposition to misrepresent them, or do them injustice, we certainly cannot. We confess we do not know any European judge more liberal in this respect than the one who, of all our New York judges, is most blamed; namely, Judge Barnard, of the supreme court; nor have we ever known a European judge to dispose of so large a number of motions in chambers in two or three hours as the same gentleman. Much has been said and written of the sallies of wit by which some of the most distinguished European jurists have enlivened the proceedings of their courts; but if there be any who doubt that an American judge can be witty, and use his wit with excellent effect, generally pleasing everybody except the constitutional grumbler, without in the least violating the decorum which should characterize the bench, but which, it should be remembered, is different from that of the pulpit or the communion table—they must go to see Judge Barnard.

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Judge Jones, of the superior court, is different from Judge Barnard; as much so as Judge Ingraham, the colleague of the latter. Jones and Ingraham compare favorably with the most dignified and thoughtful of the English judges of the present day; and we feel convinced that they are as conscientious and honest. Nor should it be forgotten that Judge Daly, of the common pleas, Judge Spencer, of the superior court, and Judge Cardozo, of the supreme court, have each peculiar merits as jurists, which entitle them to rank with the judges of any other city or country.

The general impression in Europe is, that it is by no means essential that the judges, even of our highest tribunals, should know anything about law, or possess more than ordinary general intelligence; and there are many Europeans who visit this country for the purpose of enlightening their countrymen in regard to our institutions, who do not take the trouble to undeceive themselves or their readers on those points. Now, we can inform European readers that the facts are very different. This we can sufficiently illustrate by mentioning two of our judges. Thus, if Judge Jones were off the bench to-morrow, he could earn much more as an advocate than his salary as a judge; we believe he earned more by his private practice as a lawyer before he became judge; nor had he commenced to study law until he had duly graduated at one of our best colleges.

This, it will be admitted, is in accordance with the most aristocratic rules of the English bar; but it is not all, for Judge Jones' father had also been a lawyer, a judge and chancellor of the state of New York. Judge Barnard likewise belongs to a family of lawyers; several of his brothers have been brought up to the bar; at least one brother of his is a judge; and all, including himself, have received a thorough cellegiate education. Finally, the judge of the superior court is the brother-in-law of the judge of the supreme court. Now, we ask our European censors, is this "upstart vulgarity and ignorance on the bench?"

What we ask our own people, is to compare our bench and bar to our state legislature. Can it be said that those who

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make our laws are in general more intelligent, more honest, or more honorable than those charged with the interpretation and administration of those laws? Nay, supposing we extend the comparison to congress—will not the judges and advocates, in general, of our higher courts bear a comparison in education, talent, and integrity with the members of either house? If a professional gambler, a professional pugilist, or a professional manufacturer of quack medicines has ever occupied a seat on the bench of any of the three New York courts we have mentioned, it is one of the facts upon which we are not informed.

There are many in other cities, and not a few in our own, who express their regret that it is so easy to become a judge in New York. But it seems to us it is much easier to become a United States senator in other parts of the republic—at least it seems to require intellectual qualifications of a much more slender character. If we are mistaken in this, then Senator Revels, and some white senators of nearly equal calibre and culture might, if citizens of New York, aspire to occupy a seat on our superior or supreme bench. Again, it is universally admitted by those who find most fault with our judiciary that we had no such excellent president of the United States since the time of Washington as Mr. Lincoln, who, as all acknowledge, was but a fourth-rate lawyer. Some give as much credit to secretary Stanton as to Mr. Lincoln for the successful prosecution of the war against the rebels. Indeed, we know those who give the former more credit; yet he, too, was a lawyer of but very humble rank.

But the true secret of our troubles is this. At the present day it is those who think least and know least that are most esteemed. Intellectual discipline and knowledge are not merely useless to those who desire to please the large majority of the public; they are rather injurious to their prospects. The great people of our time are those supposed to be the best fighters, and the most successful gamblers; those who, in a given time, could slaughter the greatest number of their fellow-creatures—including women and children—and those who are equally accomplished in robbing their fellow-

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creatures. When such are the ruling powers, what better than demoralization could be expected? Nor is it inconsistent with such a state of things, that American citizens should be struck down and murdered as such in open day, in the most insignificant foreign states, without prompting our government to make any earnest, manly, demand, for satisfaction.

Thus a fearful epidemic prevails, arising from the various causes we have named; its ravages are greater in New York than in other cities, because it is more populous than any other American city, and because a large class of its heterogeneous inhabitants are more predisposed than others; and because the physicians do not put as many to death as possible in order to cure the remainder of those affected, it follows that they must be ignorant and corrupt!

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION AND HISTORY.

Prospectuses and Catalogues of the Loretto Abbey, Toronto, C. W.; *the Loretto Convent*, Niagara Falls, Ontario, C. W.; *Academy of the Sisters of Mercy*, Mount St. Mary's, Manchester, N. H.; and the *Academy of the Visitation*, Georgetown, D. C. 1869.

THERE are many of our most conscientious and honest people who are not a little alarmed at the progress made by the catholic church in this country within the last decade; although the number is diminishing from year to year in proportion as intelligence becomes more and more diffused. It will be admitted that we have occasionally taken some pains to reassure the timid; for, far from being frightened at the "popish invasion" in the shape in which it has appeared thus far, we confess that, upon the whole, we are rather pleased with it. As long as the pope sends no worse army to subdue us than an army of teachers, we think the danger to our institutions is not great; nay, the more battalions, armed with such weapons as Latin and Greek grammars, Delphine classics, the fine arts, etc., etc., his holiness sends, the less shall we be disposed to deny his infallibility, even should it be not unanimously recognized by the Ecumenical Council.

Troops of even Jesuit teachers are to be feared only when they are not qualified for the good work; when they are qualified they should

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be welcome everywhere, and men who are capable of appreciating the difference between mind and matter do welcome them, and have welcomed them amid all vicissitudes, from the time of Bacon to that of Bismarck. This is not merely a practice which we preach to others; it is one which we have always practised. While we have sought to do ample justice to competent jesuit educators, we have not failed to expose the opposite class to the derision which we think should always be the reward of those who—let them belong to what church or order they may—arrogantly pretend to teach others what they are ignorant of themselves. We are not the less willing to acknowledge, on this account, that the worst of our jesuit colleges have done more good than harm; nay, more, we will take the liberty to say—because it is to the interest of the cause of education that the fact should be known—that the worst of our jesuit colleges have done, and are doing, more good than the best of our Franciscan colleges, if, indeed, there are any of the latter that are worthy of the name. Thus the jesuits ought to remember that if we sometimes criticise one or two of their inferior colleges we have never denied the superiority of their higher institutions in general, as compared to those of any other order occupied in teaching at the present day, with the sole exception of that of the Christian Brothers, who have two or three colleges, well known to our readers, that are surpassed by none in this country. Instead of losing their temper because the latter are ranked with the best of their own, and, consequently, far above their inferior institutions, they ought to acknowledge the fact honestly and gracefully, study more, and work harder.

As for the allegation made by some of our friends of the presbyterian and methodist persuasions, that if the Jesuits had the power they would shackle both literature and science, it is but justice to that body to admit that any one who will study their history, not as written by themselves, but as developed in that of modern civilization, will readily acquit them of the charge. Many illustrious protestants bear grateful testimony to this fact; but we need only mention the great Kepler. Though the Legislator of the Heavens lived and died a protestant at an epoch when sectarianism produced some of its worst fruits, he declared that for most of his life he was dependent on jesuit influence for the means of living. The first pension he obtained as a means of enabling him to prosecute his astronomical studies, was given him by the Duke Ferdinand of Styria, at the recommendation of his jesuit prime minister.* Writing to his friend Mästlin relative to this generous liberality, the great astronomer says: "My salary is paid to me more out of pity than for any good that is expected from me. Should I have any chance of a situation if I went to Tübingen?"† (the Luthern university.)

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* See Breetschwert's "Life and Labors of Kepler," (Leben und Werken.) (p. 190, et seq.)
† *Ibid.*

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In short, it was through the influence of the same "popish emissaries" that Kepler, "heretic" as he was, immediately received the appointment of imperial astronomer from the Emperor Rudolph of Austria, on the death of Tycho Brahe, with an annuity of 1,500 florins.* In our opinion some of our American jesuits of the present day, as well as those who regard them as emissaries of Satan, might learn a useful lesson in *christian doctrine* from some of those incidents two or three centuries old.

Now, if it must be admitted that those who are alarmed at an invasion of male teachers are unduly timid, and ought to be somewhat ashamed, what may be said of those who are alarmed at an invasion of female teachers? What American gentleman worthy of the name would not blush, at the bare imputation, especially when he bears in mind that the ladies of the various catholic orders, engaged in teaching, must be acknowledged by all to rank among the most timid of their sex? Nor should it be forgotten that the timidity natural to this devoted class is much increased by their studious and sedentary habits. We do not pretend to be more conscientious or tender-hearted than other writers; but we are, at least, sufficiently so to have always abstained from making criticisms on any institutions under the charge of the female catholic orders. Not but we have had sufficient opportunities to form an opinion of the work they are doing, thanks to the courtesy of several of the superioresses; but the truth is, that the more we have seen, the more unworthy we should regard ourselves did we speak in any other language of the general results accomplished by the sisters than that of approbation.

It is true that we criticise men much more willingly than we criticise women; but it is true, at the same time, that we have never shrunk from criticising the latter when we thought they really deserved it. Female authors we have condemned as freely as male authors; if we have not condemned our female teachers, protestant or catholic, as freely as we have our female authors or female orators, it is because we have always thought that the former do not deserve it as much. It is certain that our female seminaries, female boarding schools, &c., compare more favorably with the corresponding institutions of Europe than our male seminaries, colleges, &c.

Much is said at the present time about affording our young ladies facilities of education equal to those of our young gentlemen; but if those of the latter who have graduated at some of our best colleges compared with the graduates of the principal European colleges as favorably as our female graduates compare with the graduates of the best female seminaries of Europe, we should have no reason to complain. That they do not, however, is beyond question. The young ladies brought up in the best female seminaries of the United States and

* See "Breetschwert." (p. 128.) Also "Brewster's Martyrs of Science," and "Arago's Notices Biographiques."

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British America are, confessedly, as highly accomplished as those of any European country; but can a similar comparison be made in regard to our young men? Is it not true that the graduates of those of our male colleges that boast loudest find it difficult to get admission at all into a first-class European college until they study and *learn* more?

It is because we bear all this in mind that we are not disposed to criticise the better class of our female seminaries; and most readily do we admit that the female catholic orders are entitled to a full share of this credit. Our readers are aware of our opinion of institutions like the Van Norman Institute, Ferris Female Seminary, Rutger Female College, Rostan French and English Protestant school, etc. All of these are, more or less, representative, and would occupy a high rank in any country. But most cheerfully do we admit that the catholic institutions, whose names are mentioned at the head of this article, are worthy of comparison with the best of them. That we are not peculiar in our views on this subject as protestants, is sufficiently evident from the fact that, far apart as the seminaries of the ladies of Loretto, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of the Visitation are—one being in British America, another in New Hampshire, and another in Georgetown, D. C.—each numbers among its pupils the daughters of intelligent protestants, who are as steadfast in their protestantism as even our presbyterian friends; nay, some of the most rigid presbyterians we have known have been easily induced to entrust the intellectual and moral training of their daughters to the nuns. That Luther himself did not think very ill of the cloistered ladies might be inferred from the fact that, in selecting a wife, he preferred one of them to all others. The great reformer tells us more than once in his "Table Talk" and elsewhere, that although he had expected much from Catherine Von Bora, his most sanguine expectations were more than realized.

Nor is it anything new for the Sisters to be excellent teachers; and there is as little novelty in comparing them as we have to the Fathers. This is not the first country or age in which they have not only rivalled the fathers as teachers, but, in many instances, surpassed them. Sismondi gives various examples of this in his History of the Republics of the Middle Ages, and Michelet bears similar testimony in his History of France. The latter informs us that learned men came to the convent of Nivelle from all parts to consult Saint Gertrude on abstruse passages in the bible. The historian relates that both men and women heard with equal respect the lessons of Saint Bertilla at the monastery of De Chelles near Paris; that the kings of England requested some of her pupils to found schools and monasteries, and that she sent them both teachers and books.* None who know Michelet will accuse him of undue venera-

* Au monastère de Chelles, près Paris, les hommes et les femmes écoutaient, avec un égal respect, les leçons de sainte Bertilla. Les rois de la Grande Bretagne lui demandaient quelques —uns de ses disciples pour fonder des écoles et des monastères; elle leur envoyait les maitres et less livres.

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tion for religious orders; but if he has but little faith in religious dogmas he has much faith in a good education, and there are few better judges of what constitutes the latter. Even Voltaire, who scoffs at all religions, admits that the cloisters "contain admirable souls that do honor to human nature." The most pious catholic could not have paid the female orders a more touching tribute than the "infidel philosopher." "Perhaps," says Voltaire, "there is nothing grander on earth than the sacrifice made by a delicate sex, of beauty, youth, often of high birth, in order to solace in the hospitals the mass of human miseries of which the view is so humiliating to our pride, and so revolting to our delicacy."*

It is admitted by the catholics themselves—indeed by all the intelligent class—that there are several orders of monks that have greatly degenerated as educators; but neither protestants nor catholics, that are competent judges, make any such charge against the principal female orders. On the contrary, it is universally admitted that the latter never taught more thoroughly than they do at the present moment. And to none does this remark apply more forcible than to the ladies of Loretto Abbey, whose principal institution is at Toronto, C. W., and which is patronized by some of the most distinguished protestant families in British America. In short, we are assured by both protestants and catholics, Americans and Canadians, in whose judgment we have implicit confidence, that there is no female institution in this country, on either side of the great lakes, belonging to any denomination or order that is doing nobler educational work, or contributing more to allay all sectarian bigotry, than this excellent seminary. The same order has two other academies in Canada, which are highly spoken of—one at Niagara Falls and the other at Hamilton.

The Sisters of Mercy are generally confounded, even by catholics, with the Sisters of Charity; but they are entirely different from each other. Both do much good; but the sisters of mercy do more, in proportion to their numbers, especially as educators, than the sisters of charity. The former are also more liberal in their sentiments towards protestants than the latter; and there is perhaps some reason for the apparent anomaly; in other words, they are less prejudiced, and have more of the genuine christian, conciliatory spirit towards "heretics." Thus it is that they are said to resemble the christian brothers much more than the sisters of charity.

The order of the sisters of charity was founded in 1633, near Paris, by St. Vincent de Paul, assisted by Madame de Gras; that of the sisters of mercy was founded in Dublin, in 1827, by Miss Catharine McAuley, who, though born of wealthy and highly respectable catholic

* Peut être n'est-il rien de plus grand sur la terre que le sacrifice que fait un sexe délicat, de la beauté, de la jeunesse, souvent de la haute naissance, pour soulager dans les hopitaux ce ramas de toutes les misères humaines, dont la vue est si humiliante pour l'orgueil, et si révoltante pour notre delicatesse.—*Dict. Philosph.*, art. "Abbaye."

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parents, was brought up as a protestant, having been left an orphan in early childhood. Catholics and protestants, who are afraid of placing their children under the literary tuition of those who differ from them in religion, may learn a useful lesson from the history of this exemplary lady, Although taught to be a protestant in her childhood, and thoroughly educated, no sooner did she attain the age of discretion, than she embraced the catholic faith with an ardor she might never have felt had she been educated in its doctrines. She inherited a fine fortune from her parents, but, like the good De la Salle, founder of the christian brothers, she devoted all, with her life, to the service of the poor. Inducing a number of other ladies to join her, she established an asylum for the destitute young women in her native city, together with a free school for children of the poor. Her noble efforts were approved, in turn, by Pius VIII. and Gregory XVI.; and in 1841, the latter pontiff formally confirmed the order of the sisters of mercy, which has now excellent academies, seminaries and schools, not only in England, Ireland and Scotland, the British colonies, the United States, &c., but also in almost every state of South America. The best in the United States is, we believe, the Academy of Mount St. Mary's, Manchester, N. H., whose prospectus is among those placed at the head of this article.

We have borne cheerful testimony on a former occasion to the educational efforts of the ladies of the Visitation.* None are more earnestly devoted to teaching; nor have any accomplished nobler results. The origin of the order of the visitation was similar to that of mercy. The former was founded by Madame de Chantal, a lady of high rank, large fortune, superior education and exalted piety. Although wishing to retire from the world at an early age, she complied with the wishes of her parents, and was induced to marry the Baron de Chantel. She did not prove less exemplary as a wife than as a daughter. She had several children whom she educated in the most careful and thorough manner, while intending all the time to spend her last days in a convent.

It is worthy of remark, in passing, that one of the children whom she so carefully and tenderly educated, became a distinguished officer, and was killed in 1627, while bravely defending the Isle of Re against the English; and that the one who met so glorious a death was the father of the celebrated Madame de Sévegné, whose admirable letters have been translated into thirty different languages. When the husband of Madame de Chantel died, and left her free again, it was thought she would retire at once; but her resolution was, not to part with her children until she could no longer be of any use to them. Accordingly, seeing, in 1610, that all were settled to her satisfaction, she retired from the world, and founded the order of the Visitation, which very soon became famous throughout Europe.†

* See "N. Q. R.," No. xxxvi., p. 376.

† See *Vie de I. F. Fremoit barronne de Chantel*, par Beaufils.

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Nor has it ceased to this day to occupy the highest rank. That it is well represented in this country, will be readily admitted by all who are aware of the high character of the academies of the Visitation of Georgetown, D. C., and Mount de Chantel, near Wheeling, W. V. With our estimate of the latter institution our readers are already familiar. We have been honored with an invitation to visit the former also; but as we have not yet been able to avail ourselves of it, we extract the following from a well written, intelligent, recent article in one of our leading metropolitan journals, the writer of which has visited the institution, and been permitted to be present at all the principle recitations, &c.:

"From the commencement, this convent has been noted for the large number of accomplished and refined women who, from the highest circles in the states, left the outer world and became members of the order of visitation. Among those who are yet living, and, though over 70, still in full vigor of intellect and imparting knowledge, is the daughter of the distinguished Commodore Jones, of the American navy. Her knowledge at that time (fifty years since) of some of the modern languages, in which she spoke fluently, and her otherwise refined culture, rendered her a valuable acquisition to the academy, which already was patronized by the leading families, protestant and catholic, on account of the high tone of its educational advantages to pupils.

"There were, and have been since then, and are now within its walls, many members whose qualifications, birth and education have kept this institution one of superiority, and have sent forth from it women, year by year, who have adorned and benefited society. A few we recall from the families of Judge Gaston, the Carrols, Livingstons, de Blanc, niece of Secretary Seward, Hartiet Lane, Mother Angela Gilliespie, Superior General of the Holy Cross, Mrs. Douglas, the daughters of Madame Burtinatti, Mrs. Martin, head of the female college in Tennessee, Mrs. Admiral Dahlgren, Mrs. General Sherman, the daughters of Gen. Butler and Admiral Porter, Mrs. McMasters, now of New York, one of the most gifted among the pupils, and a crowd of others equally distinguished as accomplished, useful women in society. There are at present in the academy many of the daughters of our best families of the North and South."

Georgetown College and Georgetown Academy of the Visitation are two institutions of which any city might well be proud. We should, indeed, wish the college to have the advantage of a more enlightened and more judicious rector than it has been its destiny to be ruled by for some three or four years past. This has somewhat obscured its fame; but the reputation of the new provincial for good, sound sense, as well as learning, is such that the friends of the institution may soon expect a change which, ere long, will renovate its brilliant and enviable prestige. We cannot help thinking, however, that, in the meantime, the parents and guardians of young ladies educated at Georgetown will have much more reason for congratulation than those of the young men educated at the same justly famous seat of learning.

The Scholar's Companion; containing Exercises in the Orthography, Derivation, and Classification of English Words. With an Introduction and Copious Index. By RUFUS W. BAILEY. A new edition thoroughly revised. 16mo, pp. 312. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1870.

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THIS is one of those valuable standard text-books for which the house that issues it is so justly celebrated. It has been in use for a number of years, and the demand for it has constantly increased. The present new edition embodies important improvements. The author has a just appreciation of this essential branch of study, which is well expressed in these sentences from the introduction:

"The study of words is the study of philosophy, of history, of morals. We may read a nation's history in a nation's words. Mind is there stereotyped in form and feature like the reality of life. There is often more of true history to be learned in a dictionary which cannot lie than in written annals which may be framed by prejudice, pride, affectation, misconception, or intended falsehood. * * * Words are things. In everything, therefore, which they fairly indicate, they are reliable." (p. vi.)

Those who have read both Johnson's and Webster's dictionaries may be disposed to differ with Mr. Bailey when he asserts that such a work cannot lie, yet, with the essential import of his declarations we cordially agree. We further agree with him, that the study of words has been too much neglected by students, and that in our schools generally, "if pursued at all, it has been a study of definitions merely, disconnected with etymology." (p. vii.)

The first part of the book before us treats of words principally in respect to their orthography and orthœpy, classing them together so that their differences and similarities of spelling and pronunciation may be noted. The chapter on "equivocal words, or words whose different significations have either no connection with each other, or none which can be easily traced," is very excellent; the next on "improprieties heard in conversation," corrects many very common errors.

The second part, comprising the greater portion of the work, is a very useful compendium. It treats generally of the derivation and composition of English words, particularly of prefixes and suffixes, and of words derived from the Latin and Greek. In this department the research of the author has been thorough and careful, and his arrangement is faultless. A thorough mastery of this part of the book will be of the greatest advantage to any one who wishes to speak and write the English language with elegance and accuracy.

The chapter on Latin and Greek derivatives presents us first with the root in the original, and some of its inflections where necessary, and then the foreign derivative, where there is one from which the English word has been formed. Each word, with those derived from it, is numbered, which facilitates reference. For example: "334. *nos'co* (*no'tum*), to know. *No'men*, a name." (p. 118.) Then follows the list of English derivatives, as *note*, *noted*, *cognizance*, *nominal*, *denominational*, &c. The accented syllables are carefully marked. The same arrangement is carried out in the chapter on Greek derivatives. The word is first given in Roman characters and then spelled with the Greek letters.

A number of miscellaneous tables are given, containing lists of "cor-

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responding derivatives;" plurals of Greek and Latin nouns which are used as English words; lists of foreign words and phrases; abbreviations and classical and geographical derivatives. A collection of English synonyms is added, which will be found not only useful to the student in writing his essays, but may be beneficially referred to by literary men whose classical education lacks thoroughness. We are much pleased with our examination of the work, and can cordially recommend it to educators.

The Union Bible Dictionary, for the use of Schools, Bible Classes, and Families. Prepared for the American Sunday School Union, by the author of "The Teacher Taught." 16mo pp. 700. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

This work was published many years ago, and was at once hailed with gratitude as containing a commentary upon the sacred Scriptures, for which many had been waiting. Its use and usefulness have much increased, until it has been deemed necessary to improve and enlarge it, that it might be more worthy of its acquired position as a recognized standard.

The author's research has been thorough, and the volume embodies a very large amount of information, which is presented in such a form as to be easily understood by those for whose use it is designed. It throws much light on the manners and customs of the East, Jewish history, tradition, science and chronology. Thorough references are given to passages of scripture where the subjects treated of are mentioned.

Great pains have been taken to prevent anything of a denominational character from creeping into the book, and we believe that in this respect it will be found unexceptionable. There are abundant references to other and more comprehensive works, where the Bibical student who wishes to extend his researches can find such information as he desires. The work is enriched with half a dozen well-drawn and valuable maps, and numerous wood-cuts illustrative of the text.

A Pictorial History of the World, Ancient and Modern, for the use of Schools. By SAMUEL G. GOODRICH, author of "Pictorial Histories of the United States, England," etc., etc. Illustrated by engravings. A new edition, revised. 16mo, pp. 360. Philadelphia: Published by E. H. Butler & Co. 1869.

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It will be long, we believe, before any one will be able to supplant the indefatigable "Peter Parley" in the affections of our youth. He surely deserves their gratitude for his efforts in their behalf. He knew how to supply their educational wants, and to give them wholesome food in an attractive shape. His language is easily understood, yet it is never childish, nor inelegant. Herein he differs from many writers of children's books, who, in attempting to be simple, succeed only in becoming silly.

This work presents a pleasing epitome of the principal known or generally credited events in the life of man, from the earliest historical records to a recent date. The grouping is effective, and it is made to flow on almost as a continuous narrative. It is illustrated with many well-chosen engravings, and maps which are not merely attractive, but useful.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Cathedral. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo. pp. 53. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1870.

In establishing a national literature, it is to be expected that we should make many mistakes; that many a man desirous of supplying an acknowledged want should imagine himself to possess power, when only ambitious for fame. We have some creditable writers of poetry in America, with a multitude of versifiers who long for the name of poet, yet have no spark of the divine afflatus, except what they borrow from others. They are mere satellites, reflecting but feebly the light of masters in the past. We have ever been not only willing, but desirous to do full justice to those of our writers who have entered this difficult field. We have reviewed several of the works of Whittier, and taken hearty pleasure in commending his merits. Longfellow, too, has received due attention from us, and for much that is creditable in his poems we have been glad to thank him. Nor have we confined our attention to the works of the more noted poets of the day. In the efforts of several younger authors, entirely unknown to fame, we have thought we discovered indications of promise, and were very ready to give them encouragement.

It is difficult to determine Mr. Lowell's place in American literature. He himself seems to have no clear conception of his literary bent, and no definite aspirations. He set up for a wit and humorist, with the cheap materials of bad spelling and the Yankee dialect. We could never see how any one who cares for the purity of his native tongue, which, as De Quincy says, one should reverence next after his country's flag, could

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tolerate the "Bigelow Papers," and similar productions of Mr. Lowell. There is sometimes a charm in unusual language, and the verses of Ramsey, Ferguson, and Burns, in the Scottish, and, later, those of William Barnes, in the Yorkshire dialects, owed, doubtless, a part of their success to their quaint wording; but in all of these cases there was genuine merit in the poetry, and the dialect only attracted attention to the really excellent thoughts. With Mr. Lowell the case is different. He depended almost entirely upon outrageous spelling and an absurd *patois*. The result is sickening. Had he studied his Horace, and taken to heart some of his precepts, he would have done better or done nothing.

> "Si modo ego et vos
> Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
> Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure."*

This last production of Mr. Lowell's is an attempt in a more serious vein. Yet in treating of a Gothic cathedral, he must still affect to be humorous and witty. He is in anything but a jocular mood, but believes that the public must have its joke, and accordingly endeavors to infuse into his composition the due quantity of spice. He succeeds at least in being cynical, which will probably answer his purpose as well as if he were witty.

The several pages of general reflections which precede what he has to say about the cathedral—and have necessarily nothing to do with it—are in a strain of dissatisfaction with the realities of life, which, although he is attempting to write poetry, appear to Mr. Lowell sadly prosaic. He declares that "second thoughts are prose" (p. 9), and he is not often disposed to give us any but second thoughts.

> "At a flash
> We snatch the essential grace of meaning out,
> And that first passion beggars all behind." (p. 9.)

We are sorry, for him, that life is so barren of beauty and of joy, and wish that, if he cannot find poetry in the world nor in himself, he would not attempt to write it. He would have us believe that he once had a vein of at least poetic aspiration, yet substantially assures us that it is his no longer.

> "I know not how it is with other men,
> Whom I but guess deciphering myself;
> For me, once felt is so felt never more." (p. 11.)

To a true poet, the beautiful must always bring joy, and second thoughts, or mere extended observation, but increase the delight which such a soul feels in the contemplation of what to it is ever glorious. Not with this complaining tone, this wail over the vanished beautiful, speaks Wordsworth, a genuine lover of nature, and a true poet:

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* *Ars Poet.*, l. 272.

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"My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky;
So was it when my life began,
So is it now I am a man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!"

We will quote one or two passages which Mr. Lowell intends to be striking, and wherein we fear he has merely succeeded in being affected:

"Ere yet the child had *loudened* to the boy." (p. 8.)

"And *wiled* the bluebird to his *whiff* of song." (p. 11.)

Though perhaps the last is about as good as "mobled queen." He is not only disgusted with nature, but is quite as cynical upon woman as Hamlet when contemplating his mother's frailty:

"The world's a woman to our shifting mood,
Feeling with us, or making due pretence." (p. 13.)

But we have loitered too long—it is Mr. Lowell's fault—with would-be witty reflections, on our way to the cathedral. Let us proceed. But no; our author is hungry, and will not budge until he has had his dinner:

"I went, *and with the Saxon's pious care*,
First ordered dinner at the pea-green inn." (p. 17.)

Alas! and we must, while he eats, listen to more reflections, and be regaled with an account of his meeting with two Englishmen, one of whom, mistaking him for a Frenchman, addresses him:

"'Eaker vous ate nabitang?' he asked;
'I never ate one; are they good?' asked I." (p. 18.)

With which remarkable stroke of wit he finishes his dinner, and proceeds. He is detained to observe a crowd of French people, and we are obliged to listen to his remarks upon these, but finally he says:

"I followed some fine instinct in my feet." (p. 21.)

which helps him and us to escape the crowds, and to be relieved from his wit and wisdom until we reach the cathedral. He gives us some general reflections upon cathedrals, comparing the Grecian with the Gothic architecture, and tells us that he is

"Convinced by much experiment
How little inventiveness there is in man." (p. 22.)

We do not wonder that "much experiment" in manufacturing "poems" has convinced him that he, at least, has very "little inventiveness." Contrary to our expectation, he is impressed by the cathedral, but he must still be misanthropical, and affect to be witty:

"And I gazed abashed,
Child of an age that *lectures*, not *creates*." (p. 25.)

The bells, naturally, make a striking impression upon him, but he greets them with a swinish image:

"Far up the great bells *wallowed* in delight,
Tossing their clangors on a heedless town." (p. 26.)

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These bells, "wallowing" (albeit in delight) and "tossing" at once, must have been possessed with a peculiar frenzy. Mr. Lowell's reflections within the cathedral are similar to those which precede. The sentiment of his comment upon New England puritanism is true enough, but still proceeds from his disposition to grumble.

> "Where others worship I but look and long:
> For, though not recreant to my father's faith,
> Its forms to me are weariness, and most
> That dreary vacuum of compulsory prayer,
> Still *pumping* phrases for the Ineffable,
> Though all the valves of memory gasp and *wheeze*." (p. 35.)

> "We, too, build Gothic contract-shams, because
> Our deacons have discovered that it pays,
> And pews sell better under vaulted roofs
> Of plaster painted like an Indian squaw." (p. 47.)

Having tarried sufficiently long in the cathedral, and given vent to all the wit and wisdom of which he is for the time capable, he says:

> "I walked forth saddened, for all thought is sad,
> And leaves a *bitterish* savor in the brain." (p. 48.)

We do not wonder that the style of thought in which he has been indulging should leave a "bitterish savor." Mr. Lowell has considerable versifying tact; we wish he had more poetry. It would be well for him if he could disabuse his mind of the fancy that putting into verse his rambling and incoherent "notions" constitutes the art of poetry, or has necessarily anything to do with it. What we want is genuine poetic feeling, and not versified, misanthropical, lugubrious, would-be wisdom. As Brougham said in his critique on Byron, "It is a sort of privilege of poets to be egotists; but they should 'use it as not abusing it.'" Perhaps we should make some allowance that Mr. Lowell is speaking *ex cathedra*. It may be too late for our kindly-intended comments to benefit Mr. Lowell, but perhaps they may have an influence upon younger writers who are ambitious to do something to establish a creditable American poetical literature. Be this as it may, we hope that our poet will not be impelled to apply to us his lines:

> "Fagot and stake were desperately sincere:
> Our cooler martyrdoms are done in types." (p. 38.)

Out of the Orphan Asylum; or, Sketches in a Country Parish. By the author of "The Leighton Children," "The Silver Cup," "Boys' Words," etc. 16mo, pp. 357. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

The age of common-sense seems to have dawned for the juveniles, if not for grown people. There is springing up a literature for youth, much better of its kind, we think, than that intended for

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adults. Here in America we seem especially to be attaining a comprehension of the wants of the young mind and to be supplying it with palatable and wholesome food. There are numbers of children's publications; some absurd, some tolerable, and some good, but we are pleased to notice a general increase of the good.

The publications of the American Sunday-School Union are generally selected with care and taste, and are issued in an attractive form. The volume before us is handsome in appearance and attractive in matter. It is a simple story of a little girl taken out of an orphan asylum, and placed in the care of a benevolent family in a country parish. There are no affected incidents, no strained dramatic situations, which are too common in works intended for children, and which are as injurious to the young as the sensation novels are to older persons, who become absorbed in them. The writer of this story aims to be natural. We think the picture presented of real life a very interesting one, and not only so for the juveniles, for whom it was intended. The moral grows naturally out of the story, and never appears forced. There is a vein of severe commentary, sometimes burning into satire, against the follies and vices of which the tale has to treat. In every parish there are doubtless such persons as the one here described:

"I once knew of an old gentleman who said that he had no patience with people who were so avaricious of land that they wanted to add farm to farm and field to field. For his part, he was always perfectly satisfied if he only *had the land that joined his own.*" (p. 113.)

There are several distinctly drawn characters in the work. The best is that of Mrs. Rockwood, a type of the modern female "progressionist," who goes from one new thing to another, taking up in turn phrenology, diet, and medical reform, the bloomer costume, spiritualism, &c., and who ends by being married and swindled by a spiritualist hypocrite, as we all feel she justly deserves. She was, we are told, "a lady who resembled the ancient Athenians, in that she always desired to 'hear or tell some new thing,' especially to *tell* it." She goes from one denomination to another, and quarrels with all her friends, who are not sufficiently "progressive" to suit her notions. She ends with rejecting all religious creeds.

"She now called herself 'liberal;' on no other ground, apparently, than that of despising the religious opinions of every one else; announced that she was no longer 'hampered by a creed;' and said that all her former freaks were 'phases of development,' 'the mere changes of the caterpillar through the chrysalis;' and used other fine expressions which she had picked up from books, newspapers, and 'enlarged' lectures, and which served her instead of ideas." (p. 144.)

The portraitures of the conceited college student, the Crabbe family, and the sparkling, frank-hearted young lady who becomes a minister's wife, are well drawn. Some of the incidents are touching; all are natural, none impossible. Many a child, we hope, will be not only pleased, but made better, by a perusal of the book.

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Sketches of Creation: a Popular View of some of the Grand Conclusions of the Sciences in reference to the History of Matter and of Life. Together with a Statement of the Intimations of Science respecting the Primordial Condition and the Ultimate Destiny of the Earth and the Solar System. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D., Professor of Geology, Zoology and Botany in the University of Michigan, and Director of the State Geological Survey. With Illustrations. 16m., pp. 459. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1870.

A RESUME of the most recent discoveries and conclusions of natural science respecting the age and ultimate destiny of the earth, adapted to general reading, is what Dr. Winchell has undertaken to produce. His book is written in a lucid and lively style, handsomely illustrated, and well calculated to render science popular, as well as to elevate the mind to the consideration of something beyond the material aspects of things. Dr. Winchell is a firm believer in a great First Cause, and an adherent of the christian faith. He says in his preface: "Science interpreted is theology. Science prosecuted to its conclusions leads to God." (p. vii.) Yet he is by no means a stickler for what has seemed to many a literal interpretation of the Mosaic records where they are obviously in conflict with the revelations of science:

"Admitting the deluge of Noah to have been universal, were the agencies in operation during the one hundred and fifty days of its continuance sufficiently energetic to accumulate sediments twenty miles in thickness in that brief period? Such a conclusion is contradicted by all our observations instead of being sustained by them." (p. 28.)

We are presented with a statement of the theories regarding the origin of the earth and the causes which produced it. First we have the vaporous condition of the globe gradually concentrating until it becomes a sphere of liquid fire. The earth's crust slowly cools, and then begins the work of the waters in preparing for the support of vegetable and animal life. The process of stratification and the various creations of oraganized existences are described with animation. The wonders revealed by geology are set forth and made comprehensible to the popular mind. The illustrations of this part of the work are calculated to render geology appear attractive to the unlearned. We have chapters on prairies, oil, rock-salt, gypsum, etc., which subjects are treated in a manner to interest while they instruct the multitude.

Respecting scientific theories, Dr. Winchell gives us those which are most poetic, not to say extravagant, or "western." He places them before us in a pleasant shape, and his readers, if not convinced, will at least be entertained. He is not a believer in the development theory, and presents the opposition theory very clearly. We have a chapter devoted to the question, "Will there be an animal superior to man?" to which Dr. Winchell thinks there is probably sufficient evidence to give a negative answer. "Some thoughts on perpetual motion," is an endeavor to demonstrate to those who still think their abil-

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ities equal to such a discovery, its utter impossibility. We doubt if any one who would spend his time in such an attempt could understand the doctor's reasoning.

The closing chapters present some of the wildest generalizations of science, but withal in a readable shape. We hope no one who reads them will become badly frightened because "the sun is cooling off," and "the machinery of the heavens running down," so that perpetual winter, eternal night, chaos and destruction generally threaten our universe. Men of science may object that the work is written in a style too diffuse, if not too imaginative; but these qualities will render it all the more attractive to those for whom it is intended.

REFORMATION.

Sixth Annual Report of the Society for the Protection of Destitute Roman Catholic Children, in the City of New York, to the Legislature of the State, and to the Common Council of the City. Pamphlet, pp. 60. New York. 1869.

THERE are many praiseworthy charitable institutions in our city, some of which are under sectarian control. It matters not to us whether a benevolent enterprise be under the auspices of a particular denomination, or be altogether unsectarian, provided it be well-managed. Trojan and Tyrian, catholic and protestant, are alike to us, and we are always glad heartily to commend the reformatory work of each. We believe that, on the whole, the public are not prepared to dissever charitable enterprises from denominational control. Religious prejudices are still strong, and many work better and give more freely through the instrumentality of the sect with which they are connected. We do not say that we commend this spirit; neither do we condemn it. One who believes that his creed is the true one, would be false to his own convictions did he not prefer to have his money, or that of the public, spent in what seems to him the best way.

It was not until a comparatively recent date in the history of eleemosynary enterprises that institutions were founded for the care of an important and most needy class, the vagabond and destitute children, committed by magistrates for various misdemeanors, or surrendered by their parents or guardians who are unable to control them. It is certainly proper that the public, if not the state, should provide for these children, upon whose care, and especially upon whose education, our future is so much dependent. How shall they be cared for? To treat them as criminals, to *punish* them by way of asserting the majesty of the laws, and to strike terror into the hearts of others, has been the practice until

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quite recently. Surely, this is not the proper way to deal with neglected children, whose offences are the results of ignorance, or of vicious examples from older persons. It has been, at last, impressed upon the consciousness of the christian public, that these little ones need to be comfortably provided for and suitably instructed, and that nothing more is necessary, not only to rid us of their vagrancy, but to put them in a way to become worthy members of society.

There are two institutions, within our corporation, which are authorized to receive children from committing magistrates, and from parents or guardians unable to take care of them. One of these is the New York Juvenile Asylum, under protestant auspices; the other, the catholic institution, whose sixth annual report is before us. The former establishment has, we believe, accomplished much good; the latter is doing a work quite as important and useful.

We have recently visited the catholic Protectory, at Westchester, and been greatly interested in what we saw and learned there. There are two fine buildings, a short distance apart, both under the general superintendence of the Christian Brothers. One is the boys' department, of which the brothers have immediate charge; the other is for girls, and is managed by the Sisters of Charity. Both of these orders are distinguished for their benevolence, as well as for their devotion to education. The sisters of charity manage their department of the Protectory in the creditable manner that would be expected of them. As for the brothers, they are highly esteemed wherever they are known, both in Europe and America, for their educational and charitable labors.

The late Dr. Ives was prominently associated with the founding of this institution, and was connected with it until the close of his life. In the handsome and spacious building, the boys' department, are a number of niches for busts or other memorials of persons who have labored for the establishment, and whose memory it is desired to perpetuate. A memorial of Dr. Ives has a place here. This is as it ought to be; but we think also that it would be eminently appropriate that another niche should be devoted to a bust of him who originated the plan of the institution—an honor which, we believe, is due to the provincial of the christian brothers, though we are aware that gentleman belongs to the very few, at the present day, who "do good by stealth, and blush to find it fame."

The Protectory was chartered in 1863. Its inmates are boys and girls who are about to be committed by the city magistrates for various offences, but who, on the request of the parents or guardians, are sent here to be reformed and educated. Besides the various trades which the boys are taught, considerable time and attention are devoted to their general literary education. There is connected with the institution a farm of one hundred and fifteen acres. The children seem in general quite happy. They are taken out in flocks of hundreds, under the

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charge of a brother, and seldom manifest any desire to get way. Such is the influence of the mild and christian sway to which they are subjected. We are glad that occasion has been furnished for the following frank acknowledgement, which is creditable to those who make it:

"Our sister asylums have not allowed their peculiar views of duty to interrupt a harmony we on our part, would certainly be slow to interrupt." (p. 11.)

We learn that since the organization of this society, the total amount expended by it is $651,108 17, of which less than one-half has come out of the public treasury, the remainder being contributed by the catholic community. There is much question as to the propriety of state aid for institutions under denominational control, but we have no disposition to enter into the controversy. On this point we will give an extract from the report before us, which will show how the matter in regarded by the catholics, who certainly have some reason for their position:

"Precisely as we attain the thorough christian and secular education of children in the mass (not including now the inmates of our strictly eleemosynary institutions), at an expense (numbers and expense being considered) not one-third of what the city is forced to pay for similar work, qualified by the very questionable consolation of having all religious truth in their schools left strictly and severely untaught; so we can well afford, by means of self-restraints, which nothing but profound convictions of their value can either practice or explain, to name at least a third of the cost of managing all eleemosynary undertakings aiming at the alleviation of the sufferings of penniless and friendless humanity. . . . . When the opinions now prevailing on the subject of the state's province in relation to works of charity and education shall have exercised their unquestionable right to be no longer what they are, but to approach something nearer to what they will be, our present offers, we trust, will be gladly remembered, and be as confidently re-invited as they will, on our side, be cordially renewed." (p. 9.)

We learn from the report that the number of children receiving the benefits of the Protectory, during the year 1868, was, 1,304, of whom 1,069 were boys, and 235 girls. The total outlay of the institution for the year, including construction and repairs, was $125,337 39. The receipts for the same period were, from the city and county of New York, $90,139 00; from the state, $4,905 67; from private sources, $23,267 07; from the labor of children, $32,954 71; and from the farm attached to the institution, $1,836 50. It looks well that so much can be credited to the labor of the children, in the various trades carried on in the establishment, and to the farm connected therewith. It is one of the best features of the institution that it teaches the children to labor, where practicable, at trades which will be useful to them through life.

It is in contemplation to establish, somewhere in the west, a branch home for such of the children as it is best to remove where they may have advantages which cannot be obtained for them in the city. It is desired to secure the co-operation of some state west of the Mississippi; and with this end in view, Brother Tellow, the rector of the boys' department of the Protectory, an intelligent, humane Prussian, heartily devoted to the good work, has made an extended tour to that region. We hope that this plan may be carried out, and thus extend the benefits of a really reformatory institution.

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Annual Reports, Statements, &c., of various Insurance Companies, with other Documents. New York, Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, &c. 1870.

Among the many speeches reported by that accomplished stenographer, Plato, is one in which a new disciple of Socrates naively remarks to his master that the law would be a very good thing were it not that it sometimes punishes benefactors as well as malefactors. "Very true, it does," says the philosopher, "but don't you think that an honest man should be willing to suffer more or less in order that a rogue should be found out and punished?" "Well," replies Phædo, "I had not regarded it in that light. Now that I see the reason of it I do not feel half so much offended with the inn-keeper who searched my pockets and even tore my coat a few nights since for some spoons stolen from the table while I happened to dine there."—*Soc.* "But were the spoons found?" "Oh, yes; but the thief fared better than I who knew nothing of the matter. When the purloined articles were felt in his pocket he slipped some money into the owner's palm. This made the thief an honest man, while my companions and I, who would meddle with nobody's share, still remained under suspicion in the eyes of such of the lookers-on as did not understand the trick."—*Soc.* "Ah! but the thief was found out; if he was not exposed and punished it was because the inn-keeper was not what he ought to be. Remember that all who are robbed are not such inn-keepers as your late host."*

Now, this is the light in which we regard the investigation into the condition of our insurance companies recently ordered by the legislature. Whether the New York legislature be like the Athenian tavern-keeper, remains to be seen; in the meantime, we cannot say that we have much more confidence in the former than we should have had in the latter had he lived in our time. Accordingly we are not surprised that some of our best as well as our worst companies are uneasy; the former are uneasy lest they be subjected to unmerited suspicion, while the latter are uneasy lest they should be found out and exposed.

It is true that the two kinds of uneasiness are different; an honest man often suffers from suspicion, but rarely long; time generally, if not invariably, vindicates him. Even while he sustains most injury he has the consolation to reflect that it is wholly undeserved; and that if the public only knew the truth instead of eliciting public censure he would command the public gratitude.

Most cheerfully do we admit that there are underwriters of whom this may be as truly said as of the members of any other profession or calling whatever. The misfortune for the public is that there is such a paucity of this class when compared to the opposite. Not but we have

* Plato, *περὶ κλεπτοσύνης*.

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sufficient honest underwriters; we have faithful companies enough in New York, Newark, Boston, and Hartford, not to mention other American cities, which have, doubtless, honest companies also, to insure every person who wishes to be insured, or can be induced by legitimate means to take a policy. As the public memory is proverbially defective, and since, were the fact otherwise, we could not suppose that all who read these remarks have also read our former remarks on the same subject, we will take occasion to show before we close, *more nostro*, that there is no lack of reliable underwriters in the great republic; nay, we think we can show, without indulging in any hyperbolical statements, that the underwriters of the United States are as much superior to those of any other country as our great lakes and rivers are to those of any other country. That we are not actuated by excessive patriotism, or any selfish motive in making this statement, will, we think, be admitted by those aware of our comparisons between our literary institutions and those of the principal countries of Europe. There are no other institutions whose prosperity and high standard would afford us so much sincere pleasure as our colleges and universities; were we at all prone to boasting it is of these we would boast loudest did we feel that we could do so justly or truly. But we regret that we can not; the best we can do is to indicate those of our colleges and universities which make the nearest approach to the corresponding institutions of England, France, and Germany, and endeavor to induce those of an inferior grade to imitate their example.

Nor is it by any means inexplicable that while each of the countries mentioned excels ours in learning, literature, science, philosophy, and the fine arts, our country excels all in its system of life insurance. Those who reflect a little will admit that the two facts are consistent enough with each other. Although it is necessary that underwriters should be intelligent men, it is not necessary that they should be profound scholars or philosophers. Again, although there is less learning in this country than in England, France, or Germany, we have at the same time more general intelligence. Then, if we add to this the fact, that according to the universal verdict of Europe the forte of America lies in making and hoarding money, it will be acknowledged that after all there is nothing strange in the superiority of our insurance system. If we can make piles of money for ourselves and for those who employ our skill for that purpose better than others, why should not our labors in that field inspire more confidence, accordingly, both at home and abroad? It is just as natural and as logical to purchase a policy of insurance on this ground as to purchase a cargo of silk, a cargo of broad cloth, or of any other commodity whatever. When sensible people make experiments in certain kinds of manufactures, or in agricultural productions, and find their efforts a failure, just because they are sensible they will try whether it will not be better after all to depend upon the foreign market for a supply.

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The English, French, and Germans have in turn attempted to cultivate cotton and tobacco; not succeeding at home, some of them have tried the same experiments in their colonies: but although in some instances they have produced very passable cotton, and equally passable tobacco, they are now pretty well satisfied that the American articles are the best, and, upon the whole, the most profitable to deal in.

There is no reason why our European friends may not in due time arrive at a similar conclusion in regard to American policies of life insurance; and, what is more, not a few of them have done so already. The number would ere this have been a hundred fold larger than it is were it not that there are so many of the class whose sleight-of-hand operations we indicate to a greater or less extent in every number of our Journal, in order to put the unwary on their guard against losing their money, but at the same time to contribute to vindicate a system which is not only beneficent in itself, but is founded on principles which are as strictly scientific as those upon which Newton founded his law of gravitation.

An honest Englishman who had been insured in the defunct Albert Life, and therefore feels somewhat in the condition of the burned child, makes use of the following argument: "How are we to know the genuine from the spurious? You tell us yourself that for every one honest, reliable underwriter, there are at least twenty in your country that are neither honest nor reliable. It is not long ago since you told us about such companies as the Scribner & Smith Vampire Mutual, the Batterson Cross and Crooked Road Mutual; the Bage & Shader Great Paste Diamond Mutual, etc., etc. Since this class constitute, on your own admission, the large majority of American insurance companies, how can we foreigners have much confidence that in buying such policies we can hit upon the right kind?"

At first sight there seems a good deal of force in this; but would not the same argument apply to any of those wares which England, France, or Germany takes most pride in exporting. Everybody knows, for example, that there is excellent cutlery manufactured in Sheffield; but all properly informed on the subject are equally aware that the very worst cutlery is manufactured in the same place. Nowhere else can we find a better knife or razor; but for every one of genuine well-tempered steel, there are at least twenty which have not a particle of steel in them, though most of them are duly stamped "best steel." Do we not see such "Sheffield steel," daily, in abundance?

It is also true that the best diamonds in the world are to be found in Paris; but who will deny that more spurious diamonds are manufactured in that city than in all other cities combined? Again, no one questions the superiority of genuine champagne. There is but one limited district in France in which it is produced; no district anywhere can pretend to rival this. Every intelligent person is aware that for every

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bottle of genuine champagne manufactured at least fifty bottles of spurious champagne are manufactured. We might give many other examples, but these will suffice. Now, is it not true, that although myriads of spurious knives and razors are manufactured at Sheffield, myriads of spurious diamonds at Paris, and myriads of bottles of spurious champagne in the Champagne district, Sheffield, Paris, and Champagne are everywhere recognised as the places in which the best articles in their respective specialities are to be found?

The philosophy of it is this: children are sent to school not merely that they may learn to read, write, and cypher; they are expected also to learn sense—to learn to be able to distinguish steel from pot-metal, diamond from paste, etc. We do not mean that every parent who sends his child to school has all these ideas in his head; we merely desire to show, in passing, how useful intelligence is, and how injurious is ignorance. By means of the former those who possess it can avoid being imposed upon in a thousand instances, whereas in a thousand instances those who do not possess it are duped and swindled. If the former are offered a bottle purporting to be champagne, covered with a long eulogy on its superior virtues, they do not on this account accept it for all that it is represented; nor are the purchasers of diamonds or cutlery less cautious. Each look at the trade-mark; enquire about the manufacturer; try to ascertain something about his character, etc. It is only the ignorant and thoughtless who pursue the opposite course, and believe that what is most praised by its owner, and sold cheapest, must be the best.

We do not pretend to be at all surprised, therefore, to learn that several of our life companies are preparing to establish agencies in all the principal cities of Europe. We believe the Knickerbocker, the New England Mutual, and the Equitable have done so already; and if they have, it is certain, at all events that the prestige of American underwriting will not suffer at their hands. We only wish they may be supported in their efforts in the new field by companies like the Security Life, the Phœnix Mutual, the Mutual Benefit, the Manhattan, the Continental, the National, (N. Y.,) &c. We feel convinced that in less than seven years these companies would establish as decided a preference throughout Europe, for American policies, as that which is now given to American cotton or American tobacco.

It is true, at the same time, that their progress will be slow in proportion as certain other companies are encouraged to follow them; for we learn that some of our worst, as well as our best companies, have their eyes turned in that direction. This is one reason why we regard the contemplated investigation by the legislature as quite opportune. It is indeed too bad that men of tried integrity should be subjected to the same ordeal as men whose integrity is at best of a very questionable character; but the former should remember the case of the stolen

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spoons, cited above. We are pleased to observe that most of them do regard it in that light; for, although two or three representatives of the right class have attended the recent indignation meeting, to protest against the proposed investigation, at least four-fifths of the protesters belong to the questionable class. In short, there were just sufficient of the former in attendance to vindicate the adage that there is no rule without an exception. It is worthy of remark that the anti-investigation movement seems to have been gotten up by the Mutual Life, and that its chief allies are the Homeopathic Mutual, the Widows' and Orphans' Benefit, the American Tontine, the Great Western Mutual, the World Mutual, the Standard, the North American, &c.

Now, if only the two concerns of Batterson, and one or two others, including the Vampire Mutual, had been represented, what a collection there would have been of the friends of the widow and orphan! It is true that we never attend such meetings; never have attended such; but if any think we are wrong in our analysis of the elements of the meeting, we beg leave to refer them to the insurance journals, which give the full names, titles, honors, &c., of the protesters. If there was any representative of the Security Life, the Knickerbocker, the Mutual Benefit, the Phœnix Mutual, the New England Mutual, or the New York Continental, we find no record of the fact in the official journals; and we confess that, if we did, we should think there was some mistake.

But our readers at a distance should understand that some of the officers of the Equitable, the New York National, and the Commonwealth, are fond of sport and of a humorous turn. It amuses those gentlemen, as much as any farce or low comedy could, to hear orators like Morgan, Bage, Dow, Marshall, etc., preaching ethics; and it should be remembered that two of the *dramatis personæ* who used to draw so well at the now defunct Chamber of Life Insurance—namely, Batterson and Bucklin—were also expected to take part in the recent performance, as, no doubt, those enterprising gentlemen would have done had the thing been possible.

As it was, the principal orators were Mr. N. D. Morgan and *General* W. H. Ludlow. The latter gentleman is one of the new lights of the profession; we do not know much about the insurance general further than that he seems to belong to that conservative class of underwriters who wish to pay their current bills in insurance, and think that printers as well as others should wait for their money until they are dead! This may throw some light on the speech of the president of the American Tontine. Mr. J. H. Bewley ventures to remark that the object of the investigating committee may not be "blackmail," although all who presume to find any fault with a certain class of insurance companies must be "blackmailers;" otherwise they would have nothing but praise to bestow on so righteous a body! Be this as it may, Bewley is

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called to order by Morgan. Taking no particular notice of the circumstance, Bewley resumes, and, among other things, says:

"It is not an attack upon the companies. The most that can be said of it is, that it is an attack upon a company which, up to this time, has been *a disintegrating element* in every endeavor of life insurance companies to join for mutual protection and safety; and now that they themselves are under the harrow, they are ready to join in and to get the other companies to help them out."

This is rather hard on our friend Winston. We hope the "harrow" will not scratch him half as hard as he deserves; for although we have no admiration for his treatment of the widow and the orphan, we should not do him the injustice of comparing him to the Battersons, the Scribners, etc. If, indeed, a culprit in too many instances, he has at least the manliness to bear a castigation with a good grace. There is no underwriter whom we have criticised more; yet, so far as we are aware, he has never sent us a threat in any form—never molested us in any manner. Few would believe how different has been the conduct of others whom we have criticised and who deserved criticism at least as much as Mr. Winston. Take Batterson, for example, who is constantly sending to our office the filthiest abuse. That worthy person has, however, learned by this time that we are not of the class who are frightened by such as he. We beg to assure him that if he sent us copies of a new number of his quack-nostrum sheet every week, each duly marked as usual, lest we might overlook his "sound and fury," we should rather pity than hate him; if we do not pity him as it is; if we have no stronger feeling for him than contempt and a wish that he could improve his ways, most sincerely do we pity certain widows and orphans!*

But this is irrelevant; for our business just now is only with the defenders of the Mutual. Morgan having done his part, Ludlow must do his, and, accordingly, the Tontine general accuses the *harrower* of "*putting up men of straw and knocking them down again*," whatever that may mean. In our opinion, if there be not something very rotten in Denmark, the Mutual should much rather pray to be protected from defenders like Morgan and Ludlow than from half a dozen investigating committees, addressing each of the orators in some such language as the following, and getting Dr. Bombauch, of Baltimore—the only insurance editor, we believe, capable of the feat—to translate it into the vernacular:

"Quid immerentes hospites vexas, *canis*
Ignavus adversum lupos."

It is pleasant to turn from such as this to some of the annual reports before us. Take, for instance, that of the New England Mutual. In this we have a calm, lucid, and able discussion of what life insurance really is in competent and honest hands. This company announces its

* One of the insurance journals tells us that "President Batterson" is "entertaining the question of removal" from Hartford. Indeed we have often thought that he would find a change of atmosphere necessary. But we are further informed that a "*prominent and lucrative official position* has been tendered to Mr. Batterson in this city." This reminds us of the rumor that Barnum is preparing to open another museum. Batterson would be just the person to show off the Feejee mermaid, the wooly horse, and the bearded lady.

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abandonment of the note system, but far from attacking it because rival companies still retain it, the directors defend it as follows:

"It has been the custom of some officials in their public reports, when drawing comparisons between the two systems of transacting life insurance business—the cash and note plans—comparisons *they are not warranted in making by any principle upon which they hold office*—to stigmatize Premium Notes, interest accrued, deferred quarterly payments, etc., as 'Unrealized Assets,' thus affording some agents and solicitors *an undue advantage in presenting the claims of their respective companies to public confidence. There is no difference, so far as safety is concerned, between a cash company and one which allows payment of premium partly by note, if the notes are secured by ample collateral.*"

We beg leave to call the attention of such companies as the New York Life to this honorable course of conduct, believing that it would be for their own interest in the long run to imitate it in dealing with its rivals as well as with its policy holders. In our opinion, though it cost some money at the outset, it would be a safer investment than the white marble building, which some consider as more or less suicidal on the part of the company; but here we are reminded that among the new "advantages" offered by the New York Life is the following:

"6th. Suicide does not cause a forfeiture of the policy, that being considered an evidence of insanity, and insanity the result of disease."

Since the insured forfeits nothing by cutting his throat or strangling himself, because such an occurrence is merely "the result of disease," why should it not be equally harmless for the insurer? Yet we do not advise Mr. Beers, who is said to be the inventor of the suicide "advantage," to make away with himself, even though the "white palace" should prove rather an unwise affair after all. But, wishing to contemplate good rather than evil, we prefer extracting another passage from the Report of the New England Mutual:

"During the twenty-six years of the Company's operations it has issued 37,000 policies, insuring $110,000,000. It has paid, in claims by death, $4,200,000, and has returned during the same period $4,000,000 as surplus, besides retaining an ample reserve, according to the established practice of the company. This reserve, or re-insurance fund, December 31, 1869, amounts to $7,871,354 09.

"The funds of the company amount to $8,432,751 09, therefore there is a surplus arising from the past year's operations of $480,339 00, to be distributed among the members as their premiums fall due the present year."

It seems to us that these passages indicate more rational "advantages" than the largest rewards that could be offered for suicide; and we are much mistaken if some of the governments of Europe do not regard the question in the same light, in the event of an attempt being made by the New York Life to carry out its peculiar plans on the other side of the Atlantic. The sort of passports it gets from the insurance journals—especially from those of Philadelphia—would hardly do, even when they embrace several pages of the most bombastic eulogy of "its executive officers."

The *passes partout* of the Knickerbocker appear to us much safer, though they occupy a much smaller space; in the following the suicide "advantage" is not "offered;" but we think that, upon the whole, it is

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as well, for there are certain forms of disease, which it is not desirable to encourage:

" Assets since January 1st, 1870	$6,690,966 00
Income in 1869	5,041,924 00
Dividends paid in 1869	513,410
Total Policies in force	22,078
Total amount insured.	$68,569,267 00
Amount paid to Widows and Orphans of deceased members in 1869	813,280 00

These figures are abundantly expressive, and need no comment. Perhaps they will aid in explaining why it was that the New York Life was represented at the late meeting, whereas the Knickerbocker Life was not.

But we must mention a few more of the absentees as their names occur to us. Among the nearest to the place of meeting was the Security Life, but this had nothing to protest against—no fear of investigators, whether they came from Albany or elsewhere. On former occasions we have shown what remarkable progress it has made from year to year—every new year exhibiting a large increase in its exemplary work. Nor does the last year form an exception, as may be seen from the following:

	1868	1869
No. of Policies issued each year	4,386	6,358
Gross Receipts	$1,055,942	$1,428,164
Amount Insured by New Policies	11,564,389	17,062,590
Total Gross Assets	1,854,570	2,377,652

Both the Phœnix Mutual and the Mutual Benefit were too far off to aid in saving those of the brethren "under the harrow;" but had it been otherwise we suspect they would have kept aloof as carefully as the Manhattan and the Continental, and allowed the harrowing to proceed without making the slightest protest. They would have avoided Morgan and his compeers as scrupulously now as they did while those gentlemen held their monthly exhibitions in the "Insurance Chamber." But let us see what they have to say at the opening of spring; we find that neither depends on miracles, like the Mutual Life; nor on insanity, like the New York Life.

The Phœnix Mutual never hesitates or pauses in doing good; it is pleasant, therefore, that no "hard times"—no panics against insurance retard its increasing prosperity, as may be seenfrom the following facts and figures. We find from official documents before us that the Phœnix has insured more than 43,000 lives since it commenced business; that it has paid the families of deceased policy-holders over $1,250,000; that its assets have increased to over five millions ($5,081,973 50); that it has a surplus, free of all liabilities, of nearly two millions ($1,868,904 50); and an annual income of $2,432,979. There are various other evidences of its complete success, but these are sufficient for us; and our readers do not belong to the class who need to be wearied with testimony in order to understand obvious facts. This, it will be admitted, is a satisfactory passport; even the "black-mailers" from Albany—as

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those troubled with a guilty conscience are pleased to call the investigating committee—will hardly find any flaws in it.

As we happen to turn to Hartford, we may remark, in passing, that that flourishing and beautiful little city has lately rather degenerated in its insurance prestige. The Batterson class of underwriters are increasing there much too fast; it is true that if all the right class were as unremitting and persistent in their energy as the Phœnix Mutual, this would not avail to any serious extent. The Ætna Life, and the Charter Oak Life, are, indeed, honorable and reliable companies; the honesty of each is beyond question. But one as well as the other sometimes halts in the midst of its most successful and prosperous efforts. While both hesitate thus, the Phœnix pursues the even tenor of its way; the latter never waits for "something to turn up;" nor does it fear that any terrible catastrophe is going to overwhelm the insurance world.

There are no underwriters for whom we have more respect than for Mr. Walkley and Mr. Enders; we believe none mean better, and in general none *do* better. If they would only eschew wavering, and not change their plans too often, their companies would be as progressive in their prosperity as they are always faithful to their trust; but as long as they disregard elements of success so obvious as those alluded to, they must not be surprised if in its own quiet but steady way the Phœnix Mutual eclipse the prestige of each; especially as it has already no superior anywhere in all it undertakes to perform. But to return nearer home.

It is our sincere opinion that there is no company anywhere more judiciously or more successfully managed than the Mutual Benefit Life, of Newark. It is always dignified, straightforward, and unostentatious, as well as solid. Without engaging in any quarrels, or pretending to perform any miracles, it has always a satisfactory statement to make at the beginning of the year. From that now before us it appears that, during the past year, it paid claims by death to the amount of $1,211,709 78—nearly a million and a quarter. Its receipts during the same period were over six millions and a half, ($6,594,836 86), while its assets amounted, January 1st, 1870, to $19,345,639 81. We have here proofs of prosperity, of which any company of equal pretensions might well be proud; but the Mutual Benefit does not belong to the arrogant or boasting class. Although its directors have recently made important changes in regard to its premium loans and dividends—changes which every intelligent policy holder will appreciate on reflection—they are not made the pretext of any clap-trap. In short it is very evident that the New Jersey company is under no harrow, and needs no "registry," "tontine," or "black mail" friends to save it from the wrath to come.

At for the Manhattan, we have never known it to occupy any doubtful position; it never makes extravagant "offers" of any kind. Its officers are no speech-makers, but they are not the less shrewd, thought-

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ful, and successful on this account. We do not hesitate to predict that if the investigating committee think proper to examine them, it will find, by contrast, a new illustration of the adage, that well filled vessels make the least noise. Its coffers are filling rapidly, although no company is more prompt in its payments. During 1869 it paid claims by death to the amount of nearly half a million, ($447,781); yet it had a surplus over all liabilities, January 1st, 1870, of over a million and a half, ($1,644,310 00), its total assets at the same date being $6,338,341 00.

Nor need the Manhattan be ashamed of its vigorous and spirited offspring, the National Life, (N. Y.) If any doubt this let them compare the work of the latter during the past year with a few of the companies of the same age (1864)—say with the Great Western, the Brooklyn, the Widows' and Orphans' Benefit. Any of these is vastly more pretentious; but not one of them issued so many policies, or gained so many friends. Its assets are now pretty nearly a million, ($743,215), although it paid claims by death during the year to the amount of $32,500 00—which, for so young and modest a company, must be admitted to be a handsome sum.

But of all our new companies, the Continental, (N. Y.,) has accomplished the most remarkable results. It issued nearly twice as many policies in 1869 as any of several companies which had been doing business years before it—more than three times as many as some of them. Everybody knows how loud and tedious is the boasting of Morgan. This gentleman's company commenced operations in 1862; the number of policies it issued in 1869 was 4,172, if so many; whereas the number issued by the Continental was 8,781—more than twice as many. The United States Life commenced in 1850. The number of policies it issued last year was 1,091—less than *one-eighth* as many as the Continental, established sixteen years later! Let our readers judge from these figures whether our criticisms on former occasions, or our comparisons of different classes of underwriters with each other, were just or otherwise. It is precisely because Messrs. Lawrence, Rogers and Wynkoop are very different men from Messrs. Morgan, Eadie, Bage, Bouck, Scribner, &c., that the former have issued 21,000 policies in less than three years, and accumulated assets to the amount of $3,500,000.

The Commonwealth is as creditable to the Continental as the National is to the Manhattan. The former only commenced business last year. During the nine months, ending December 31, it issued 1,361 policies, insuring $3,406,000. This, however, is not the chief criterion by which we judge what may be expected in the future. Sometimes the worst companies do a large business at the outset, while the best move very slowly. How an insurance company will turn out in the long run depends upon the intelligence, energy and honesty of its officers more than anything else. Hence it was that we did not hesitate to predict, the very first year,

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the success of the National and the Continental, because it so happened that we were aware of the long experience, intelligence, energy, and integrity of Edward A. Jones, Jonathan D. Halsey, Justus Lawrence, and J. P. Rogers. For a similar reason we had faith in the Commonwealth; we had little doubt that Mr. Pierpont and his colleagues would accomplish satisfactory results as life underwriters. Nor were we led to this conclusion solely by our high opinion of the Continental, from whose office that gentleman went forth to take charge of the new company; it may be remembered that we had no such implicit confidence (nor have we now) in a certain other company that claims the same honorable parentage. We were quite as well aware then as we are now, that some children are as different from their parents as darkness is from light, and that some children are equally unlike each other.

But what of the Equitable? we think we hear our readers ask. That is far too gigantic a figure to be overlooked. Those who bear in mind that it only commenced business in 1859—nine years later than the United States Life—will admit that there is something grand in its present magnitude. In 1869, this company issued more than *twelve* times as many policies as the United States, insuring more than *twenty-four* times as much! If our readers will have the curiosity to turn to our criticisms and comparisons made years ago in this journal, they can judge for themselves whether our opinions on a subject in which every class of society are more or less interested are expressed rashly or thoughtfully—whether they are the results of blind passion and prejudice, or of calm reflection and careful research.

That new life companies continue to spring up, is not strange in view of the above facts. Among the most recent are the *Hercules* and the *Amicable*; and we believe they are also the most curious specimens. We have remarked on a former occasion, that the titles of a certain class of companies go, like dreams, by contrarities, as the *Great* Western, the *Empire*, the American *Popular*, &c. Accordingly, we confess that the Hercules is to us more suggestive of puny weakness, than of gigantic strength—more of unpaid board and wine bills, than of widows or orphans made happy or comfortable. The "Amicable" is, no doubt, all, to its "executive officers," which its name implies; but whether its amicableness will ever extend much to the outside world is, we fear, rather questionable.

Fire and marine insurance are much more different from life insurance than is generally supposed. The former has far less to do with science than the latter; in other words, it is more material, and yet more a matter of chance, or risk. Accordingly, fire underwriters do not require so much intelligence as life underwriters, nor do they possess so much, in nine cases out of ten. Indeed, the essential requirements are so different, that the life underwriters whom we criticise most for their ignorance and stupidity, might do quite well as fire underwriters,

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if they were only endowed with a little more integrity than they are.

Upon the other hand, there are some of our fire underwriters that boast of large piles of millions that are scarcely intelligent enough to be assistant book-keepers in a respectable life office. Then, again, there are fire and marine underwriters that are not surpassed in intelligence, ability, or any other essential qualification, even by the most accomplished and most honored of the life fraternity. Foremost among the select class are the officers of the Washington, the Hope, (N. Y.,) the Etna, (Hartford,) the Security, the Hanover, and the Mercantile Mutual.

With the exception of the Mercantile each of these has passed the ordeal of fire and water during 1869, not only unscathed, but much improved. Next year we hope there will be no exception among those just mentioned; in any case there is no danger that the Mercantile will not be faithful to its trust. If at any time it fails to meet its engagements, it is because it cannot control old Neptune.

The Washington has added $38,000 to its assets—which now amount to about $800,000—and declared its thirty-seventh dividend. The Hope, always cautious and shrewd, never ventures beyond its means; accordingly, its policy holders have never to wait, although it boasts no huge piles. We are pleased to see, however, that its handsome surplus fund is steadily increasing. In our last number we indicated the prosperous condition of the Hanover; we need only remark now, in passing, that in the meantime it has not lagged in well doing, but made steady progress.

The Security is, in several essential respects, like its *life* namesake; to those who know the latter nothing further need be said; they would require no stronger recommendation. The Security Fire has now over $2,000,000 assets. When it is remembered how much it lost lately by a dishonest employé, without allowing its policy holders to lose a penny, it will be admitted that this is a handsome amount for a fire company having a million capital. As for the Ætna, of Hartford, it is one of the greatest fire companies in the world; certainly no English, French, or German company is superior to it.

The officers of all these companies contribute to strengthen the prestige justly assigned to American underwriters. No doubt there are other able and honest men among the fire and marine fraternities; but if so we do not know them. So far as we have seen or are informed, the remainder are, in general, of the broker genus. They know as little about Laplace's *Théorie analytique des probabilités*, which forms the groundwork of insurance, as they do of antediluvian manners and customs.

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